

Klára Hegyi

# The Ottoman Military Organization in Hungary

Fortresses, Fortress Garrisons and Finances



KLAUS SCHWARZ VERLAG • BERLIN

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# **STUDIEN ZUR SPRACHE, GESCHICHTE UND KULTUR DER TÜRKVÖLKER**

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**In memoriam Lajos Fekete**



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## Abbreviations

Berlin: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung

BOA: Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, İstanbul

BOA Kepeci: BOA Kepeci tasnifi

BOA MAD: BOA Maliyeden Müdevver

BOA Tapu: BOA Tapu defteri

Dresden: Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Dresden, Türkische Handschriften

ELTE Könyvtára, Kézirattár, Budapest

Leipzig: Universitätsbibliothek, Leipzig

OL: Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Budapest

ÖNB: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Wien, Türkische Handschriften

ÖStA: Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Wien

Weimar: Thüringisches Landeshauptarchiv, Weimar

# Preface

In the last couple of decades interest in Hungary's Ottoman period has happily grown all over the world, be it about military issues, the Ottoman administration, the co-existence of religions or the self-governing organisation of towns and villages. Depending on their temperament, authors working in various parts of the world regard the general consensus among Hungarian historians, who attribute a special and unique position to the Hungarian provinces in the European half of the Ottoman Empire, either with incomprehension or with understanding. Being polite colleagues they refrain from saying it out loud, but no doubt it has occurred to them that present-day Hungarians might grieve over the lost glory of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom, and might strive to prove that some of that glory survived under Ottoman rule.

I have been a member of the community of Hungarian historians specialising in the 16th and 17th centuries for fifty years. Please take my word for it: we do not grieve, we believe, and without any trace of nostalgia, that Ottoman Hungary was not merely an extension of the Balkan Peninsula, and that Ottoman arrangements here differed in many respects from the way Ottoman rule was established and institutionalised in Bulgaria or Serbia. I shall summarise the reasons for this briefly in five points, which at the same time explain the topic of this volume, as well as the painstaking efforts which I have devoted, for more than a decade, to the study of the Ottoman soldiers who conquered Hungary.

1. After the natural borders, the lower section of the rivers Danube and Sava, had been penetrated, the great wars in the Balkans subsided, and the peninsula became a calm hinterland. The front line of the war on land between the two greatest powers of contemporary Europe, the Ottoman and Habsburg Empires, shifted to Hungary, and did not move for almost two centuries. And it would be a basic mistake to confuse the front lines with the hinterland, or to consider them the same, since they played very different parts indeed, as they have throughout history. It is no accident that Bulgarian Ottomanists pay little attention to the fortified places and their garrisons located in their country – they answered my questions with one of their own: “Does it matter whether the Turkish offices in Tirnovo were guarded by fifty or sixty soldiers?” They, on the other hand, were far keener to investigate the military peasant organizations that were built out of the country's population. These were responsible for whatever needed to be done in the hinterland: feeding the armies marching against Western Europe, building and maintaining roads and harbours, guarding the mountain passes and so on. In Hungary fighting troops were needed, not road-build-

ers, and on both the Hungarian and Turkish sides they were the protagonists of this period.

2. During the 178 years between 1521 and 1699, open war raged in Hungary for 67 years, less than one third of the period. The years and decades of campaigning were interrupted by long periods of peace, and we can consider the tranquility of the other two-thirds as a divine blessing, especially the quarter century following 1568 and the half century after 1606. However, the truth is that there was no real peace or tranquility on the frontier: even during the periods of official peace not a month passed without raids or sudden attacks, without villages being burnt, merchants robbed and people kidnapped. Continuous fighting went on even in decades considered peaceful, except that the opposing Hungarian and Ottoman armies did not fight on battlefields or fortress walls, but used force to widen their own spheres of influence, especially in order to collect taxes (this will be discussed in a separate chapter in the book). This task could not be performed by hapless civilians: it could only be successfully carried out by soldiers. The inhabitants of the Balkan peninsula could not complain of constant military violence, they suffered much more from the depredations of ordinary highwaymen.

If we rely exclusively on the various Ottoman *defters* for information on the Hungarian situation, the differences are barely discernible. The Ottomans intended to introduce into Hungary the classic system which had worked so well in the Balkans (of course with some minor or more significant differences in the details); the result, however, was distorted by the country's frontier status. The nature and the extent of this distortion can be sized up by Hungarian source materials.

3. It was not the whole of Hungary that was conquered, but only the middle third of the country. Beyond the western and northern borders of Ottoman Hungary the Hungarian Kingdom survived with Habsburg kings, and from the eastern border to the Carpathian mountains a new state emerged: the Principality of Transylvania, a vassal state under Ottoman overlordship. The partition of the country caused serious damage, but whatever happened, in the end at least the two Hungarian states and their institutions managed to exert some influence over how the Ottomans set up their administration in their own part of the country. The subjects of the sultan, while obeying the Ottoman decrees, continued to observe the Hungarian national laws and the local, county and town-based regulations; they accepted as rightful the demands of the nobles who had fled to the Hungarian Kingdom and paid tax to them as well, and were devoted to their religion and culture. Naturally, Hungarian influence was weaker in the

southern parts of Ottoman Hungary, far from the border, while it grew stronger towards the Hungarian Kingdom and Transylvania, and finally prevailed completely in the border area.

The elected body of councillors of the rich and populous town of Debrecen, located at the meeting of three parts of the country, kept a daily record of all its income and expenses, small or great, like the Hungarian leaders of all towns. Debrecen was a *has*-town of the sultans, in 1611 its leading citizens took 3,000 florins as tax to Buda and 800 to Solnok, and besides this they made various payments in kind. Among a thousand other items, they made presents of sheep, cabbages, wood for bridge-building, honey and sabres. Most often they performed their socage duties in Solnok. They owed Transylvania national and county taxes, which mounted to 550 florins for six months, and in addition they sent 150 musketeers(!), the cost of which they could deduct from their taxes. They paid a tax of 1,000 florins to their Hungarian landlord, who resided in the Hungarian Kingdom. They intended to send fewer, but more valuable presents to the two Hungarian parts of the country: to the palatine (*palatinus* in Latin), who held the second highest rank after the king, a golden goblet weighing one and a half kilos, and to the prince of Transylvania a painted carriage. Altogether, the Ottoman administration took more of the town's money, but the two Hungarian states did not lag far behind.

They entered their travel expenses into the account book as well, and these tell us about their connections. In 1611, people from Debrecen travelled to Buda and Solnok a total of 39 times: on 19 occasions they went to make payments, to deliver produce or to work, 11 times they delivered mail, and only three times did they set off on a journey of their own accord, on their own business, which was, yet again, connected to taxation (the purpose of six trips is unknown): the relationship between the Ottoman authorities and the town did not go any further than setting and performing duties. Their 39 trips to Buda and Solnok cost a total of 530 florins. Emissaries from the town visited the two Hungarian parts of the country 184 times, travelling everywhere from Várad to Pozsony, and their expenses amounted to 1,020 florins. They were present at the Transylvanian diet and the county assembly at Várad, and often visited the fortress captains in Várad for news; their representative sat through the partial diet held by the palatine in Tokaj, and visited him often when he happened to be nearby. What is more, and this borders on the grotesque, the town supplied the camps of the royal army with victuals and gunpowder. It would be difficult to deny that Debrecen, in spite of being the sultan's town, also remained part of the Hungarian Kingdom and Transylvania: its substantive links were with the two Hungarian states.

4. Nobody thinks that the bourgeois development of 16th-century Hungary could have competed with that of the Low Countries, or that any of its towns resembled Antwerp. However, it is beyond doubt that the Ottomans, for the first and last time during their conquests, found in Hungary a country which followed western European patterns in its state and local institutions, in the structure of its society, in the self-governing organisations of nobles, towns and villages, in its legal system, and in its churches, religions and culture. The Ottomans had to decide how to deal with what they found, including the institutions. They did what was wisest: allowed them to survive and made use of them, thus saving a great deal of money that would otherwise have been spent on countless *kadıs*, tax collectors and other state officials. The carefully kept minutes of the council sessions and the account books show clearly that the difficult task of collecting taxes from the Hungarian citizens was carried out by elected Hungarian foremen, who then took them to the relevant Ottoman office on the prescribed day; crimes were investigated and judgements were pronounced by the same men, the only task left for the *kadı* residing in the *sancak* centre was to levy and collect from the town the high price set for the right to its own jurisdiction and the fines paid by criminals. In carrying out all these duties the local foremen became part of the Ottoman administration; their position, however, differed from that of the *kenezes* who worked in the Balkans. The foremen were elected by their communities (under the supervision of the competent Hungarian county and landlord), and they did not need a permit from of the Ottoman administration in order to function (while the post of a *kenez* depended upon appointment). Apart from a few early and unusual cases, the leaders of the settlements, the *bíró*s or judges (*biro* in Turkish as well) did not receive *timars*, while the *kenezes* did; the *kanunnames* did not define their tasks. In all this a certain keeping-of-distance and recognition of independence were expressed, even considering that being beaten, imprisoned and sometimes bludgeoned to death became part of the *bíró*s' lot. At the same time, Hungarian county authorities and raiding Hungarian soldiers bore down on any local leader suspected of being 'overfriendly' with the Turks and punished him harshly.

5. When studying Ottoman Hungary we can make use not only of the usual Ottoman sources, but of parallel Hungarian and Latin archive material as well: this is the real *hungaricum*. The documents of state institutions, registrations and investigations carried out by counties, the archives of noble families and towns, the correspondence of military leaders and fortress soldiers, full of news, are all available, naturally in larger quantities in areas located closer to the border than from the southern regions of the Ottoman part of the country. There is an enormous number of the Hungarian documents—more than the Ottoman ones—and

they are rich in data. When we find a registration of territory that had already been surveyed by the Ottoman authorities as well, the two kinds of sources complement and correct each other. This becomes especially important in the 17th century, when the documentation produced by the Ottoman administration shrank to a fraction of what it had been in the previous century; Ottoman possessions and taxation can only be studied from the Hungarian sources. Finally, their content is quite different. From the various Ottoman *defters* we can reconstruct a planned system that was considered ideal and laid down in law, while from studying the investigations carried out by the Hungarian counties, from the documents of towns or the correspondence of nobles we learn about people's everyday lives and experiences, and about their tribulations. Without all this it would be foolhardy to pass judgement on the Ottoman regime here, on the co-existence of the conquerors and the conquered. As the present volume deals with Ottoman fortresses, all the data are Ottoman Turkish, but behind it lies the main conclusion to be drawn from the Hungarian sources, namely that in Hungary everyday life was shaped above all by war and soldiery.

I should explain why I stop my investigation at the lines drawn by the lower Danube and the river Drava—after all, the territory between the rivers Drava and Sava was part of both the medieval Hungarian Kingdom and the *vilayet* of Buda, so it would seem fitting to include it. Unfortunately, all that survives is a pay list for a few of its fortresses, drafted in the spring of 1541. For later dates I found only fragments that are good for nothing. Thus the investigation and the database reach only as far as the Drava and the lower part of the Danube, just as the pay lists consider this line as the southern border of the *vilayets* of Buda and Temeşvar. *Sipahis* are not discussed either. Although many *icmal defteris* have survived, they cover our period and the territory of Ottoman Hungary very unevenly: a tentative summary could only be made at around 1570.



# I The Sources

## 1. Lists of Names of Paid Garrison Soldiers

Detailed pay lists, or *mevacib defteris*, of paid fortress soldiers in Ottoman Hungary were drawn up regularly in the 16th century, rarely in the first third of the 17th century and not at all after that. Theoretically, it was necessary to roll-call the troops every quarter, just prior to payment; in the 1540s, when regulations were still strictly observed and it was difficult to follow the frequent changes of garrisons deployed in the *vilayet* of Buda, several roll-calls were held each year; lists bore the signs of this. However, by the middle of the century it had become sufficient to roll-call once or maybe twice a year, with the indication of personnel changes, men being sent on leave and any event which affected the amount to be paid on the list, in each quarter of the year. Fluctuations in the number of personnel recorded in the pay lists of the treasury indicate that for a while the changes continued to be reported quarterly in Buda; however the practice of totalling up and paying twice a year or annually was becoming more wide-spread and had become general by the end of the century.<sup>1</sup> However, even this was not consistent: the number of months when soldiers were paid could vary from fortress to fortress.

Besides the regularly kept pay lists that were needed for accurate financial records, from time to time extraordinary, specially ordered roll-calls were held. Lists of names recorded on these occasions are called roll-call registers, or in Ottoman *yoklama defteris*. They contained only the names of soldiers actually present, and there were no roll-call signs or recorded changes. If by mistake the name of an absent soldier was entered, or if a soldier left the unit for some reason while the list was being made, his name was scratched out and the space was left empty.

As for content, both kinds of sources are roll-call registers; they differ only in the reason why they were drafted and the amount of information they contain. They are not usually distinguished in the literature,<sup>2</sup> especially as from the mid 16th century onwards many roll-call registers were later used as pay lists; that is, they were filled in with necessary roll-call signs, sums paid and personnel changes, and also because pay lists, or *mevacib defteris* referred to themselves increasingly as roll-call, or *yoklama defteris*. It is true that the separation of the two kinds of register has no particular significance. Nonetheless, it is worth taking a look at their origin and characteristics.

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1 Half-yearly accounts: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Wien (henceforth ÖNB), Mxt 612 and 617. Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (henceforth BOA), MAD 3762; annual accounts BOA MAD 1561 and 498.

2 Lajos Fekete basically considered them the same; see his *Die Siyāqat-Schrift in der türkischen Finanzverwaltung I*. Budapest, 1955, 95. The two kinds of *defters* are discussed as synonyms by Boris Nedkov, *Osmanoturska diplomatika i paleografia I*. Sofia, 1966, 175.

Roll-call registers (*yoklama defteris*)

Traces of several extraordinary roll-calls survive from the first decades of Ottoman rule in Hungary. On February 8 and 13, 1545, presumably in order to end the state of disorder in fortresses which had been captured in the campaign two years earlier and by the local forces in the previous year, the imperial council (*divan-i hümayun*) issued several orders in the name of the sultan to roll-call the armed forces of Buda (Ott. Budun, Budin), Pest (Ott. Peşte), Estergon (Hu. Esztergom), Ístolni Belgrad (Fehérvár), Vaç (Vác) and Vişegrad (Visegrád), and the roll-call of the Mohaç *sancak* (Mohács).<sup>1</sup> The roll-call was carried out properly. In the northern fortresses the scribe of the *sipahis* of the court was delegated as roll-call commissioner, who were put in the care of the *paşa* and *defterdar* of Buda, or the captains of the fortresses involved. They had to participate in everything: the *paşa*'s task was to prepare the officers of the fortresses, the *defterdar*'s was to accompany the commissioner and prevent cheating. Another officer from the Porte was sent to the southern fortresses; he was to be assisted and accompanied by Kasım, the *sancakbeyi* of Mohaç, and the local *kadıs*. It was also prescribed in the orders that the troops of the fortresses were to be led to the commissioner one by one by the *ağas* and their deputies. One of the copies of the *defter* was to be kept by the *defterdar* of Buda, another was taken by the commissioner to the Porte. Of this *defter* only one fragment has survived, the one which lists the soldiers of Ístolni Belgrad.<sup>2</sup> Its title and date makes it obvious that it was drafted for this roll-call: "The *yoklama defteri* of the *müstahfizes* of Ístolni Belgrad, which was drafted by majestic order. 26 zilhicce 591." (March 10, 1545, the day on which the order was received).

The imperial council also ordered a general roll-call of the *vilayets* of Buda and Temeşvar (Hu. Temesvár) on November 23, 1568;<sup>3</sup> presumably this time a reliable survey was needed following the peace of Adrianople, concluded in February, in order to restore order and reduce staff. This was carried out on a smaller scale. A *çavuş* from the Porte was dispatched as roll-call commissioner, while the roll-call itself was to be carried out by the *sancakbeyis*: they were to survey how many soldiers were present in the fortresses located in their *sancaks*, whether their military equipment was adequate and if not, what was lacking. From the results "together with the *çavuş* an accurate *defter* must be made and certified

1 Halil Sahillioğlu, *Topkapı Sarayı Arşivi H. 951–952 Tarihli ve E-12321 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri*. İstanbul, 2002, Nos. 217–219, 228, 293. Géza Dávid–Pál Fodor, "Az ország ügye mindenek előtt való." *A szultáni tanács Magyarországra vonatkozó rendeletei (1544–1545, 1552)* ["The affairs of the state are supreme." The orders of the Ottoman Imperial Council pertaining to Hungary]. Budapest, 2005, Nos. 41–43, 47, 69.

2 ÖNB Mxt 558. Its title is quoted in: Fekete, *Die Siyāqat-Schrift*, 95.

3 *7 Numaralı mühimme defteri (975–976 / 1567–1569) I–IV*. Ankara, 1997–1999, No. 2529.

with their seals and must be submitted”. I know no details of this roll-call register, and can only suppose that it formed the basis for the detailed pay list of the following year.<sup>1</sup>

The general roll-call of 1580 was recorded in Western sources. Imperial delegate Joachim von Sinzendorf reported at the end of the year that “the sultan ordered the listing and roll-call of the military personnel of the *beylerbeyilik* of Buda”. As for its reason, he understood that the treasury of Buda, after a temporary respite, was yet again unable to finance the pay of soldiers, so the *paşa* applied to Istanbul for more money.<sup>2</sup>

On August 8, 1593, as required by the belligerent situation following the declaration of the so-called Fifteen Years’ or Long Turkish War (1591–1606), the imperial council ordered a new, general roll-call of the fortresses of the Buda *vilayet*, which was supposed to be carried out by a commissioner delegated from Istanbul, this time a *çavuş*.<sup>3</sup> I have not found the roll-call *defter* that was sent to the capital, only the first part of a copy made a few years later, which was subsequently badly scribbled over, and bound together with various other materials.<sup>4</sup>

Although I am not familiar with the actual order to carry out the roll-call, it is obvious that the pay list datable to 1607 is also a *yoklama*, which was made directly after the treaty of Zsitvatorok (1606) about all the fortresses of the Buda *vilayet*, clearly with the intention of providing Buda and Istanbul with an overview of the condition of the garrisons after the conclusion of the war.

Should it become necessary for whatever reason, a roll-call could be held in a single fortress. An imperial order issued on March 4, 1545<sup>5</sup> commanded the *paşa* and the *defterdar* of Buda not to pay what was due to the soldiers of the fortress of Baç (Hu. Bács) from the treasury of Buda, but out of the revenues from tax-farming, and for this they were to “draft the register of the names of paid soldiers, and send it sealed to the Porte”. The word ‘roll-call’ does not appear in the order, but the roll-call must have preceded the drafting of the list. In some other cases the data from the locally kept register were considered adequate. An imperial order issued on May 26, 1552<sup>6</sup> asked the *defterdar* for information about the number of soldiers in each branch of the army in Segedin (Hu. Szeged): the person addressed was to check this in the *defter*, and let the Porte know how many *akçes* the pay of the units amounted to each month and annually.

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1 ÖNB Mxt 642.

2 Géza Pálffy, ‘A magyarországi török és királyi végvárrendszer fenntartásának kérdéséhez [On the question of maintaining the Turkish and royal border fortress system in Hungary]’, *Keletkutatás* Spring (1995) 62–63.

3 BOA Mühimme defteri 69, No. 263.

4 BOA MAD 3370.

5 Sahillioğlu, *E-12321 Numaralı Mühimme*, No. 312. Dávid–Fodor, *Az ország ügye*, No. 80.

6 Dávid–Fodor, *Az ország ügye*, No. 236.

The two roll-call registers preserved in their original form show that name lists of extraordinary roll-calls were like snapshots: they constituted a record of the troops in service at a given moment. All changes, the numerous small and great events which filled the life of garrisons, were left out. We learn nothing from them apart from the units, numbers and names of soldiers, not even the sums of their daily pay are recorded in them. An undoubted advantage of such a source is that it relieves its user of the need to interpret and think about notes: one can do nothing but count and look at names.

The Ottoman Turkish term for roll-call, *yoklama*, and its verb form *yoklamak*, to roll-call, are both unambiguous. The passive form of the verb, *yoklanmak* or ‘to be roll-called’, on the other hand, needs some explanation. The fact that the soldier had been roll-called in itself does not carry any positive or negative implication; however, the way the word is used in pay lists does. ‘To have been roll-called’ *yoklandı*, *yoklanıp* meant that the roll-call found everything in order; the soldier was confirmed in his position. The negative of the verb, *yoklanmadı*, did not mean that for some reason the soldier could not be roll-called, but that in his case the roll-call brought a negative result, and he was not confirmed in his position. In 1549 it was said of two artillerymen of Sanda (Hu. Szanda) that “according to their comrades they do not do their duty, thus they were not roll-called”; that is, they were not confirmed in their posts (*mezkûr için hin-i yoklamada yoldaşları eda-i hizmet eylemez dedikleri ecilden yoklanmadı*). In the same register a cavalryman from Hatvan “could not name his father, thus he was not roll-called, cancelled” (*babası adın bilmediği ecilden yoklanmadı, ref şud*).<sup>1</sup>

From the imperial order quoted above it transpires that one copy of the *defters* based on the results of extraordinary roll-calls was kept in the capital, and in cases of disagreement the Istanbul and local copies were compared. This procedure was followed several times when making up the pay lists of the fortresses in the Buda *vilayets* in 1558–1559. Next to the name of one of the five Hungarian carpenters of İstolni Belgrad it was noted that “his name does not appear in the *defter* of the Sublime Porte”; one corporal (*seroda*) of the Şimontorna (Hu. Simontornya) cavalry, unlike the others, had to make do with the payment of eight *akçes* for the following reason: “as he was roll-called in the *defter* of the high Porte with [the payment of] eight *akçes*”.<sup>2</sup> It also happened that a mistake was discovered in the Istanbul *defter*, and the commissioner of the roll-call recommended its correction. Such a case can be found in the same pay list: one of the soldiers of the second *ağalık* of the Esterгон cavalry was registered in the

1 ÖNB Mxt 642, pp. 59, 136.

2 ÖNB Mxt 633, pp. 180, 217.

third *ağalık* in the Porte's *defter*, so a submission (*arz*) was drafted for its correction.<sup>1</sup>

The fact that such small details were cross-checked by the capital and the local authorities reflects the extraordinary, almost exaggerated care taken by the administration. An imperial order issued on the May 28, 1552 illustrates the amazing similarity between the local and Istanbul *defters*.<sup>2</sup> It informs the *beylerbeyi* of Buda on the basis of the report of the *mirlivas* of Segedin and Semendire about the condition of the garrison of Segedin, and orders its reorganization. The various military branches were registered with the following numbers in the local records and in the records of the Porte which were copied into the order:

*Table 1*  
*The soldiers of Segedin in the records of Buda and the Porte, 1552*

Military branches	In the Buda record	In the record of the Porte
Müstahfız	143	147 <sup>3</sup>
Topçu	31	41
Faris	86	89
Azab	219	217
Martolos	192	191
<b>Total</b>	<b>671</b>	<b>685<sup>4</sup></b>

This agreement, except in the case of the artillery, is even more admirable as the local and capital lists were cross-checked shortly after the 'the peril of Segedin' in the early spring of 1552, following the temporary recapture of the town by Hungarian troops, which left the Ottoman garrison in shreds; the survey and reorganization was made necessary by the dissatisfaction of the defenders.

#### Detailed pay lists (*mevacib defteris*)

The result of the roll-calls, vacant posts, the recruitment of new soldiers and many other details were recorded in pay lists at the same time, all together, and they followed the changes from day to day. These are the most important sources for the survey of fortress troops.<sup>5</sup> They are kept in Vienna, except for a

1 Ibid., 103.

2 Dávid-Fodor, *Az ország ügye*, No. 239.

3 The scribe who wrote the order got the number wrong: leaving out the hundred he wrote 47 *müstahfiz*es with salary *timars*. The number should surely be 147, as in 1546 146 men were granted collective *timars*.

4 In the order, the total of the sum is erroneously given as 695.

5 Many people have written about what characterizes the content and form of pay lists. Authors of paleographic works have dealt with them in general, on the basis of several, but by no means all the lists. Those who have published pay lists have also had a hard time with them, and those who have published submissions and appointments have also only met the same terms of payment. (I do not know of any author who has processed the complete set of lists of a certain province or even only a single castle). I am truly grateful to my predecessors,

few items in Istanbul, a fact that should not be neglected either. They were rescued from the Ottoman administrative offices of Buda as the city was burning by Luigi Fernando Marsigli,<sup>1</sup> and subsequently transported to Vienna as booty. Thus the material which remained belongs to the central records of fortress troops that were kept in the province of Buda. Theoretically, and often in reality too, these pay lists included all the fortresses of the Buda *vilayet*. Naturally, many of them are not complete. Some contained only part of the fortresses to start with, others have lost their first or last pages, and there are some which for some unknown reason only included more than half of the fortified places, with the personnel of the fortresses that were intentionally left out appearing as an aggregate total at the end of the *defter*. These differences do not alter the fact that the pay lists kept in Buda are the central registers within the province of fortress castles and the summarised and fair copies of the separately registered lists of individual fortresses or *sancaks*. The handwriting indicates that the majority were assembled and finalised by a single scribe from the material received from the centres of the *sancaks*. The scribe in Buda entered the date of receipt and that it was finalised (*amed fi ... yazıldı*) next to many, but by no means all, of the fortresses and troops in the pay list of the fortresses of the *vilayet* in 1558–1559. Next to the name of a *seroda* of the Siçen (Hu. Szécsény) cavalry he wrote “with the permission of his *ağa*, he took leave but as he returned before the submission of the *defter* he was roll-called”. Bound up after the register of Pest there is a humble letter addressed to *defterdar* Ahmed Çelebi. Since it is undated and unsigned, I presume it was written by the leader of the scribes making the fair copy, and it includes the following two lines: “we are compiling the roll-call reg-

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as at the beginning of my work, when I was getting acquainted with the basic elements, I copied and learnt everything from them. As I got deeper into the material, however, I kept running into an increasing number of palaeographic issues and questions regarding content to which I found answers nowhere. What I write about sources, primarily about pay lists, and the way I summarize them in the database, is all my own invention. I am quite confident about the majority of the solutions, fairly confident about a smaller number, and at a loss concerning a few questions, which I acknowledge in the appropriate places. The works which I have used often and found very useful are the following: Fekete, *Die Siyāqat-Schrift*, 3–50, 94–98. Nedkov, *Osmanoturska diplomatika I*. 68–77, 113–116, 175–176. Said Öztürk, *Osmanlı Arşiv Belgelerinde Siyakat Yazısı ve Tarihi Gelişimi*. İstanbul, 1996. Asparuch Velkov–Evgenij Radushev, *Ottoman Garrisons on the Middle Danube. Based on Austrian National Library MS MXT 562 of 965 (1549–1550)*. With an introduction by Strashimir Dimitrov. Budapest, 1996. *Izvori za bolgraskata istoria XIII. Turski izvori, seria XV–XVI/II*. Ed. by Nikolaj Todorov–Boris Nedkov. Sofia, 1966, 298–333. Dušanka Bojanić-Lukač, *Vidin i vidinskiat sandžak prez 15–16 vek*. Sofia, 1975, 95–160. Claudia Römer, *Osmanische Festungsbesatzungen in Ungarn zur Zeit Murads III. Dargestellt anhand von Petitionen zur Stellenvergabe*. Wien, 1995. Klaus Schwarz, *Osmanische Sultansurkunden. Untersuchungen zur Einstellung und Besoldung osmanischer Militärs in der Zeit Murads III*. Aus dem Nachlass hrsg. von Claudia Römer. Stuttgart, 1997.

1 Lajos Fekete, Budapest a törökkorban [Budapest in the Turkish Era]. Budapest, 1944, 53.

isters that were consigned to us for transcription from the beginning, today we have started on the *sancak* of Siçen, we are writing continuously.”<sup>1</sup>

Fortunately, making fair copies and combining material did not involve simplifying the data. The treasury wanted to know everything about each soldier in order to be able to calculate his exact pay. Thus, every note which was useful and necessary for this purpose was entered into the Buda copies. This is very fortunate as the copies kept in the *sancak* centres were destroyed; ‘document preservers’ like Marsigli did not appear outside Buda.

There were, however, a few fragments which escaped destruction and which I consider original. These reached Vienna from Buda as well, so at first sight one may doubt whether they are really original copies of lists made on the spot. In spite of this uncertainty, one of the<sup>2</sup> still deserves closer inspection and comparison with its finalized fair-copy equivalent.<sup>3</sup> Both sources are lists of the troops at Hatvan, containing the notes for twelve months from the year 956; that is, from January 30, 1549 to January 19, 1550. The two lists are basically identical; they differ only in two names. The copy considered as the local version did not have roll-call signs written on it, however, personnel changes were registered with the new soldier’s date of entry, and in several cases short descriptions of the recruits were added next to their names. Here and there the recommendations of the commander of the fortress were indicated, e.g. ‘to be written off’ (*ref lazım*). Some curious signs and notes appear on the list which I have not come across elsewhere and am unable to decode. The most interesting of these are little circles which were not added to most of the names: a few received one, some two. Some names or subsequent notes are superscribed with three little dots: theoretically these should indicate absence or cancellation, but in the end all of these soldiers received their pay. It is also unclear why all the soldiers of whole squads have a note written above them saying they had been transferred into other squads where they do not appear at all. These uncertain signs and notes give the impression that they were made for the purposes of some individual who used his own system of signs; some of them look as if they contained a plan for some change. Finally the pay of the soldiers was written under their names and the figures were totted up for each squad; I believe these calculations were entered into the register after the roll-call.

The fair copy does not include any mysterious signs but is, on the other hand, full of records of decisions. The roll-call must have been carried out by one commissioner delegated from Buda or the capital, as his decisions are com-

1 ÖNB Mxt 633, the pages where the date of receipt was registered: 31, 44, 66, 74, 82, 84, 100, 216, 219, 220, 224, 225, 233; the note on the cavalryman who returned home is on p. 151, the scribe’s letter on p. 43.

2 ÖNB Mxt 592, pp. 87–107.

3 ÖNB Mxt 562, pp. 122–140.



pletely consistent and very strict in all the fortresses. Primarily, he was deciding whether the people taken into employment during the year could be put on the pay list. Just as in Hatvan, he was on the lookout for dishonesty among the local officers everywhere, who sometimes registered their servants, or even children, in vacant positions in order to collect their pay. He identified fourteen such fake soldiers among the guards. Besides this he removed seven people from the original staff for 'rebellion', and three because they had given a name either as their own or their father's which was different from the registered one. Two more previously captive soldiers were also written off as they had 'escaped from the enemy', and this made them suspicious (this was already indicated on the local list, but it was the commissioner who decided to dismiss them). As this list does not contain any comments about transfers from one squad to another, a decision must have been made that everybody would stay in his place. Finally, the soldiers who were found in order got the roll-call sign of presence which entitled them to receive pay. Every important note in the original, local list was transferred on the fair, finalized *defter*, and the numbers and pay of each squad were entered.

This short example highlights the fact that pay lists were carefully registered in the middle of the 16th century, and were re-written frequently, presumably annually. The lists of the 1570's and 1580's are valuable as well, although significantly fewer sources are preserved from these decades. And whatever was preserved bears far fewer comments, so the material is not nearly as rich as previously. The change was the result of the consolidation and settling of the garrisons following the treaty of Adrianople, and not of some kind of relaxation of administration. The hardships brought about by what was known as the Fifteen Years' or Long Turkish War filled the pay lists of the turn of the century with annotations in unprecedented quantities.

From the beginning of the 1590s onwards great changes took place in the management and redistribution of the state's revenues and in the relevant documentation. Thus a new period opened in the administration of fortress soldiers as well. The devastating military experience and financial consequences of the internal and external wars that were fought on several fronts in the 1590s and at the turn of the century spurred the sultan's government to make changes to improve both the performance of the army and the state of the treasury, including comprehensive alterations affecting the basis of revenue management as well as small-scale financial shrewdness.<sup>1</sup> Although the institution of cavalry who fought in return for possession of a prebend and the *timar* system, on which this

1 A comprehensive survey of the system of alteration: Pál Fodor, *Vállalkozásra kényszerítve. Az oszmán pénzügyigazgatás és hatalmi elit változásai a 16–17. század fordulóján* [Forced into enterprise. Changes in Ottoman financial administration and political elite at the turn of the 16th–17th centuries]. Budapest, 2006.

was based, were not abolished, the significance of the landed *sipahis* who had built the empire and who used to represent great military strength was lost. Thus the state abandoned those functions which had previously been taken very seriously and which were intended for the maintenance of the *sipahis*: the regular surveys of population and production and periodic redistribution of prebends.<sup>1</sup> From our point of view, this led to the unpleasant consequence that from the beginning of the 17th century we have to make do without two very important sources for the 16th century: the *mufassal defteris* and *icmal defteris*.

The pay lists only disappeared in the 1630s, but by that time they no longer reached the standards of the pay lists of the previous century. It is not worth pondering over differences in forms, as they only indicate the relaxation of the previously severe, extremely uniform way of drawing up pay lists; in other words they indicate a change in written fashion. An example of such a change is the listing of janissaries several times before the 'local' units, or the fact that many 17th century rolls provide a very detailed list of non-military staff paid by the day; employees of mosques and the councils of *beylerbeyis*, the *çavuşes* and many other civilians who received a daily wage from the state. More than once the scribes included the corporals among the officers of the military branches, then a long list containing all the men together, so it does not transpire how many people served in the various individual units. The examination of the origin of the soldiers is made more difficult by the increasing use of single names; we only see that a soldier was called Ahmed, but we do not know whether he was a first generation Muslim or a Bosnian, or anything else about him. These practices, which became wide-spread mainly in the registers of small, insignificant garrisons, indicate that special care was no longer being taken.

The essential changes in the content, which affect the value of the preserved material of this period, differ according to whether the pay list was drawn up for local use or to be sent to Istanbul. In the first four decades of the new century the majority of the local copies were still composed in the usual order of the military branches, in an orderly, careful fashion. As shown by the notes written on them later, most of these were used for only two or three years; examples include the rolls of the Buda garrison from 1613 and 1631, or that of the soldiers at Temesvár from 1631 and 1633.<sup>2</sup> Presumably it is not by chance that it is the administrative centres of the *vilayets* that belong to this 'tradition-bound' group: their garrisons were more carefully recorded. Lists which, as in the 16th century, contain all the fortresses of a *vilayet* one by one were made less and less frequently; what is more, sometimes these were used to record changes for over a decade. An example of this is the pay list of the fortresses of the Kanija *vilayet*

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1 Quoted above 207–256.

2 ÖNB Mxt 644, pp. 632, 618, 619.

dated summer 1619, which includes annotations covering sixteen years.<sup>1</sup> This clearly indicates that even if roll-calls prior to the distribution of pay were held, there was no written documentation of their results. Finally, we have some 'combined' material, for example the register of the men of the *palankas* belonging to Temeşvar from 1634:<sup>2</sup> most of this was not transcribed into a fair copy in the centre of the *vilayet*, but pages of different sizes sent from the different fortresses were bound together, and no notes were written on them later.

In Istanbul, pay lists of the troops in all six *vilayets* were preserved. They are very similar except for the register of the fortresses belonging to Eğri (Hu. Eger) from 1605,<sup>3</sup> in which the date of enrollment is inscribed above the names of only a few soldiers. Technically it does not contain any notes of personnel change, it seems rather to be a roll-call register, which was placed among the *defters* kept at court, and never touched again. Kept in Istanbul, the two pay lists from Buda, the one from Temeşvar, one each from Kanija, Varad (Hu. Várád) and Uyvar (Hu. Újvár)<sup>4</sup> are all similar in that they were used for decades, and that the titles of most of them bear no indication of the year in which they were made (at best they have a date at the end of the list, which is usually later than the first annotations). It is fairly certain that not all personnel changes were recorded in them, for there was not enough space on the pages, but changes in the most important posts were noted. Apart from these, changes concerning some common soldiers were recorded, but it is not clear how these were chosen. The scribbles on the copies kept in the capital lead one to suspect that central administration did intend to follow the changes, even if this was not done as rigorously as in the previous century. They strove to maintain the appearance of supervision (and for this reason the copies may have been sent back and forth between the capital and the provincial centres several times).

A fine example of the type mentioned above is the list of the fortresses in the Temeşvar *vilayet* from about 1621 (this is not dated either, but the register for Lipova (Hu. Lippa) which was subsequently added at the beginning of the list by the scribe claims to be from 1621). There are so many pre- and post-entries on the pages of the Lipova soldiers that the original garrison can only be identified with great difficulty; the entries cover over almost half a century. The lists of other fortresses lack consistency. The beginning of the Temeşvar garrison list had entries added to it from 1596, and this was continued for forty years, on the other hand nothing was written on the register of the *azabs*. The names of

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1 ÖNB Mxt 631.

2 ÖNB Mxt 641.

3 BOA Tapu 704.

4 The register of the Buda *vilayet* from around 1607 and from 1618–1619: BOA MAD 5623 and 7320; that of Temeşvar from about 1621: MAD 3729; that of Kanija from 1628: MAD 7208; that of Varad from 1661: MAD 2563 and of Uyvar from 1675: Bab-i defteri, Büyük kale, 32195.

the soldiers of Mehadia (Hu. Mehádía) had notes added to them between 1605 and 1640, the pages recording the G'ula (Hu. Gyula) personnel were scribbled all over in the 1610s and again in the 1650s. What is more, every page is covered with undated notes about personnel changes.

To sum up, the pay lists from the 17th century can be characterized as follows: there are not many of them, they only go up to the 1630s, they were drawn up carelessly, and then used for several decades. Many, but not all, personnel changes are indicated in them, and the reasons for these changes are not mentioned, the movement of soldiers cannot be established from them. Often only the given names of the soldiers were noted, as a result their origin cannot be studied. Besides, although they were in use for an extended period of time, the untidy and inconsistent way in which they were annotated makes them useless for following up changes, thus we can only draw conclusions about the state of affairs recorded in the original list.

The names in the pay lists.

'Telling' second names: Abdullah, Divane, Branik

The framework of the rolls is the register of soldiers in each fortress, and within that in each branch of service and unit. With a few exceptions, the order of branches within a fortress is always the same. The first is that of the *müstahfizes*, headed by the captain of the fortress and his deputy; they are always followed by the paid craftsmen and, if there were any, musicians, both of which groups were always added to the *müstahfizes*, then came the artillerymen. The branches mentioned so far were always considered as one unit: in treasury disbursements their numbers and wages were calculated as one block, and in pay lists the first seal of certificate was placed on the page after the last artilleryman's name. The third branch in order is that of the cavalry, the *farises*, and then the *azabs*, and the list concluded with the less-respected corps of *martoloses* (the occasional exceptions occur mostly because some scribes put the *azabs* before the cavalry). If units other than the *müstahfizes* had their own craftsmen or musicians there were entered into the register after their branch. Sometimes in the lists from the early 17th century *yeniçeris* sent from the Porte were entered as well; in these cases they appear at the beginning of the list.

The register of the individual branches of service proceeded from the larger units towards the smallest, the squad. Soldiers were registered with two names: the first was their given name, the second was their patronymic, though the word *bin* (meaning son) was only rarely placed in between: İbrahim [bin] Mustafa. Often instead of the father's name we find the name of a country, settlement or ethnic group indicating the nationality of the soldier, for example Murad Bosna (Bosnian), Behram Belgrade, or Ahmed Arnavud (Albanian). The

names of Balkan Christians were registered in the same way: first the name of the soldier, then his father's: Stepan Nikola; in their case the latter was only occasionally replaced by the name of a settlement or ethnic group. The use of names for the few Hungarian soldiers went through a change. In earlier lists they appear with a surname and given name: Ács Mihály, or if they were craftsmen-soldiers with a given name and occupation: István, blacksmith. Later the nomenclature used for Balkan people became widespread: first the given and then the father's name: Imre Albert.

In order to avoid cheating and the insertion of unwarranted people, special attention was paid to names and to unquestionable identity. If the scribe made an error, he crossed out the misspelt name and inserted the correct one in its place. If, on the other hand, the soldier seemed uncertain about his own or his father's name, or introduced himself by a name other than that which appeared in the previous list, he was excluded. In 1549 Ferhad Abdullah, a Višegrad *azab*, failed the roll-call as "it turned out that his name was Ömer" (*hin-i yoklamada ismi Ömer olduğu zahir olmağın yoklanmadı*), and the same happened to a cavalryman from Hatvan, who insisted that he himself and not his father, was called Mustafa (*ismi soruldukta adım Mustafadır deyü cevap verdi, ref şud*).<sup>1</sup>

Under the soldier's name his daily pay was written, usually in *siyakat*, less frequently in Arabic numerals.

The sets of names that appear in each complete list, consisting of about ten thousand items, make it possible to investigate the origins of soldiers. Names provide hints primarily about religion, but often also about ethnic origin. If both parts of a double name are Muslim, for example Hasan [bin] Bayezid, its bearer was born into a Muslim family. If both names are Christian, for instance Stepan Ilije or Nagy Ambrus, the soldier was born into an Eastern or Western Christian family. When a Christian turned Muslim, he received a Muslim name after which an 'infidel' patronymic name could not possibly stand, thus the fathers of converts were called Abdullah, meaning 'Allah's servant', as all creatures belong to that category.<sup>2</sup> These Alis, Mustafas and other 'bin Abdullahs' or 'sons of Abdullah' are usually considered as first-generation converts, new Muslims, and military registers supply ample proof of this. Many *martoloses* converted just at the time when the lists were drawn up, and the scribe happily indicated this above their name. In the note the soldier's new name was also inserted: the second name was invariably Abdullah (for example *muslim şud nameş Ferhad Abdullah*).

In order to restrict the patronymic Abdullah to new Muslims, it was neces-

1 ÖNB Mxt 562, pp. 57, 132.

2 This practice was only applied to the register of soldiers. In Balkan registers we often meet the Muslim given name with a Christian patronymic.

sary to make sure that newborn infants would not receive the name as their own. This worked well in the European provinces; in the Arab countries, on the other hand, there were plenty of Abdullahs. Some of them appear in the Hungarian pay lists, where the scribe entered them as 'Abdullah Arab'.<sup>1</sup> The name of an Estergon *azab* also suggests Arab origins: Hasan Hacı Abdullah was presumably the son of an Arab called Abdullah who must have been on a pilgrimage (or it could be the name of a convert who was over-enthusiastic about his new faith). I found only four cases in over fifty pay lists, each containing five to ten thousand names, which do not fit into this norm: a *müstahfiz* of Solnok who was registered as Abdullah Halil in 1557,<sup>2</sup> a cavalryman from İstolni Belgrad, who bore the very unusual name of Abdullah Kara Kovaç (sic!),<sup>3</sup> then an *azab* corporal from Temeşvar, Abdullah Yusuf from 1634,<sup>4</sup> and an Abdullah *çoban* of the same rank from 1631.<sup>5</sup> The latter is already an example of the changes that occurred in the second half of the 17th century: here an increasing number of non-Arab soldiers appear with Abdullah as their own given name. In the register of the garrison of Uyvar from 1675 we meet seven such men;<sup>6</sup> one of them is Persian, the names of two, Abdullah Bosna and Abdullah Şaban Bosna, tell us that these names were yet again given to converts. Sometimes the converted soldier's Christian patronymic was kept; this happened quite frequently in the Balkans, rarely in 16th century Hungary, more frequently in the 17th century: two cavalymen with such names served in 1545 in İstolni Belgrad, İnehan G'urit' and Şaban Mihal; Ali Mihajlo served in Solnok in 1554,<sup>7</sup> then in 1569 in Canfeda a cavalryman called Osman Obraš was registered in the list.<sup>8</sup> In Buda and Pest there were more and more such cases in 1573: Hüseyin G'urit', Uruc Bálind (probably Hungarian), Hüseyin Vuk, Turhan Vuk and Hızır G'urit' were *müstahfiz*es in Buda, Şirmerd Petrovit' was an artilleryman from Pest.<sup>9</sup> Towards the end of the century such pairs of names become very rare, although by then the previous strict consistency had been relaxed both in terms of the use of terminology and in the spelling of names.

There are, however, plenty of cases where it is clear the sons of Abdullah were originally orthodox Bosnians, Serbians or Greeks. In successive lists the

1 An Abdullah Arab served for example in 1543 among the Pest and Vaç *azabs*, two among the Estergon *müstahfiz*es; one of these was registered with his patronymic: Abdullah Piri Arab. ÖNB Mxt 566, pp. 75, 86, 89, 148.

2 ÖNB Mxt 614, p. 130.

3 ÖNB Mxt 550, p. 32. Mxt 558, p. 25.

4 ÖNB Mxt 619, p. 18.

5 ÖNB Mxt 618, p. 17.

6 BOA Bab-i defteri, Büyük kale 32195.

7 Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung (henceforth Berlin) Ms. Or. Fol. 432, p. 75.

8 ÖNB Mxt 558, pp. 23, 32. Mxt 642, p. 124.

9 ÖNB Mxt 626, pp. 3–6, 52.

same man might once appear with the patronymic Abdullah, at other times with the name of a country or settlement indicating his origin. In 1543 the last cavalryman in the second squad in İstolni Belgrad was Hasan Abdullah, who was registered in the *defter* two years later as Hasan Bosna. The third cavalryman of the tenth squad was Hasan Mora (from Morea), two years later the same man had become Hasan Abdullah.<sup>1</sup> The vice-captain of Vişegrad in 1544 is Hüseyin Semendire, who then appeared five years later as Hüseyin Abdullah.<sup>2</sup> From the eight years between 1551 and 1559 four lists of the Çoka (Hu. Csóka, Csókakő) *müstahfizes* have survived. In the first, the sixth soldier of the third squad is registered as Hasan Abdullah, in the others he is Hasan Bosna.<sup>3</sup> There are many such parallels, the exchange of the paternal name Abdullah and the second name indicating the Balkan origin in the two successive pay lists in the years 1557–1559.

Those names whose second part is the name of a country, ethnic group or settlement supply us with interesting evidence for the investigation of ethnic origin. The first two cases are unambiguous; the content of the name of the settlement, on the other hand, could be misleading: it could mean Belgrade or Sofia itself, but also the districts where the settlements were located. Of these only a few sources give more precise information: the ones which describe the place of origin in more detail, noting for example that the soldier 'is from the village of ... in the *kaza* of Semendire'. The fact that even those country names which appeared most often did not become personal names over time is indicated by the *izafet* sign which was quite regularly written, and which is occasionally replaced by the Arabic preposition '*an*' meaning 'from'. The most common place of origin used as a second name was Bosnia, it appears most often in compounds such as Ali-i Bosna, Mustafa an Bosna; that is, Bosnian Ali, Mustafa from Bosnia (or less frequently Bosnalı Hasan in the Turkish fashion), but the combination of a personal name with the name of a settlement, or an ethnic name, are also possible: Mustafa-i İlok, Kaya-i Novo Brdo, Veli-i Hlevna or Ali-i Arnavud.

In the name lists of the mid-16th-century Balkan settlement and country names appear in endless variations. Later on settlement names disappeared and only country names remained, but by the turn of the century only Bosna survived, and even this appears less frequently than before.

In the 16th century, *Divane* as a second name was becoming increasingly widespread. It first appeared among the cavalry, and later on it was here that the most *Divanes* were to be found, almost as many as the sons of Abdullah. *Divane* as a common noun means a madman or an idiot, not only in the strict sense: in

1 ÖNB Mxt 550, pp. 24, 30. Mxt 558, pp. 23, 26.

2 ÖNB Mxt 568, p. 70. Mxt 562, p. 54.

3 ÖNB Mxt 592, p. 55. Mxt 578, p. 56. Mxt 614, p. 172. Mxt 633, p. 199.

compound structures it is the adjective applied to a person whose worship of God has become divine ecstasy. As a second name, it also referred to a property; this is indicated in the names written as regular *izafet*-compounds, for example Bali-i Divane, İbrahim-i Divane (thus, with the *izafet* appearing even after a consonant), or, more rarely, when in the Turkish fashion it stands before the name as an adjective: Divane Hüseyin bin Mustafa. It sometimes happens that in successive lists Divane and Abdullah are exchanged, for example in the registers which survived from three quarter-years of 1545 and 1546 a cavalryman from Endrik (Hu. Endréd) appeared twice as Cafer Divane, and once as Cafer Abdullah.<sup>1</sup> More often we meet the opposite case, in which Divane is clearly differentiated both from Abdullah and from geographical names. Thus, for example, a cavalryman from Kapoşvar (Hu. Kaposvár) in 1569 was recorded by the scribe as Hüseyin Bosna, then Bosna was crossed out and corrected to Divane. The same happened with an *azab*: the second part of the name Mahmud Abdullah was corrected to Divane.<sup>2</sup> Such cases appear in registers from both centuries. They indicate that this military unit also included people of Balkan origin, who, however, had one feature in common which the scribe considered important enough to mention—more important than indicating conversion or naming the country of origin.

Anybody who has taken the trouble to ponder this fifth-rate question at all must have been forced to make guesses, as there are no clues besides the pure existence and meaning of the word. According to one opinion, the clue lies in the religious content. Lajos Fekete, when classifying the complements of personal names, listed Divane among those that were religious in content.<sup>3</sup> On the basis of this, Claudia Römer considers it possible that the soldiers whose second name was Divane belonged to some sort of religious—*sufi*—community.<sup>4</sup> The other interpretation was offered by Josef Matuz, who found 13 *sipahis* with Divane as their second name among the *timar* holders of the *sancak* of Istolni Belgrad. He, insisting on the ‘mad’ meaning of the word, thought it worth considering that Divanes might be identical with *delis*. The name of the *delis*, cavalrymen who appeared at the turn of the 15th–16th centuries serving in the company of the Balkan *beylerbeyis* and the *sancakbeyis* along the borders, means ‘mad’ as well, although it is used in the sense of ‘insanely brave, or bold’. Josef Matuz suspected that a *deli* who performed outstandingly well in a battle might have received a *timar*, and as a landlord he was called *Divane*.<sup>5</sup>

1 ÖNB Mxt 561, pp. 56–58.

2 ÖNB Mxt 642, pp. 286, 288.

3 Lajos Fekete, ‘Beiname (laqab), Personennamen (isim) und Apposition (na’t) in den Ofner Muqata’a-Deftern’, *Acta Orientalia* 15 (1962 Supplement) 102.

4 Römer, *Osmanische Festungsbesatzungen*, 43.

5 Josef Matuz, *Die Steuerkonskription des Sandschaks Stuhlweissenburg aus den Jahren 1563*



I myself cannot provide a certain explanation of the word: what I can offer is yet another solution, based on a wider range of material than that used by my predecessors.

The pay list of 1554,<sup>1</sup> in which the scribe recorded the place of origin and the closest relatives of 3,412 soldiers, enables the thorough investigation of 96 soldiers who had Divane as their second name. Although we are still in the 16th century, the suggestion that they belonged to a certain religious community is brought into doubt by the fact that of the 21 Divanes whose families' religion is recorded, 11 were born into Muslim and 10 into Christian families, and these latter families remained Christian. It is true that those called Divane had already converted, and could, theoretically, be part of *sufi* communities. It is, however, highly unlikely that such a community would have accepted a converted Gypsy as a member:<sup>2</sup> in 1619 among the *müstahfiz* defending the New Gate at İstolni Belgrad there served a Şaban Divane who was a Gypsy (*çingane*).<sup>3</sup> And this brings us to the 17th century, when in the *martolos* units of various fortresses there are many men with Christian, Slav names and with Divane as their second name:<sup>4</sup> those who were called Nikola, Vukmir, Mirko or Janko Divanes could hardly be suspected of being members of Muslim religious communities.

As more and more Divanes appeared among fortress soldiers it is unlikely that they would really be *delis* rewarded with *timars*; on the contrary, for a cavalryman who served for good wages in the retinue of a commander to become a fortress soldier with far less pay would surely have been degrading.

The soldiers with Divane as their second name in the pay list of 1554 confirm the belief that they must have come from the Balkans. Only two of the 96 Divanes did not: one Anatolian and one Persian soldier, the other 94 are all of Balkan origin.<sup>5</sup> Investigating them district by district produces interesting results (for the territories and how they were drawn up see in Chapter 'The origins and religions of soldiers'). Most Divanes came from the section of the Lower Danube between Vidin and the delta and from Bulgaria; 11.4% of soldiers coming from along the Danube and 12.4% of those from Bulgaria bore the given name Divane (considering the two territories as one, Bulgaria, the proportion is

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*bis* 1565. Berlin, 1986, 35–36.

1 Berlin, Ms. Or. Fol. 432.

2 In larger settlements Gypsies converted en masse; this, however, did not save them from having to pay half of the *cizye* (state tax), which was levied on non-Muslims, and from continuing to be registered as Gypsies.

3 BOA MAD 7320, p. 110.

4 BOA MAD 3370, 3729, 4000, 7320, 6188. ÖNB Mxt 610.

5 My impression is that the whole *Divane*-phenomenon was only important in the Western part of the empire; while the majority of the cavalry in Hungarian fortresses were Divanes, in the registers of paid cavalry of the Porte from 1578–1579 I did not find a single bearer of that name. *Osmanski izvori za islamizacionnitate procesi na Balkanite XVI–XIX v.* Ed. by M. Kalicin–A. Velkov–Evg. Radushev. Sofia, 1990, 43–77.

12.2%).<sup>1</sup> They represent a fairly high proportion, 5–6%, among those who came from Thrace, Macedonia and Northern Greece. On the other hand, there are barely any Divanes to be found among those born in the territories which supplied the greatest bulk of soldier replacements: 2.7% of Serbians, 2.2% of those coming from the region between the Drava and the Sava rivers, 1.2% of Bosnians and 2.1% of Herzegovinians had Divane as their second name. It is the latter two ethnic groups that are surprising: if the name carried any religious significance, the name Divane should have been especially popular among them as the Bosnians and Herzegovinians were the keenest to convert to Islam and integrate into the Ottoman system.

We can refine the picture further if we focus specifically on the Divanes from Serbia and the region between the Drava and the Sava. There are 37 such men, 20 from the fortresses along the Danube between Belgrade and Vidin and from the surrounding villages, while only three came from inner Serbia. 12 Divanes joined from the Sirem and Pojega *sancaks*.

I suspect this territorial aspect of being the underlying reason why one soldier and not another was called Divane. Bulgaria, Thrace, Macedonia and Northern Greece differed from the North-Western parts of the peninsula in two essential aspects: as these territories were conquered early, most Anatolian settlers arrived here, and it was here that the first and most permanent military-peasant organizations providing the army with auxiliary services were established, mainly that of the *voynuks*. The *voynuks*, who in peacetime tended the sultan's stables but in wartime performed actual military duties or tasks required by the army, lived in large numbers in the wide stretch of Northern Bulgaria; in other parts of the peninsula they appear only in smaller numbers, and there is no trace of them at all in Bosnia. Most of them were Christians, but there were a few Muslim and gypsy *voynuks*.<sup>2</sup> Along the stretch of the Danube between Belgrade and Vidin and in the territories to the south of this the *voynuk* and *eflak* military peasants mixed, and the region between the Drava and Sava was heavily populated by people with *eflak* legal status in the 16th century.

The territorial distribution of the 94 Balkan Divanes in the pay list of 1554

1 The 1557–1558 pay list sheds light on the place of origin of 15 Divanes; although the numbers are too small to provide definitive answers, it is telling that 6 of the 15 were born in Bulgaria. ÖNB Mxt 614. It is also an interesting detail that in 1608 among the *müstahfizes* and cavalry of İstolni Belgrad several Tatars served, among them three with the second name Divane (ÖNB Mxt 620, pp. 2–3, 6), and there were always Divanes among the Tatar horsemen in Pest: in 1628–1629 12 of the 73 men (ÖNB Mxt 610, pp. 12–14). It is not known if the Tatar troops were from the Crimean Khanate or were Dobrujan Tatars; I believe them to have been Dobrujan, which, if correct, points yet again towards the Lower Danube and Bulgaria.

2 Yavuz Ercan, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bulgarlar ve Voynuklar*. Ankara, 1986, 42–43. The map included at the end of the volume shows how the organisation was distributed across the peninsula.

corresponds exactly to the *voynuks* and the North-Balkan *eflaks*. I believe those fortress soldiers whose second name was Divane were earlier members of military-peasant organizations, primarily *voynuk*, less frequently *eflak* or family members of registered military-peasant families. They did not desert (though there were numerous such cases) but left the organization with the agreement of the authorities, and enrolled as paid members of fortress garrisons. In order to do this, in the 16th century they needed to convert to Islam; in the 17th even that was not necessary. If this was so, the Divanes who appear with increasing frequency among *sipahis* with *timars* must have been promoted from the ranks of fortress soldiers. This career path fits in with the general finding that the tax-paying *reaya* were able to make their way into the prebend holding class which, in theory, was completely beyond their reach.

The supposition that the Divanes were probably mostly *voynuks*, or less frequently *eflaks* who had joined fortress garrisons, is supported by studies carried out from other points of view as well. It is among the cavalry serving in Ottoman fortresses in Hungary in the mid-16th century that we find an increasing number of Divanes: among the *gönüllüs* and *farises*. In the infantry there were only a few among the *müstafizes* and *azabs* (in all the fortresses of the Buda *vilayet* I have only found 6 artillerymen with Divane as their second name in the 16th century). Their service as mounted troops points yet again in the direction of the *voynuks*, whose duties in the state stables turned them into horsemen. A relevant conclusion from the pay list of 1554 is that the 23 Divanes from Bulgaria, whom I suspect of being ex-*voynuks*, with two exceptions served as cavalrymen in Hungarian fortresses: while 19 men, the majority of the 37 Divanes, from Northern Serbia and the region between the Sava and the Drava, whom I rather suspect of being *eflaks*, joined as infantry.

I have found no evidence to support this hypothesis in the register of *voynuks*, or in the legal regulations about them or in the orders of the imperial council, so all this is no more than conjecture. On the other hand I have no doubt that the soldiers with Divane as their second name are of Balkan origin as well.

All that has been written about the Divanes is only valid up to the 1580s, as at that point the scribes ceased to follow the uniform practice for naming the fortress soldiers of Balkan origin. The new Muslims remained bin Abdullahs, but the Balkan settlement and ethnic names, on the other hand, disappeared; only Bosna survived, and at the same time Divanes appeared everywhere. In 1543 the 241 men of certain Balkan origin among the 665 members of the Buda *gönüllüs* were distributed in the following way: there were 105 bin Abdullahs, 91 bore a great variety of Balkan settlement and ethnic names, and 45 bore the second name Di-

vane.<sup>1</sup> Within about a hundred years, in 1631, of the 327 *gönüllüs* 130 can be said to be of Balkan origin, there were 49 Abdullaḥs, 6 Bosnas (this is the only geographical name that appears), and 75 had Divane as their second name.<sup>2</sup> In 1543, among the 2,166 men stationed in the Estergon group of fortresses 1,307 can be considered to be of Balkan origin on the basis of their names, in the following distribution: there were 508 bin Abdullaḥs, 75 had a variety of Balkan settlement and ethnic names, 47 were Divanes, and 677 were Balkan Christians.<sup>3</sup> In 1619 the soldiers numbered 1,101; 541 can be considered of Balkan origin, of those 198 were Abdullaḥs, 42 Bosnas, 234 Divanes and 67 Christians.<sup>4</sup> The distribution was the same for the Temseṣvar *vilayet*: the last list of the garrison of the fortress of Haram drafted before 1621 contains 78 soldiers, almost half of those, 34, were Divanes (20 Muslims, 14 Christians).<sup>5</sup>

All this indicates a complete change in the way names were used. The scribes no longer indicated if the soldier was, say, from the area around Mostar or Niš. Bosnians were more or less registered as such, the others were made into Divanes. By that time the latter name only indicated that its bearer was of Balkan origin. This change happened at the same time as the Balkan military-peasant organizations were losing their earlier importance.

In the Ottoman pay lists in Hungary another second name, Branik, appears in the 16th century and becomes widespread at the beginning of the 17th century, just like Divane; it also identifies soldiers as being of Balkan origin. Velkov and Radushev, who published the 1549 pay list of the fortresses of the Buda *vilayet*, believed it to be the name of a settlement, and tentatively identified it as Brvenik, located in the *sancak* of İzvornik (Zvornik).<sup>6</sup> There is a more obvious explanation: the word *branik* means ‘soldier’ or ‘defender’ in Bulgarian, Serbian and Croatian (in fact it is a synonym of *voynik/voynuk*). In the military registers of the 16th century it occasionally appears among the *martoloses*, naturally as the second name of Christians. In the next century the word comes up more and more often. In the 1630s a significant part of the defenders in the fortresses of the Temseṣvar *vilayet* were Balkan Christians, many of them Braniks; in 1633 the majority of *martoloses* and bridge-builders in Temseṣvar bore this name, and during the next three years there were plenty of them among the cavalry and *martoloses* of the surrounding fortresses.<sup>7</sup>

1 ÖNB Mxt 566, pp. 20–31.

2 ÖNB Mxt 621, pp. 29–38.

3 ÖNB Mxt 566, pp. 83–142, and Mxt. 592. pp. 1–2.

4 BOA MAD 7320, pp. 51–85.

5 BOA MAD 3729, pp. 130–132.

6 Velkov–Radushev, *Ottoman Garrisons*, 539. The uncertainty of the authors is justified as the two words were written differently: in the word Branik there is the letter *he* in the middle, in Brvenik we find a *vav*.

7 ÖNB Mxt 619, pp. 18–20, Mxt 641, pp. 7–8, 12, 15–16, 21.

It is also possible to get an idea of the organisational framework from the 17th century registers. In the pay list of the fortresses of the Temeşvar *vilayet* drafted around 1621 in the fortress of Modava (Hu. Moldova), among the captains of the *azabs*, a certain Stepan Branik appears without any indication of his rank. However, he must have been a person of some importance as his daily pay of 25 *akçes* equalled that of the captain of the unit. In the fortress of Beçkerek (Hu. Becskerek), the last of the officers of the *müstahfizes* was called Sefer, and one of the officers commanding the cavalry was Nikola, both of them were *ağas* of the Braniks.<sup>1</sup> Finally the last unit of the garrison of Virşiç (Hu. Versec) was a troop of 49 cavalrymen (*faris*), which consisted entirely of Balkan Christians, including both its officers, and almost all of them had Branik as their second name.<sup>2</sup>

We can find examples in other places and at other times among officers of the fortress garrisons in Ottoman Hungary who do not have subordinates among the defenders of the fortresses (such are the peasant-soldiers known as *harami* and the leaders of the peasant-*martoloses*). In such cases only the commander was paid; his subordinates took part in the defence of the fortress and its surroundings not for pay but in return for exemption from taxation. Here again we encounter peasant-military organisations. The increasing numbers of Braniks, the majority of Christian Balkan 'fighters', remained irregular peasant soldiers, some of them, however, were promoted to the status of paid garrison soldiers, and these, as shown by the example of Virşiç, occasionally formed their own unit.

The majority of the names in the pay lists only allow us to consider the sons of Abdullah, soldiers bearing geographical or ethnic names, men with Divane as their second name and orthodox Christians (including Braniks) as people of Balkan origin; they constituted 30–80%, most often about half of the defenders of fortresses. Luckily, in some pay lists the exact places of origin were indicated, and this shows that a good 90% of the Ottoman garrison soldiers in Hungary were of Balkan origin (this is discussed in detail in Chapter 'The origins and religions of soldiers').

There is another important investigation that can be based on the pay lists, and that concerns the movement of soldiers. They were registered in squads, and a given person was always written down in the same position by the scribes. If, let us say, Hasan Mustafa, Estergon cavalryman, began service as the fifth soldier of the sixth squad of the second *ağalık*, we always find him in this place, as long as he remained in the fortress. This consistency enables us to quantify with absolute certainty the movement and changes of personnel based on the sub-

1 BOA MAD 3729, pp. 74–75, 128.

2 Ibid., 107–108.

sequent registers (this is what I do in the Chapter entitled ‘The mobility of fortress soldiers’ below).

As I indicated earlier, names are less and less worth investigating in the 17th century, as the scribes registered an increasing number of soldiers with only one name, their given name, and this only tells us whether they were Muslim or Christian.

### Roll-call signs

Roll-call signs are not as simple as they first seem. Presence was indicated with the free-standing *mim* letter of the Arabic alphabet; this stood for *mevcud*, meaning ‘present’. From the point of view of the treasury, however, *mim* did not indicate the soldiers in service and present at the roll-call, but the sums to be paid. Those recently enrolled recruits who were still waiting for their letter of appointment (*berat*) and for registration (*kayd*) in the *defter*, were not entitled to pay, so even if they were present in the fortress the *mim* was not written above their names.<sup>1</sup> Those soldiers, on the other hand, who had been transferred, and were therefore actually present somewhere else, received their *mim* in their original post as well, as they were entitled to their pay for all the days completed in service. Among the officers of the garrison of Novigrad (Hu. Nógrád), the *imam* and the *müezzín* of the mosque were also regularly registered as state employees on daily wages. As a final entry it was noted that ‘for the price of candle and rush one *akçe* per day’ was due, and above this the scribe entered the *mim* sign:<sup>2</sup> this is not about a soldier being present, but refers to an item of material expenses. From this it is obvious that the soldiers who had received the roll-call sign of presence also received the sign of payment under their names, and that their number per squad is equivalent to the number of people registered by the scribe. Everything seems to suggest that the treasury did not register individuals but sums to be paid. This works in the other direction as well: the fee for the letter of appointment was paid by the soldier, and sometimes the scribe recorded the fact that it was paid not with the generally used *resid* sign (to be discussed later), but with a *mim* sign:<sup>3</sup> in this case it was an acknowledgement of payment.

However, it would be mistaken to believe that this explanation clears up the questions surrounding the roll-call sign, because the system was only as clear and consistent as this in the first two decades; by the end of the 1550s contradictions were rife. In 1558–1559 no roll-call signs were put beside the accessories of

1 This procedure can be found in many pay lists: it is especially clear in the years 1558–1559 (ÖNB Mxt 633), where next to the newly recruited men the word ‘new’ (*cedid*) was written.

2 1549: ÖNB Mxt 562, p. 69, 1557–1558: Mxt 614, p. 94. This strange procedure was not abandoned even in the 17th century: for example in Hamzabey sarayı (Hu. Érd) and Baya (Baja): BOA MAD 4000, pp. 121, 461.

3 ÖNB Mxt 561, p. 82.

the Novigrad mosque.<sup>1</sup> In the pay list of 1569<sup>2</sup> even those soldiers received the *mim* who as new recruits were still waiting for their letter of appointment (and according to the treasury disbursement record for the same time did not receive any pay): the roll-call sign for presence was indeed beginning to indicate actual presence.

The absence of a soldier was indicated with various signs. The interpretation and meaning of the free-standing letter *lam* of the Arabic alphabet is obvious: it is short for *mahlul* meaning ‘vacant’,<sup>3</sup> and it means that at the time of the roll-call the post that earlier had a registered occupant had fallen vacant: it could and had to be filled in. In my interpretation the large numbers of *lam* signs in the first pay lists mean that many of the soldiers sent into the original garrisons did not start their military service there: they did not even arrive at the fortresses, as they were immediately redirected somewhere else. Later on *lam* was not used so often, and vacancies that had not been filled for a long time were called ‘old vacancies’ (*mahlul-i kadim*).<sup>4</sup>

The sign indicating absence in later registers is the free-standing, elongated *cim/ha* letter of the Arabic alphabet, usually without a dot, very rarely with a dot above it. Paleographic reference books suggest several explanations for the abbreviation, but none can be applied to pay lists. Nor could Velkov and Radushev, who published the list of 1549, give an explanation for the sign either: the only thing they too regarded as certain was that it indicated absence. There are several possible explanations. First of all, the most common meaning of the letter *ha* with a dot is the word *hali*, or ‘empty’, however, we can disregard this, as the lists use *mahlul* for this purpose. In pay lists the word *hali* can be excluded also because quite often both *lam* and *ha* were written above the name of the missing soldier,<sup>5</sup> so the latter must have indicated something more than mere vacancy. Of the other possible explanations I consider the abbreviation of *fesh* meaning ‘cancelled, invalidated, void’ the most probable, but it is by no means certain. However, it is not so much finding the origin of the sign as understanding its content that is important. This roll-call sign is the opposite of *mim*. It can mean the absence of the soldier, but most often it means that he is not entitled to be paid by the treasury. I would only mention two characteristic examples. According to the pay list of 1556–1557 Kurd Daud was enrolled in the last squad of

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1 ÖNB Mxt 633, p. 123.

2 ÖNB Mxt 642.

3 The interpretation is confirmed not only by the agreement of experts, but above all because the pay lists themselves sometimes use the whole word, rather than just the abbreviation, e.g. ÖNB Mxt 550, the register of the garrison of Kalaça (Hu. Kalocsa), 1543.

4 E.g. ÖNB Mxt 568, p. 53. Mxt 614, p. 199.

5 This is what the scribe did in the fortresses of the Segedin *sancak*: ÖNB Mxt 578, and in 1569: Mxt 642, pp. 174, 185.

the *azabs* in Segedin, and at the roll-call received the sign of absence,<sup>1</sup> while in the list for the following year he was present:<sup>2</sup> it is certain that he was in service when he was given the sign of absence, as a recruit; however, he did not yet receive pay (later pay lists provide many such cases). In 1557 the *mim* sign of presence was written above the entire unit of the Kapošvar (Hu. Kaposvár) *azabs*; all the *azab ağalık* newly transferred from Senmartin (Hu. Szentmárton), on the other hand, received the sign of absence.<sup>3</sup> Whole troops were given roll-call signs only in special cases; here the different signs indicated that the pay of the old *azabs* of Kapošvar was calculated together with that of the other troops, while the newly transferred men, irrespective of the fact that they had arrived and were present, were still paid as part of Senmartin garrison. The *ha* sign of absence was the opposite of *mim* in other respects too: just as the payment of the fee for the letter of appointment was sometimes acknowledged with *mim*, the failure to pay, the debt incurred by the soldier, was sometimes indicated with this sign of absence.<sup>4</sup>

Three dots in a triangular shape written above the name was a rarely used roll-call sign, which was considered by Lajos Fekete as another sign of absence.<sup>5</sup> As it can only be identified in a few cases I could not decode its meaning; however, I am certain that it did not indicate absence. In two successive quarters of 1545 the register of the Segedin cavalry survived.<sup>6</sup> On both lists eleven soldiers had the three dots above them but at both times they were included in the numbers of the squads and they were all paid. There was something wrong with them, however, because in the first quarter new people were registered instead of each of them, and then in the next one the replacements disappeared, and the original eleven names were registered once more, again with dots. In 1549 the three dotted cavalymen from Hatvan were also present according to both the local and the final list, and received pay.<sup>7</sup> In 1558–1559 two soldiers in Buda and five in Pest were marked with the sign; they too were all in service and received pay (what is more, the Pest soldiers were roll-called twice and they were not absent either time).<sup>8</sup> In the cases of the Hatvan, Buda and Pest soldiers no problems were indicated on the lists: these dots were awarded to soldiers who were found in order in the roll-call and were entitled for pay. Thus, I cannot give a clear explanation for these marks.

The signs mentioned so far were written above the names. If payment was

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1 ÖNB Mxt 578, p. 53.

2 ÖNB Mxt 614, p. 212.

3 Ibid., 199–200.

4 ÖNB Mxt 561, pp. 44, 58.

5 Fekete, *Die Siyāqat-Schrift*, 97.

6 ÖNB Mxt 561, pp. 10–12.

7 ÖNB Mxt 592, pp. 90–91. Mxt 562, pp. 124–125.

8 ÖNB Mxt 633, pp. 6, 20, 27, 29, 34, 35.



also registered on the list, the scribes drew two short, parallel slanting lines under the names, or used letters to write a word whose stylised form is a double line. This is the word *resid*, which could have several meanings in financial transactions.<sup>1</sup> In pay lists it was used to register payment, indicating that the soldier received his pay; if for some reason such as external service, leave or illness he could not collect his pay in person, next to his *resid* they wrote the name of the person from whom he would receive it, for example from the *ağa* (*an yed-i ağa*). The use of two lines or more often the words written out in full (*resmi resid*) also indicated that the soldier had paid the fee for his letter of appointment.

### Annotations

One of the great assets of the lists is that besides names and roll-call signs various events, changes and other facts were noted on them, which, according to their subject, can be divided into clear-cut groups. As has been mentioned earlier, there is a great difference between the annotations of the 16th and 17th centuries in terms both of numbers and of content. In the 17th-century pay lists the number of annotations concerning payment had become the overwhelming majority; personnel changes, and events affecting the soldiers' service were increasingly neglected. This is the reason why mainly 16th century examples will be used below.

#### *a) Justifying the outcome of the roll-call*

Notes of this kind differ. For example: an Estergon cavalryman called Turgud Divane "said during roll-call that his name is Toğrul; let it be investigated and if his identity be proved, let him receive his pay";<sup>2</sup> "he is said to have gone to the Porte with Veli Bey's *kethüda*";<sup>3</sup> "on the orders of his highness the *paşa*, he has been confirmed in his own post in the *defter* of Buda";<sup>4</sup> "the *ağa* and the *kethüda* claimed that he was ill";<sup>5</sup> "now he is present, but at the time of the roll-call of the *defterdar* he stayed at home";<sup>6</sup> "as his *ağa* reported that he does not perform his duty the roll-call has not confirmed him, cancelled"<sup>7</sup> and so on.

#### *b) Annotations referring to appointments*

Pay lists rarely mention those who recommended new recruits, and the ones that do are the earliest ones: 'he was proposed for appointment on the basis of the letter of the *sancakbeyi*', the Danube commander and so on (*ber muceb-i*

1 Ferit Devellioğlu, *Osmanlıca-Türkçe Ansiklopedik Lugat*. 11. Baskı. Ankara, 1993, 887.

2 ÖNB Mxt 562, p. 96.

3 Ibid., 95.

4 ÖNB Mxt 614, p. 52.

5 ÖNB Mxt 633, p. 170.

6 ÖNB Mxt 562, p. 126.

7 Ibid., 136.

*mektub-i mirliva / kapudan-i nehr-i Tuna*). The proposal to the Porte, the *arz*, is mentioned more often: ‘the proposal has been sent’, ‘it is at the Porte’, ‘the proposal has been sent to the Porte, but has been rejected’, ‘the proposal has been sent again’, (*arz gitmişti, arzı kapuda, arzı bab-i saadete varup buyurulmadı, tecdid-i arz firistade bud*); occasionally the person who made the proposal, the *paşa* of Buda, appears (*ber muceb-i arz-i hazret-i paşa*). Of the odious procedure of appointment, which often dragged on for months, only the stage that the case had reached at the time of the roll-call appeared in the pay list; the procedure itself can be traced through recommendations, proposals and appointments.<sup>1</sup>

Of the procedure of appointment, pay lists most often mention the letter of appointment, the *berat*, and its fee, the *resm-i berat*, *resm* in short: the soldier ‘has not yet got a *berat*’ (*bi berat*), ‘his *berat* is with the messenger, it is being dealt with’ (*beratı der havale / havalede*<sup>2</sup>), ‘his *berat* is being renewed’ (*tecdid-i berat, tecdid* in short), ‘his *berat* fee has been paid up’ (*resm resid*), ‘the fee has not been paid yet’ (*resm baki*). Moreover, the amount of the fee was often entered into the list.

### c) Annotations referring to pay

Most often these refer to the following: calculating pay; for new soldiers the first day of pay (*an ..., fi..., ibtida şud fi...*); something unusual: he has already collected his pay, he does not receive any now, he has not collected his pay, now he receives double (*kita 2*); someone else collected his pay (e.g. the heir of a dead soldier); a new person’s daily pay is more or less than his predecessor’s; in the latter case whoever gave orders for this (*ber muceb-i mektub-i mirliva*). This group includes notes according to which the soldier did not receive his pay in his own post, but it was added to the pay of an officer in his own or another fortress (e.g. a Solnok *azab ilhak şud be ulufe-i ağa-i azeban-i parkan-i Senmik-loş*).<sup>3</sup> Pay rises were carefully entered (*terakki*), and those not-so-simple cases when the wages of newly recruited soldiers were paid from sums allocated to a post that had been vacant for a long time. In 1554, a new *ağa* was appointed to

1 Römer, *Osmanische Festungsbesatzungen*, and Schwarz, *Osmanische Sultansurkunden*.

2 The actual meaning and content of the word *havale* needs consideration in each case. The word on the one hand refers to the method of payment: the case when some of the soldiers in a fortress received their pay not from the central treasury but from the revenue of some local treasury, but the same word was also used to refer to the commissioner who carried the allocation and money back and forth (for these two terms, see Römer, *Osmanische Festungsbesatzungen*, 101). The person who appeared most frequently in pay lists was the messenger who carried the proposals and letters of appointment back and forth between the provincial fortresses and offices in the capital: the *berat* of the soldier is with the *havale*, which means his appointment is being dealt with; it happened more than once that the documents were lost by the *havale* (*havalede kayb*). The entry *beratı havalede* always refers to recruits (*cedid*).

3 ÖNB Mxt 614, p. 136. In this pay list there are many such cases, pp. 52, 63, 165, 192, 216 and so on.

lead the third squadron of the Solnok cavalry for the sum of 20 *akçes* a day, which was put together from the pay of four missing *azabs*: the scribe indicated this not only for the *ağa*, but also next to the names of the *azabs* marked with the sign of absence.<sup>1</sup> It was also noted that the money which remained from the vacant posts was used to cover the pay rise of several soldiers: in 1605 the daily pay of 9 *akçes* of a long-vacant Eğri *müstahfiz* was used to raise the pay of eight of his comrades.<sup>2</sup> If someone, usually an officer of high rank, served not for a salary but for income from a *timar*, under his name in the place of his daily pay the note 'timariot' was written (*ba timar*, *ba timar-i hod*, *timar mutasarıfı*). Around the turn of the century the number of notes indicating which revenues of the treasury were used to pay individual soldiers increased.

*d) Annotations concerning external service, leave and journeys home*

We have no reason to suppose that participation in the sultan's campaigns would not have been consistently recorded in the pay lists which were drawn up with such care, indeed with extra care in the first decades. It transpires from the entries that fortress soldiers were only rarely ordered to join the imperial armies and only in small numbers. (It was an extraordinary case when in 1616 twenty of the soldiers guarding Sigetvar (Hu. Szigetvár) and Süleyman's *türbe* had to go far away to the Black Sea on campaign, but of this we are informed not in the pay lists but in the accounts of the treasury of Kanija.<sup>3</sup>) If the fortress soldiers were commanded to join a campaign, the fortress whose siege they participated in or whatever other military operation-related service they were sent on was registered in the *defter*. In 1543, 29 *müstafizes* and 4 artillerymen from Buda took part in the Esterгон campaign (*der Estergon*), from Pest 10 *azabs* were sent to a *çavuş* (*çavuşla hizmette*), 44 *martoloses* to the warships (*der hizmet-i kalyonan*), and 10 more for service under the *paşa* (*der hizmet-i paşa*) (this is, only 2.5% of the 3,730 soldiers present in the two garrisons).<sup>4</sup> It was equally clearly registered that in 1544 18 Esterгон *martoloses* were sent to the Danube commander, the *kapudan* (*der hizmet-i kapudan*, *der şayka-i kapudan*).<sup>5</sup> Often the external service of soldiers on errands for the fortress was precisely defined. In 1543 several cavalrymen from İstolni Belgrad, who organised the victualling of the new garrison, were sent on the most various missions outside the fortress: a sizeable group looked after the stocks of mutton, a smaller one looked after hay (*der hizmet-i koyun*, and *otluk*, *der koyun/otluk* in short).<sup>6</sup> In 1569 twenty men

1 Berlin, Ms. Or. Fol. 432, pp. 75, 79–80.

2 BOA Tapu 704, p. 18.

3 BOA Kepeci 1905, p. 12.

4 ÖNB Mxt 566, pp. 1–82.

5 ÖNB Mxt 568, pp. 45–60.

6 ÖNB Mxt 550, pp. 14–34.

from Sigetvar were sent to Buda for gunpowder (*be hizmet-i barut-i siyah reft be kale-i Budun*).<sup>1</sup> Quite often the pay list only mentions some service that is not precisely identified, maybe service for the treasury (*der hizmet, der hizmet-i miri, be hizmet reft*),<sup>2</sup> which was sometimes ordered by the *paşa* of Buda (*ber muceb-i tezkere-i hazret-i Kasım Paşa mirmiran-i vilayet-i Budin*).<sup>3</sup> If the soldier was outside the fortress when the roll-call took place, the reason for his absence was registered above his name, then his return was written in (*amed*), and his pay was allocated.

The absence of soldiers on raids was not recorded on the list: this external service was obviously part of regular duties.

The other soldiers outside the fortresses had not been collectively commanded to proceed to a different place; rather, they were away on their private or public affairs as individuals. They quite often travelled to the Porte on unknown business (*be dergâh-i ali reft, bab-i saadete gitti*), occasionally with the permission of the *paşa* of Buda (*be takrir-i hazret-i paşa*).<sup>4</sup> They might have had business with all kinds of local magnates and offices, so for example one of the *ağas* of the Estergon *azabs* helped the *kadı* (*Estergon kadısına istihdam için tayin olundu*), a cavalryman from Hatvan entered the service of the Pest scribes (*Peşte kitabeti hizmetindedir*).<sup>5</sup> The general sign of leave granted for private affairs is the word *icazet*, meaning 'granted absence, leave'. Annotations about leave begin with the words 'absent with permission' (*der icazet, icazetile gitti*), and often they leave it at that; in other cases, however, they indicate the beginning of the absence (*an...*), or who granted permission (e.g., the *ağa*). If a soldier got time off, the duration of the leave was entered, e.g. "the above mentioned went home for three months, returned in the fourth month, this was registered" (*mezbur üç ay vadetile sılaya gidip dördüncü ayda gelmesi işaret olundu*).<sup>6</sup> The majority of the soldiers on leave travelled home (*sıla, der sıla, be sıla reft, sılaya reft, sılasına gitmiştir*). Very occasionally, the reason for the journey was also noted in the *defter*: "he was away harvesting grapes in Semendire, for this time he should not be paid" (*bağın bozmak için Semendirede iki buçuk ay eğlenmeğin bu miktar ulufesi verilmeye*).<sup>7</sup> It sometimes happened that several people were granted leave with the same day of return, so on November 2, 1559 five of the soldiers of

1 ÖNB Mxt 642, pp. 182–194.

2 For example, in 1549 35 soldiers, including 24 shipbuilders 'did service for the treasury'. ÖNB Mxt 562, pp. 42–48.

3 ÖNB Mxt 562, p. 99.

4 ÖNB Mxt 562, pp. 4, 13, 23, 135 and so on.

5 Ibid., 101, 125.

6 ÖNB Mxt 633, p. 107. The text can also be understood to mean 'it has been registered that he must return by the fourth month', but here this is not the case: the soldier received the roll-call sign of presence and his pay.

7 ÖNB Mxt 562, p. 87.

Val (Hu. Vál), on November 26, four from Bespirim (Veszprém) were granted leave until February 5, 1560.<sup>1</sup> In all the lists I met two soldiers who, for devotional reasons, with the permission of the *paşa* of Buda, went on a long pilgrimage to Mecca; one of them, a cavalryman from Buda, left his brother in his place in the fortress to cover his long absence (*Kabe-i şerife icazet verildi, paşa hazretleri icazetile gidip, yerine karındaşı hizmet eder*).<sup>2</sup> Leave was granted by the *sancakbeyi*, his return was testified by the commanding officers, and certifying it also belonged to the field of authority of the *sancakbeyi*. The return of the soldier was registered with a 'returned' (*amed*) entry.

#### e) Personnel changes

These are the most numerous.<sup>3</sup> The shortest of these annotations are the ones which only mention the fact that the soldier died, left the fortress, or obtained another post. If no-one had yet been recruited for his post, the entry ended here; if there was a replacement, this person could be registered in the list in two different ways. If in the list the registered person was already the new soldier, the name of whoever he replaced, when it happened, and what had happened to the predecessor were all written *under* his name. (e.g. 'He replaced Hasan Mustafa who died': *be cay-i Hasan Mustafa ki müteveffa şud fi ...* ) This is rarer. If the list still contained the name of the soldier who had left the unit, his fate and then who replaced him and when were written *above* the name (e.g. 'He died and was replaced by Osman Hüseyin': *müteveffa şud be-cayeş Osman Hüseyin fi ...*). If the new man left the garrison too, the even newer man replacing him was registered above his name. This can be considered a general rule. Thus soldiers replacing each other were placed above each other, registering the newer ones from bottom to top. In the list of 1557–1558<sup>4</sup> there are several instances of the two methods; that is, writing both above and under names. I was, however, unable to explain even after the most thorough investigation of the dates of entry why the scribe put the names of some soldiers who were recruited during the year into the register, and wrote in their predecessors under their names, and why he registered the others above the names of their predecessors who had already left their unit. The personnel changes of the coming year were at times registered in this *defter*, just as in many others.

There were as many reasons for vacancies in posts as life could produce, so

1 ÖNB Mxt 633, pp. 203, 207–208, 212.

2 Ibid., 161. Mxt 642, p. 44.

3 Some of the notes written on the lists, primarily those which gave reasons for the vacancy of certain posts, coincided with the termini of proposals and appointments; many such cases were explained in Römer, *Osmanische Festungsbesatzungen*, 84–85, but a few were also listed by Fekete in *Die Siyâqat-Schrift*, 98.

4 ÖNB Mxt 614.

methods were developed whereby cases belonging to one category were given a certain recognized expression, whether their content was named or not. The formula ‘was given another post’ covers many possible changes that could take place in the life of a soldier, these, however, were rarely specified.

Some of the changes, especially in the first decade of Ottoman rule, were caused by transfers ordered in Istanbul or Buda, which might refer to whole units or only to individuals. The expression used was ‘withdrawn/transferred to ... fortress’ (*ihrac be kale-i...*). If the soldier remained in the fortress, and his pay was only added to some senior officer’s financial account in the local fortress or in another fortress, this was indicated with the note ‘added to ...’s pay’ (e.g. in 1557 three Korkmaz *martoloses ilhak şud ba ulufe-i dizdar-i Tata*);<sup>1</sup> however, I have rarely encountered such cases.

The first group of soldiers whose names ceased to appear were casualties of war or died natural deaths. Others had disappeared or been captured, or in more fortunate cases were wounded or sick. The categories of losses were often corrected. Especially after great raids, we meet cases where a soldier is first noted as missing or dead, but this is later corrected to captured, or the opposite happens, according to how the first uncertain reports were confirmed.

For dead men the following terms were used: *şehid*, *müteveffa/fevt*, *mürd*, with or without the auxiliary *şud*. The word *şehid* was used for soldiers who met a martyr’s death in holy wars. It would seem logical that in this war zone death from natural causes would be consistently distinguished from the term *şehid* but this is not the case: we rarely meet martyrs; the ordinary dead, on the other hand, often appear in the lists. It was not that war spared the garrisons of Ottoman fortresses, it was rather that the scribes did not bother to differentiate. In pay lists for successive years, when they both include entries about changes, the inconsistent use of the two verbs emerges clearly. In 1556–1557 two Filek (Hu. Füle) *azabs* were registered in the list as martyrs, the next year the same two appear as simply deceased.<sup>2</sup> The verbs *şehid* and *müteveffa* were the Muslims’ due, the deaths of Christian soldiers were recorded with the verb *mürd şud*; sometimes it was misapplied. Very rarely extraordinary deaths were mentioned. In the same year, over the name of a cavalryman from Siçen it was noted that he had died, and then the following was added: “the man whose leg was cut off in prison” (...*zindanında ayağı kesilen kimesnedir*); for a Solnok artilleryman they wrote: drowned (*gark şud*).<sup>3</sup>

A missing soldier received the entry *na-bedid*. He was not judged much better than a dead man: he was soon given up, and a replacement was arranged.

1 Ibid., 63.

2 ÖNB Mxt 578, pp. 21, 23, and Mxt 614, p. 118. For similar cases, see: ÖNB Mxt 614, p. 112 and Mxt 633, p. 153.

3 ÖNB Mxt 614, pp. 110, 131.

Occasionally it was even noted next to his name that he had left orphans—he was considered as deceased even if his death was not a known fact.

Above the names of those who had been captured the scribes wrote the word *giriftar*, or occasionally its Turkish synonym *tutsak*, meaning captive. The fortress authorities were slower to give up on captives than on the missing; they waited longer for them. Sometimes the dates of both their capture and their return were written next to their names, and from this we can see that sometimes their release was delayed for two months, for nine months, or sometimes for more than a year. In 1559 the vice-captain of Endrik, Hüseyin *kethüda* returned after such a long period of captivity that in the meantime there had been two replacements in his post. When he returned, he got his post back.<sup>1</sup> I found only one note which recorded that the second *ağa* of the Estergon *azabs* had received a loan of 5,000 *akçes* from the treasury to pay his ransom, of which he had already paid back 4,400, and still owed 600.<sup>2</sup> This case shows that the treasury helped to secure the release of important captives. Earlier, on the other hand, I mentioned that if a captive aroused suspicion, for example if he got back too soon from the enemy, instead of being helped he was dismissed from the garrison.

Notes about injury, illness or growing old rarely appear in the lists, the expressions for these are *mecruh* ‘injured’, *mariz* ‘ill’, *pir u na-tuvan* ‘old and feeble’. A vaguer expression is the *der hizmeteş kadir ne bude* ‘unfit for service’ entry, which does not give any reasons.

Beside the names of the next major group of soldiers leaving their posts is the expression ‘went to a new post’, ‘got another job’ or ‘became something’: *gedik-i ahar/ahar gedik*, *cihet-i ahar/ahar cihet* and so on, usually with the auxiliary *şud*, rarely *reft*. In a fraction of the cases the scribe named the new post as well, and occasionally we can identify the new posts in the pay lists of subsequent years. The vast majority of known cases record that the soldier remained in the fortress, but was promoted or was moved to another, possibly superior branch; became an officer, transferred from the infantry to the cavalry, or maybe did not even leave his squad but managed to obtain a recently vacated post with a daily pay of 7 *akçes* instead of 6. Less frequently he was transferred to another fortress, the note ‘other post’ in these cases probably meant that he was not sent to another fortress under orders, which would have been a transfer, *ihrac*, but that he himself asked to be moved. Naturally, those annotations which only name the post without specifying that it is new, belong into this group: the person became the captain of the fortress, an *ağa*, a corporal etc. (*dizdar*, *ağa*, *seroda şud*). Although we only know the precise meaning of a fraction of the

1 Ibid., 182. Mxt 633, p. 231.

2 ÖNB Mxt 626, p. 122.

countless *gedik-i ahar*-type entries, even these few cases are sufficient in number to indicate that the majority of those who changed their posts remained fortress soldiers paid by the state, and some of them probably continued to serve in the same location.

The last, and at the time of the conquest of Hungary the largest, group of men leaving the garrison either left the fortress deliberately, or were dismissed because of their conduct, or very occasionally because of incapacity. There were two possible ways to leave the garrison: the soldier might finish his term of service and resign from his post, or leave without notice. The term for the first procedure is ‘finished, resigned, voluntarily left’ (*farig şud, be ihtiyar-i hod feragat kerde*). This meant a peaceful, normal departure: the soldier was due his pay for his time in service. Usually the fate of those who resigned remains unknown, but a few cases lead us to suspect that often here too their posts were changed. In 1569 the fourth *ağa* of the Estergon *azabs* resigned, then reappeared as commander of the garrison of the water tower.<sup>1</sup>

Voluntary departure is termed *terk-i kale kerde*, ‘left the castle’, which appears so often that some scribes did not write out all three words, only the one meaning ‘leave’, *terk*; what is more, there were some who, just as with roll-call signs, only wrote above the *kef*, the last letter of the word. Variations on the expression are *terk-i parkan*, meaning ‘left the *parkan*’, and *terk-i hizmet*, meaning ‘left service’, and occasionally *terk-i dirlik*, ‘left his livelihood’. We never find any explanations next to these annotations. Only the comparison of cases in successive lists leads us to suspect that leaving the fortress did not always and only mean desertion, although in the majority of cases it did. In 1556–1557 the *ağa* of the Kalaça *martoloses*, for example, did not receive his income from pay, but from a *timar*; in the following list next to his name it was registered that he left the fortress;<sup>2</sup> he probably did not desert but worked his way up among the *sipahis*.

Deviant behaviour punishable by exclusion, in severe cases by prison sentence or by death, was expressed using four different terms, which can be divided into two pairs. A soldier refusing or neglecting service was *eda-i hizmet ne kerde*, ‘did not do his service’, or *heva-i hod bude*, ‘only deals with his own affairs, lives for his own pleasure’. Not once did I come across a more detailed explanation of these expressions in the pay lists. While these two terms referred simply to the passive misdemeanor of skipping duty, the other pair expressed active misbehaviour. Both the expressions *şenaat kerde/ehl-i şenaat*, and *ehl-i fesad/fesad kerde* refer to some crime committed, *şenaat* suggesting rather that the soldier is a common criminal, a rogue, while the word *fesad* included making

1 ÖNB Mxt 642, p. 105.

2 ÖNB Mxt 578, p. 60. Mxt 614, p. 216.



trouble, rebellion (in one single case I also met the note *cerime kerde*, ‘committed a crime’<sup>1</sup>). We only have four entries which shed light on what could have been considered a crime so serious as to result in immediate dismissal and a judge’s interference in the affairs of an Ottoman fortress. They all refer to major crimes: murder and robbery. Perhaps not surprisingly they were all committed by cavalrymen, the garrison soldiers who were least able to tolerate the regulations of the fortress. Maybe ‘troublemakers’ did not only murder and rob individually, but did indeed make pacts to commit crimes from time to time. The fact that the soldiers marked with the *ehl-i fesad* note committed their wicked deeds in small groups several times indicates this. Their presence, or rather the occurrence of a crime is referred to by another group of annotations: from time to time it was written next to the name of a soldier that he was in prison (e.g. *der habs-i mir-liva, mahbus der zindan-i Estergon*).

Some roll-call commissioners, it seems only the strict ones, declared somebody unfit, *na-mahal*, if they came across fraud (as we have seen, the term was not used if somebody was too old or ill). The trouble with the roll-call of fortress soldiers was that the officers tried to slip their domestic servants, or often youngsters, in among the soldiers, and strove to make the commissioner accept them, in order to be able to keep the pay of the missing soldiers. The sultan’s decrees ordering the roll-calls strictly forbade such fraud, but the prohibition was only successful if the commissioner did not let himself be bribed. It seems that this was rarely the case: only in one pay list, that of 1549<sup>2</sup> is the attempt to uncover fraud regularly visible. The roll-call found 17 minors in Estergon, and 6 in Segedin in 1544.<sup>3</sup> In the other lists such cases occur only occasionally. The notes next to being unfit for duty (*na-mahal*) also include the reason: ‘minor, small’ (*tifl, sagir, küçük*), ‘servant, servant boy’ (*hizmetkar, gulam, gulam-i sagir*).

#### f) Checking identity and personal descriptions

The name of a soldier only became a case worth mentioning if either his or his father’s name was dubious, it appeared badly written in the list, or the soldier himself had registered under another name: in such cases the identity became a question to clarify. I have already mentioned a few examples of these when describing the roll-calls and registers, as well as of how carefully scribes recorded if a soldier converted to Islam, and received a new name: e.g. Stojan Raduja, became a Muslim, his name is Ahmed Abdullah (*İstoyan Raduya muslim şud names/ismi Ahmed Abdullah*). Personal descriptions were also included in registers in order to ensure identity, but it is hard to say for whom. It would be logi-

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1 ÖNB Mxt 633, p. 125.

2 ÖNB Mxt 562.

3 ÖNB Mxt 568, pp. 11–30, Mxt 561, pp. 1–28.

cal to suppose that it was necessary for recruits, but this does not seem to be the case. Most descriptions are to be found in the pay lists of 1558–1559, whose scribe keenly registered all sorts of things about certain soldiers: their place of origin, personal descriptions, whether they were married, but wrote nothing at all about others. There does not seem to be any logic in what he writes or about which squad and soldier. Descriptions are kept short. Of the adjectival constructions of the most important features he only notes down the adjectives: ‘medium [built], black [haired], brown [faced? eyed?]’ (*vasat, siyah, çarde*), or ‘brown, has a moustache, long’ (*çarde, bıyıklı, diraz*). He is more informative when it comes to special attributes, using full sentences to describe them: “his upper lip on the right is scarred” (*sağ dudağı üstü yaralı*), “there is a scar on his left side” (*sol canibinde yara var*).<sup>1</sup>

*g) Notes on the soldiers’ place of origin and religion*

The simplest way for scribes to register place of origin or nationality, if they paid attention to this at all, was to note it down on the list as part of the name: either in the place of the patronymic (as I have mentioned already), or as a third name after the patronymic, for example Hudaverdi Abdullah Nemçe, that is Hudaverdi Abdullah from Nemçe (Nijemci in the *sancak* of Sirem), or Behram Yusuf Arnavud; that is, Albanian. We meet many such names: Bosnian, *Bosna* occurs frequently, either scattered here and there or applied to almost every soldier in a certain unit. Writing little personal notes according to a prescribed order next to several hundred soldiers, who I suspect were recruits, was however a task only undertaken by the scribes of two pay lists,<sup>2</sup> in which the soldier’s place of origin and closest relatives were included. A third such list provided this for every single soldier.<sup>3</sup> All the entries of the 1557–1558 list were made following this pattern: “he is from the town of Rogatica in the *sancak* of Bosna, has a brother called İskender” (*Bosna sancağında Rogatiça nam kasabadan olup İskender nam ulu karındaşı varmış*) or “he is from the ruined fortress of Dimitrofçe located in the *sancak* of Sirem, has no relatives at all” (*Sirem sancağında Dimitrofçe nam vi-ran kaleden olup katen akrabasından kimesnesi yok imiş*). If the personal data concerned a soldier who converted to Islam from Western Christianity, his nationality and his conversion to Islam were also noted in the record: “a Hungarian boy from the village of Ölved located in the *sancak* of Estergon, converted to Islam, has brothers called Orbán and Mihály” (*Estergon sancağında Ölved nam kariyeden olup Macar oğlanı iken islama gelip Orban ve Mihál nam karındaşları varmış*).<sup>4</sup> The scribe who compiled the following year’s list kept personal data

1 ÖNB Mxt 633, pp. 138, 140–141.

2 ÖNB Mxt 614, Mxt 633.

3 Berlin, Ms. Or. Fol. 432.

4 ÖNB Mxt 614, pp. 77–78.

shorter (similarly to the person scribbling only a few words for personal descriptions): “from the fortress of Dobri in Bosnia” (*an kale-i Dobri tabi-i Bosna*), “he is from the *sancak* of Herzegovina (Hersek), the village of Dabar, his brother is Hasan” (*an liva-i Hersek an kariye-i Dabar biraderes Hasan nam*).<sup>1</sup>

#### *h) Annotations on family status*

Unfortunately only a few enterprising scribes paid attention to family relations. As the treasury was interested in knowing whether there was a rightful heir, next to dead and missing soldiers it was quite often indicated whether they had left a son or heir behind (*yetimi var, ba eytam, varisi var*, rarely: *yetimi yok*). Wherever this was consistently recorded it becomes possible to examine the family status of the soldiers. Occasionally, the entries shed light on more, for example “his brother came and let us know he had no sons” (*evlad yoktur karındaşı gelip haber verdi*), “he has no-one” (*kimesnesi yoktur*).<sup>2</sup> Whether the soldier was married, and if so where the wife lived, was only registered in the pay list of one or two fortresses or units (*müteehhil der...*, rarely: *müzevvec der...*).

#### *i) Registering the financial enterprises of soldiers*

The treasury paid close attention to the registration of soldiers who were in any way involved in tax farming, because if they failed or embezzled, their debt was deducted from their pay. However, lists or fortresses where this was consistently recorded for entrepreneur soldiers are rarely found.<sup>3</sup> (Naturally participants were registered according to enterprises also,<sup>4</sup> but it would seem logical to register these on the pay lists too, because often they were not due pay – so logic does not come into it.) Entries on enterprises are short: they record if the soldier was a tax-farmer, *amil*, and often mention in which source of revenue, *mukataa* (*amil-i mukataa-i...*, *amil-i cisir-i Budun*, *amil-i Tolna*) he was involved, or if he was a guarantor, *kefil*; occasionally it is also mentioned for whom or for what he was a guarantor (*kefil-i Tolna*, *kefil-i Bekir kethüda*). The entrepreneurs sometimes received their roll-call signs and pay, sometimes they did not. If they did not, there were several possible reasons for this: either they were looking after their own financial affairs instead of doing service, or some debt was being deducted from their pay; in the latter case the word ‘debtor’ (*medyun*) was written

1 ÖNB Mxt 633, p. 97.

2 ÖNB Mxt 562, p. 54, Mxt 633, p. 130.

3 Such a case is that of 1569: ÖNB Mxt 642, that of 1573–1574: Mxt 626 and that of 1588–1589: Mxt 615.

4 For example, for three years beginning on March 11, 1563 one of the income groups of the *mukataa* of Vaç was farmed out to the vice-captain of Višegrad and the deputy of the head-gunner in the fortress; a common account was made of the guarantors of the tax-farm, 15 of whom were from Višegrad, one from Buda and 5 from Vaç, all soldiers, (ÖNB Mxt 588, p. 11), so they were not registered in their individual fortresses, but together.

above their name, or the case was described more precisely and at length: 'debtor of İbrahim *emin* of Peçuy'.

### When the pay lists were drawn up

The lists of the fortresses kept locally or in the headquarters of the *sancak* had to be continuously updated, which, as far as I can see, happened in the following way. Some time at the beginning of the year the scribes copied the register of the previous year, then they recorded the changes on it for a quarter, half or the whole year, and finally they sent it up to Buda. Most of the fair copies which survived in Buda cover a whole year. The *defter*, which has been mentioned before, and many sections of which were marked with the date of arrival of local copies, indicates a clear, simple arrangement.<sup>1</sup> The list includes the soldiers of the twenty-seven fortresses of the Buda *vilayet* and the changes that occurred among them in 966 (October 14, 1558–October 2, 1559); the local copies arrived in Buda in the first half of 967, mostly in the fifth month; presumably the fair copies were made here in the sixth month, because in order to pay the officials of the treasury needed to know by the end of this month how much was due to how many soldiers in which location. This was, perhaps, the proper official procedure which, however, was never fully observed, especially as time went on.

Without the date of arrival of the local copies, relying only on the fair copies of the pay lists, it is impossible to determine when they were drafted (except for a few fragments, it is beyond doubt which *year* they are about, because the year was written on them, or if not it becomes clear from the dates of annotations). The uncertainties concerning the fair copies are the result of inconsistencies in copying: sometimes the scribe wrote in the name of a soldier from one or two years earlier, sometimes the name of the one who was recruited in the next year(!), which can only be explained if the local copies already indicated the events of the coming year. There were even several cases when a soldier, who was only formally recruited in the second half of the following year, or maybe even at the end of it, was registered in the basic register of a given year, and not among personnel changes.<sup>2</sup> A possible reason for these strange cases could be that the authorities took an increasingly long time to issue letters of appointment, the *berats*, presumably in order to reduce expenditure by starting to pay people as late as possible. Thus there were numerous soldiers within the fortress, not yet entitled to pay, serving without wages, who were included in the pay lists, and who had the date of issue of the long-awaited *berat* registered as starting service above their names. I have tried to figure out when the fair copies

1 ÖNB Mxt 633.

2 Of an *azab* from Tata, Ali Bosna, who appeared in the register of 1557–1558, we learn from next year's list that he took up service towards the end of this year. ÖNB Mxt 614, p. 59 and Mxt 633, p. 54.

of several registers, without either the previous or later lists, were made. I have given up in every case, because the endless rows of dates copied out from them lacked any kind of logic. I only got as far as establishing that as the years went by the lists were drafted later and later and included an increasing number of contradictions.

### The number of soldiers based on the lists

The *mevacib defteris* are without doubt an excellent source about fortress soldiers, and richer than any other. However, even from these it is impossible to count up all the soldiers. The uncertainty is caused by the unique significance of roll-call signs; in the first decades the sign of presence was given not to serving soldiers, but to those who were entitled to receive pay, while those who were not entitled got the sign of absence. There are always a few names next to which the scribe wrote nothing, or only a sign of absence. I must consider those to whom these signs belonged absent, although some of them were presumably in the fortress; they merely had not received their pay yet. Later, most consistently in the pay list of 1569, next to the recruits we find it noted that the soldier is 'new, his letter of appointment is being drafted', and then the situation becomes clear.

The dubious cases of earlier lists can only be decided if the register of the garrisons from the following year has also survived. In such cases some of the soldiers bearing no sign or the sign of absence become 'present', while the others turn out to have indeed been missing. Unfortunately only three lists survive which were made in successive years, in 1556–1557, in 1557–1558, and in 1558–1559,<sup>1</sup> and even these do not include all the fortresses of the Buda *vilayet*. Comparison of the registers shows that the number of dubious cases which are resolved by the list of the following year is not large enough to invalidate any attempt at counting. A few cases will illustrate this. In 1556–1557, on the register of Filek the names of 322 soldiers were recorded, of whom with the help of the following year's list we can count 306 in service and 16 absent. Without the second list the number of missing people would be higher by 12. Of the 604 soldiers in Solnok 21, of the 230 defenders of Senmikloş there were 9 who should be considered missing without the list of the following year. In Segedin the treasury paid 294 soldiers, there were 279 present, without next year's list this number would be 16 lower. In other words, without the register of the following year we would mistakenly consider 5% of the soldiers in Filek, 3.5% in Solnok, 3.9% in Senmikloş, and 5.4% in Segedin as absent. Besides these three, all the other lists were written several years apart from each other; with them mistakes are inevitable. (The method of correction cannot be applied even when the lists are

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1 ÖNB Mxt 578, Mxt 614, Mxt 633.

only two years apart because of the rapid turnover of soldiers, especially in the first decade: in 1543 of the almost two regiments' worth of soldiers of the İstolni Belgrad *müstahfizes* and cavalrymen I only managed to filter out 9 soldiers marked with the sign of absence who were actually in service, with the help of a register drafted two years later;<sup>1</sup> this was because a substantial part of the garrison had changed in the meantime).

As a result of all this, the number of soldiers actually in service that we can calculate is always a few percent lower than the real number, but the nature of the sources makes this impossible to correct. A completely different aspect of the topic is the fact that registers only recorded the soldiers who served for pay (so all of the above refers only to them); those defenders who were paid from the income of a jointly used *timar* or from local revenues are missing from them, and have to be found in other sources.

Pay lists that have been researched (the majority of them are kept in Vienna [ÖNB], a smaller number in Istanbul [BOA]) in chronological order:

From the *vilayet* of Buda:

ÖNB Mxt 567: fortresses in Sirem, North Serbia and Bačka, 1541

Mxt 557: soldiery moved to Buda from fortresses located south of the Drava, 1541

Mxt 550: six fortresses in the *vilayet*, 1543

Mxt 566: four fortresses in the *vilayet*, 1543

Mxt 568: four fortresses in the *vilayet*, 1544

Mxt 583: four fortresses in the *vilayet* in various quarter years, 1544–1546

Mxt 558: İstolni Belgrad, 1545

Mxt 561: nine fortresses in the *vilayet* in various quarter years, 1545–1546

Mxt 562: eleven fortresses in the *vilayet*, 1549 (published by Velkov–Radushev)

Mxt 643: eighteen fortresses in the *vilayet*, 1552–1553

Berlin, Ms. or. fol. 432: eight fortresses in the *vilayet*, 1553–1554

Mxt 578: fourteen fortresses in the *vilayet*, 1556–1557

Mxt 614: all the fortresses belonging to the *vilayet*, 1557–1558

Mxt 633: twenty-seven fortresses in the *vilayet*, 1558–1559

Mxt 642: all the fortresses belonging to the *vilayet*, 1569–1570

Mxt 626: twenty-eight fortresses, 1573–1574

Mxt 615: twenty-seven fortresses, 1588–1589

Dresden, Eb. 355: fortresses in the *sancak* of İstolni Belgrad, 1592–1593

BOA MAD 5623: all the fortresses belonging to the *vilayet*, around 1607

ÖNB Mxt 620: the fortresses in the *sancak* of İstolni Belgrad, 1608

BOA MAD 4000: all the fortresses belonging to the *vilayet*, 1613

ÖNB Mxt 644: eight fortresses in the *vilayet*, 1613

1 ÖNB Mxt 550, pp. 1–11, 15–34, Mxt 558, pp. 2–10, 23–33.

BOA MAD 7320: all the fortresses belonging to the *vilayet*, 1618–1619

MAD 4843: the garrison of the recaptured Vaç, 1621

ÖNB Mxt 621: Buda, 1630–1631

BOA Kepeci 4736: the cavalry rescued from Segedin to İlok, 1686

Composite volumes:

ÖNB Mxt 592: the complete or partial soldiery of the eight fortresses in the *vilayet* between 1543 and 1560, as well as the fortress in Bekeş (*vilayet* of Temeşvar) in 1626–1627

Mxt 607: the complete or partial soldiery of the twenty-seven fortresses belonging to the *vilayet* between 1544–1631

Mxt 610: various units from Buda and Pest between 1552 and 1645, as well as the soldiers of Val from 1591–1592, and the defenders of Vaç from 1629–1632

BOA MAD 3370: fortresses of the *sancak* of Buda and Estergon, 1593–1599, as well as several later annotations.

From the *vilayet* of Temeşvar:

BOA MAD 77: the soldiery of Beçey, Beçkerek and Araç (Aracs), 1552

Egyetemi Könyvtár (Budapest), Kézirattár, Orient 8: all the fortresses belonging to the *vilayet*, 1591

BOA MAD 3729: all the fortresses belonging to the *vilayet*, around 1621

ÖNB Mxt 618: Temeşvar, 1631–1632

Mxt 619: Temeşvar, 1633–1634

Mxt 641: the *palankas* of the *vilayet*, 1634

Mxt 616: all the fortresses belonging to the *vilayet* (many pages missing), 1634.

From the *vilayet* of Eğri:

BOA MAD 16286: all the fortresses belonging to the *vilayet* (the Eğri part is incomplete), 1596–1597

BOA Tapu 704: all the fortresses belonging to the *vilayet* 1606–1607

From the *vilayet* of Kanija:

ÖNB Mxt 631: all the fortresses belonging to the *vilayet*, 1619

BOA MAD 7028: all the fortresses belonging to the *vilayet*, 1628

MAD 6188: Kanija, 1652–1653.

From the *vilayet* of Varad:

BOA MAD 2563: all the fortresses belonging to the *vilayet*, 1661

From the *vilayet* of Uyvar:

BOA Bab-i defteri, Büyük kale 32195: Uyvar and Şuran, 1675.

## 2. Provincial Treasuries Accounts

The detailed sources for paid fortress soldiers are the pay lists, the relevant combined sources are pay accounts. It is important to point out that both sources include the same group of fortress defenders: the soldiers who were paid in cash.

The financial account books of the Buda treasury (*hazine defteris*) contain daily income and expenditure and annual totals. Payments to fortress soldiers always accounted for the largest item in the budget; they were registered in the account books by *sancaks*, and within that by fortresses and military branches. Here only the bigger groups appear: in large fortresses auxiliary staff such as craftsmen and musicians were included among the *müstahfizes*, in small fortresses even the *müstahfizes* and artillerymen were combined. For each branch the number of soldiers was indicated, as well as the garrison's daily pay and money due in the months of payment. Only one account survives in which the scribe wrote the numbers of soldiers by squads in a long column, one under the other, then added them up.<sup>1</sup>

The value of accounts as sources is both more limited and greater than that of pay lists. They only demonstrate the structure of garrisons roughly, not broken down into squads, so it cannot be judged on their basis whether a given garrison was properly constituted or made up of incomplete squads. Obviously there are no lists of names in the accounts, nor are there annotations concerning changes. On the other hand, they alone supply information about the burden soldiers' pay represented for the treasury of Buda, sums of money allocated to individual fortresses and troops, in short the payments to the fortress soldiers and the changes that took place in this.

As only those soldiers appeared in the accounts who received payment, here even more of the soldiers who were actually on duty were missing than in the pay lists where corrections were possible. Comparing the numbers of the two kinds of sources we find that in the first decades of Ottoman rule, when the roll-call sign really did mean 'entitled to pay', the number of soldiers we can count in the lists most often equals the numbers in the accounts. Later on, from the 1560s, when the roll-call sign *mim* gradually turned into the sign for actual presence, the data of expenditure were always lower than the numbers that can be extracted from the lists. I shall bring a few examples to illustrate the differences. In 1569, when the scribe added a note to the effect that the soldier is 'new, his letter of appointment is being drafted' to the list, with the result that finally all the men present can be calculated, we find the following:<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> ÖNB Mxt 617.

<sup>2</sup> The reference number of the pay list is ÖNB Mxt 642, the account book's is Mxt 614; the number of pages containing the date of the fortresses can be found in the database.



Table 2

*The number of soldiers in some fortresses in the pay list and in the treasury account, 1569*

Fortress	Pay list heads	Account book heads	Difference %
Buda	1,680	1,651	1.7
Solnok	386	373	3.4
Istolni Belgrad	1,432	1,389	3.0
Bak'an	124	106	14.5
Pakşa	69	61	11.6
Lak	159	140	11.9
Sigetvar	761	761	0

As we can see, the differences vary; the number of new soldiers that had to be recruited in a given year in order to make up for the losses of the previous year was determined by the history and fate of a garrison. It would be useless to calculate the average of the differences expressed in percentages even if we included every fortress in the examination: the average of the last column now stands at 6.6 percent, but this figure is not particularly useful in the case of a single fortress. What we need to keep in mind is that the numbers recorded in payment accounts are always slightly lower than the number of soldiers actually serving in the fortresses.

Even with these shortcomings the treasury's account books in the 16th century remain valuable sources on fortress soldiers. Unfortunately, we cannot say the same about accounts that survived from the first half of the 17th century. Whatever survives from the beginning of the century, even after 1606, are the products of a ruined, war-time budget, where accounts were settled very late indeed, in a most disorderly fashion: often without actual payment but, as a partial stop-gap, with some form of 'reimbursement'. In war-time, the Buda treasury did not have enough money to arrange payment for all the soldiers in the fortresses that belonged under it. Instead it tried to pay off the debt it owed to a few officers or common soldiers, in the best cases to a whole unit; only rarely was it possible to put the pay of whole garrisons together from fragmented sums. By the time the budget was more or less consolidated, the registration of soldiers had completely changed. With the drying up of pay lists the payment accounts lose their value as well. As time went by fewer and fewer figures changed in them, and by the end of the 1640's all movement had stopped: scribes copied identical figures from one account to another, from one year to the next. If a scribe made a mistake, the mistake was very likely to become permanent. In the account of the year starting February 6, 1647, the scribe got the number of the first *ağalık* of the Sigetvar *azabs* wrong: instead of 94 soldiers he registered 44, however, he kept the total number of *azabs* at 311. For four years,

which is as long as sources continue, the mistake and the two conflicting numbers were copied from one account to the next.<sup>1</sup>

The following payment accounts are available:

From the *vilayet* of Buda:

ÖNB Mxt 590: six fortresses in the *vilayet*, 1544–1545

Mxt 581: sixteen fortresses in the *vilayet*, 1545–1546

Mxt 612: all the fortresses belonging to the *vilayet*, 1565

Mxt 617: all the fortresses belonging to the *vilayet*, 1568–1569

BOA MAD 1561: all the fortresses belonging to the *vilayet*, 1572–1574, 1577–1578<sup>2</sup>

MAD 498: all the fortresses belonging to the *vilayet* 1578–1581

MAD 3762: all the fortresses belonging to the *vilayet*, 1591

MAD 1599: partial data on some troops in a few fortresses, 1595–1596

ÖNB Mxt 638: all the fortresses belonging to the *vilayet*, 1599–1600

Mxt 635: all the fortresses belonging to the *vilayet*, 1600–1601

BOA MAD 6770: the *yeniçeris* and the four fortresses of the *vilayet* of Buda, 1601–1602

MAD 5158: twenty-four fortresses in the *vilayet*, 1604–1606

MAD 4654: all the fortresses belonging to the *vilayet*, 1606–1609

ÖNB Mxt 612: giving the total of the fortress soldiers of the *vilayet*, 1612–1613

BOA MAD 4133: all the fortresses belonging to the *vilayet*, 1612–1615

ÖNB Mxt 636: all the fortresses belonging to the *vilayet*, 1628–1629

BOA MAD 5193: all the fortresses belonging to the *vilayet*, 1631

BOA Baş muhasebe, Budun hazinesi kalemi 16727 and 16728: the payment of the *vilayet* including the number of a few garrisons, 1662

BOA Baş muhasebe, Budun hazinesi kalemi 16729: its content is identical with the previous one, 1677–1678.

From the *vilayet* of Temeşvar:

BOA MAD 5158: six fortresses in the *vilayet*, 1604–1608

MAD 15983: all the fortresses of the *vilayet* 1629–1630

MAD 15998: same content, same year

Nothing from the *vilayet* of Eğri.

<sup>1</sup> BOA Kepeci 1942, pp. 5, 8–10, Kepeci 1944, pp. 4, 8–9.

<sup>2</sup> The account is about the period between 1572–1578: however, it only contains numbers per fortress and per unit in the three years indicated.

From the *vilayet* of Kanija:

BOA Kepeci 1905: all the fortresses belonging to the *vilayet*, 1615–1616

Kepeci 1906: all the fortresses belonging to the *vilayet*, 1616–1618

BOA MAD 2586: all the fortresses belonging to the *vilayet*, 1618–1619

BOA Kepeci 2290: all the fortresses belonging to the *vilayet*, 1619–1626

Kepeci 1920: all the fortresses belonging to the *vilayet*, 1627–1629

Kepeci 1924: all the fortresses belonging to the *vilayet*, 1629–1631

Kepeci 1942: all the fortresses belonging to the *vilayet*, 1647–1649

Kepeci 1944: all the fortresses belonging to the *vilayet*, 1649–1650

From the *vilayet* of Varad:

BOA Bab-i defteri, Piyade mukabelesi kalemi 13139: the planned soldiery of all the fortresses belonging to the *vilayet*, 1660.

From the *vilayet* of Uyvar:

BOA Baş muhasebe, Uyvar hazinesi kalemi 17081: Uyvar and Şuran, 1664–1667

BOA Baş muhasebe, Uyvar hazinesi kalemi 17082, Uyvar and Şuran, 1667.

Part of the accounts, in fact, are the ‘budgets’ of a province drawn up for one or more years, which include only the complete soldiery of the *vilayet* and the total sum to be paid to them, which is not even broken down to fortresses. Thus it does not provide much information about soldiers. It is, however, very valuable if we want to investigate what resources were available to meet the huge expense represented by the payment of soldiers. They show what percentage of the cost of maintaining the occupying army the population and production of provinces could provide, whether the deficit was made up by the central treasury or by the taxpayers of the Balkan peninsula, and which *vilayets* of Ottoman Hungary were more or less or completely self-sufficient and which were seriously indebted.

I used the following budgets:

BOA MAD 3762: the revenues of the Temeşvar treasury, 1591–1593

ÖNB Mxt 638: the budget of the *vilayet* of Buda, 1599–1600

Mxt 635: the budget of the *vilayet* of Buda, 1601–1602

BOA MAD 6766: the budget of the *vilayet* of Buda, 1601–1603

MAD 1002: the budgets of the treasuries of Buda, Temeşvar, Eğri and Kanija, 1613

ÖNB Mxt 612: another version of the section on Buda in the previous item

BOA MAD 6382: the accounts of the Varad treasury, 1660–1662

BOA Bab-i defteri, Baş muhasebe kalemi 229; revenues of the Uyvar treasury, 1665–1667

### 3. *Defters* of Garrison Soldiers Paid with *Timars*

A minority of soldiers were not paid in cash, but the treasury rewarded them with the income of collective *timars*. Before the drafting of the earliest detailed survey registers (*mufassal defteris*) we do not meet these, as no salary *timars* were granted before the expectable revenues had been assessed. The two kinds of payment first appeared in the *sancak* of Segedin in the year of the first survey, in 1546, to become general after 1570. It was always the infantry, *müstahfizes*, artillerymen, craftsmen and *azabs* who became *timar*-holders, while the cavalry and the *martoloses* continued to receive payment in cash.

As the fortress defenders with salary *timars* were formally prebend holders, they were not registered in the pay lists, but in the summary surveys of prebend holders, in the *icmal defteris*. In these, among *timar* holders in their own right, senior officers, mainly fortress *dizdars*, *kethüdas* and cavalry *ağas* appear as well, but the majority of soldiers with salary *timars* were listed in the last section of the *defters*, which was reserved for them. Fortress soldiers were usually allocated villages in the *sancaks* where their fortresses were located, but if there was no estate available they were given one in a neighbouring *sancak*.

When distributing prebends or estates an attempt was made to give each squad their own group of estates consisting of a few villages and farmsteads (*mezraa*). Occasionally, presumably through force of circumstances, a soldier had to be separated from his unit and transferred to another, perhaps even another fortress. As a result, the sections of the *icmal defteris* which list soldiers with salary *timars* are usually just as clear and logically structured and demonstrate the structure of units just as pay lists do.

The surviving *icmals* were preserved in Istanbul, because once the *sancaks* had been surveyed and the estates distributed, copies were sent to the Porte. There were rarely any changes registered on the central copies. They illustrate the situation at a given point in time, for example they give us an overview of the great rearrangement of estates that took place in the *vilayet* of Buda in 1570. Naturally the fact that from paid soldiers they turned into collective salary *timar*-holders did not stop the turnover of soldiers. Changes were registered on location; the local copies, however, were lost, and only a few fragments have survived. One of them is the first 19 surviving pages of a *defter* of the Estergon *sancak*, on which the turnover of estate holders and other changes was recorded from 1571.<sup>1</sup> On the *icmal defteri* of the Novigrad *sancak* drafted at the beginning of the 1590s the turnover of timariots was recorded for exactly 90 years, along with other changes.<sup>2</sup> Two such lists concerning fortress soldiers have survived:

1 Thüringisches Landeshauptarchiv Weimar (henceforth Weimar), Codex Gothanus Tür. Nr. 143. Two of its pages were published in Fekete, *Die Siyāqat-Schrift*, 338–349.

2 Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára (Budapest), Mikrofilmtár, 3998/19. The microfilm does not reveal the provenance of the original source.

one on which the personnel changes of soldiers paid with salary *timars* in three fortresses of the *sancak* of Siçen, Siçen, Holloka (Hu. Hollókő) and Buyak (Buják), were registered between 1570 and 1580,<sup>1</sup> the other tracing the changes which took place among the *müstahfiz*es of the inner fortress of Sigetvar for a good decade after 1580.<sup>2</sup> Both must have been based on the *icmal defteri*, which registered the assignments of prebends following the registration of 1570 and 1580. Changes were recorded on this, written into the wide empty spaces above the names of the soldiers (this may explain the baffling waste of paper with which these *defters* were made), just as they were with pay lists: the scribes entered the soldier's reason for departing, the name of his replacement and date of recruitment. There were cases where the post-holder changed three or four times within a decade, the *ağa* of the *martoloses* of Siçen changed five times in eight years. Some of the soldiers, on the other hand, stayed put; above their names the word 'remaining' (*bakiye*) was written.

Should the *icmals* of the central department have survived intact, we would have the registers of soldiers who were paid with salary *timars* in about every ten years in the 16th century (which of course is not the case), but without the changes. From the surviving material it seems that changes were rarely made to the group of prebends assigned to fortress soldiers, or more precisely to the amount of income allocated to them. This determined the number of soldiers maintained in this way, and for decades there were barely any traceable changes. While filling vacant paid posts was not always a matter of urgency, the ranks of timariot fortress soldiers, at least according to the few local copies that we have, were filled continuously. This enables me to compare the number of paid soldiers in a garrison, in years when sources only survived about them, to the last known number of soldiers with salary *timar* registered slightly earlier.

Of the soldiers making a living from salary *timars* another series of *defters* survived, into which the changes in *timar* holders were registered annually. These *defters*, called 'journals', are the *timar ruznamçesis*: volumes of them dealing with Hungary are stacked high in the Istanbul archives. But because the group of prebends assigned to fortress soldiers barely changed, large numbers of soldiers with salary *timar* were left out of these: only officers living off estates in their own right appeared in them, and even then, only rarely.

As the last *timar defteris* were prepared at the beginning of the 1590's (the few of later date are copies of these), they mainly include the *timar* holders of the Buda and Temeşvar *vilayets*. Of *vilayets* established later we have only one *icmal* from Uyvar (in which we find the defenders of Vişegrad),<sup>3</sup> and there was a

1 ÖNB Mxt 634.

2 ÖNB Mxt 607, pp. 230–237.

3 Published by József Blaskovics, *Érsekújvár és vidéke a török hódoltság korában* [Érsekújvár and its surroundings during the Turkish occupation]. Budapest, 1989, 775–832, salary *timars* of

survey, based on the 1592 *icmal*, of the income lost by fortress soldiers from the Solnok *sancak* who were reassigned to the *vilayet* of Eğri<sup>1</sup> in the middle of the 17th century.

The *defters* including fortress soldiers with *timars* are the following:

From the *vilayet* of Buda:

BOA Tapu 1044: fortress soldiers with *timars* in the *sancak* of Segedin, 1546

Tapu 1030: fortress soldiers with *timars* in the *sancak* of Şimontorna and Kopan, 1551–1552

Tapu 333: fortress soldiers with *timars* in the *sancak* of Segedin, 1560–1561

Tapu 353: fortress soldiers with *timars* in the *sancak* of Seksar, Şimontorna and Kopan, 1565

Tapu 505: fortress soldiers with *timars* in the *sancak* of Kopan, Şimontorna, Seksar and Sekçöy, 1570

Tapu 480: fortress soldiers with *timars* in the *sancak* of Peçuy, 1570

Tapu 503: fortress soldiers with *timars* in the *sancak* of Sigetvar, 1570

Tapu 551: fortress soldiers with *timars* in the *sancak* of Segedin, around 1570

Tapu 661: fortress soldiers with *timars* in the *sancak* of Novigrad, 1579<sup>2</sup>

Tapu 590: fortress soldiers with *timars* in the *sancak* of Buda, 1580

Tapu 662: fortress soldiers with *timars* in the *sancak* of Hatvan, 1580

Tapu 659: fortress soldiers with *timars* in the *sancak* of Kopan and Şimontorna, 1580

Tapu 663: fortress soldiers with *timars* in the *sancak* of Seksar, 1580

Tapu 652: fortress soldiers with *timars* in the *sancak* of Peçuy, 1591

Tapu 638: fortress soldiers with *timars* in the *sancak* of Sigetvar, 1591

Leipzig, Orient V. 1034: fortress soldiers with *timars* in the *sancak* of Novigrad, the early 1590s

BOA Tapu 675: fortress soldiers with *timars* in the *sancak* of Hatvan, 1591

Tapu 658: fortress soldiers with *timars* in the *sancak* of Solnok, 1591

Dresden, Eb. 353: fortress soldiers with *timars* in the *sancak* of Sekçöy, 1591

Dresden, Eb. 356: fortress soldiers with *timars* in Vişegrad, 1673–1674.

From the *vilayet* of Temeşvar:

BOA Tapu 278: fortress soldiers with *timars* in the *sancak* of Temeşvar, 1554

Tapu 356: fortress soldiers with *timars* in the *sancak* of Lipova, 1554

Tapu 1010: fortress soldiers with *timars* in the *sancak* of Lipova and Yanova, 1567

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Vişegrad: 818–832.

1 BOA MAD 16046.

2 Published by Gustav Bayerle, *Ottoman Tributes in Hungary. According to Sixteenth Century Tapu Registers of Novigrad*. Hague–Paris, 1973, soldiers with *timar*: 106–110.

Tapu 552: fortress soldiers with *timars* in the *sancak* of Temeşvar and Modava, 1569

Tapu 674: fortress soldiers with *timars* in the *sancak* of Temeşvar and Modava, 1579

Tapu 679: fortress soldiers with *timars* in the *sancak* of Lipova and Yanova, 1579

From the *vilayet* of Eğri:

BOA MAD 16046: fortress soldiers with *timars* in the *sancak* of Solnok, middle of the 17th century.

In the *vilayets* of Varad and Uyvar there were no soldiers with *timar*.

#### 4. Lists of Units Transferred from the Capital

Besides local forces of garrison soldiers, larger fortresses were also defended by units arriving from Istanbul, not only in Hungary but throughout the empire. *Yeniçeris* constituted the majority of transferred units, but in Eğri, for example, artillerymen of the Porte served as well, and in wartime all kinds of other units too, especially *cebecis*. In the 16th century the soldiers of the Porte did not receive their pay from the local treasury together with the others, but from the capital, where they were also registered. We know the combined numbers of *yeniçeris* dispatched to various fortresses of the *vilayet* of Buda from 1572.<sup>1</sup> However, how many were sent to which fortresses we only know from around the turn of the century.

The lists of the *yeniçeris* serving on the Hungarian frontier contain the register of soldiers divided into units, *cemaats* and *bölüks*, of very widely varying sizes (from two men to three hundred people). Daily payments were either written on the list or not; sometimes the reasons for the latter were indicated also. There are *defters* which include the *yeniçeris* of a single fortress, there are, on the other hand, several *defters* with lists of *yeniçeris* in numerous fortresses, irrespective of whether these were located in the same *vilayet* or not.

The Istanbul archives hold an enormous amount of material on the soldiers of the court, especially on the *yeniçeris*, from which it would be possible to extract data referring to numerous Hungarian fortresses. There are a great many lists, hundreds of pages long, on which next to the names of thousands of *yeniçeris* the fortresses to which they were temporarily dispatched are indicated. Perusing them all would be an almost endless task, and the results would not jus-

1 Gábor Ágoston, 'A magyarországi török végvárak fenntartásának és ellátásának néhány kérdése [A few questions concerning the maintenance and provisioning of Turkish border fortresses in Hungary]', in Tivadar Petercsák–Jolán Szabó (eds.), *Végvárak és régiók a XIV–XVII. században*. Eger, 1993, 315 and the footnotes belonging to it.

tify the time devoted to the undertaking. The human attention span is finite, and it would be impossible to do this job properly—not to mention the fact that sometimes in the minuscule annotations the names of Vidin and Budin, are indistinguishable even with a magnifying glass. I did start to examine one such list, but then stopped experimenting with sources of this kind in the limited time available to me. The source material, whose *defters* of a few dozen pages list the transferred *yeniçeris* according to their posts, securely identifiable fortresses, is quite rich, and I made my choice from these (unfortunately not many due to lack of time), and besides the published numerical data<sup>1</sup> I used the following lists:

- BOA MAD 6411: *yeniçeris* of the *vilayet* of Buda, 1577–1578  
 MAD 6441: *yeniçeris* of the *vilayet* of Buda, 1585–1586  
 MAD 156: *yeniçeris* of the *vilayet* of Buda, 1585–1587  
 MAD 6208: *yeniçeris* of the *vilayet* of Buda, 1587  
 MAD 7431: *yeniçeris* of the *vilayet* of Buda, 1588  
 MAD 7190: *yeniçeris* of the *vilayet* of Buda, 1589–1591  
 MAD 6144: *ulufeciyan* and *gureba* of Yanık, 1596–1597  
 MAD 5241: *yeniçeris* of Buda, Temeşvar, Eğri and Yanık, 1596–1597  
 MAD 136: *topçus* and *müteferrikas* dispatched to Eğri, 1598  
 MAD 3731: *yeniçeris* serving in Kanija, 1603–1605  
 MAD 5935: *yeniçeris* of Buda, Esterгон, İstolni Belgrad, Temeşvar, Eğri and Kanija, 1613  
 MAD 116: *yeniçeris* in Buda, Esterгон, İstolni Belgrad, Temeşvar, Eğri, Kanija, 1613–1615  
 MAD 4968: *yeniçeris* in Buda, Esterгон, İstolni Belgrad, Temeşvar, Eğri, Kanija, 1617–1618  
 BOA Bab-i defteri, Yeniçeri kalemi 33718: *yeniçeris* in Buda, Esterгон, İstolni Belgrad, Temeşvar, Eğri, Kanija, 1619–1620  
 BOA MAD 7089: *yeniçeris* of the same fortresses, 1629–1630  
 MAD 6909: *yeniçeris* of Buda, Esterгон, Kanija, Eğri, 1662–1663  
 MAD 5996: *yeniçeris* of Buda, Esterгон, İstolni Belgrad, Novigrad, Eğri, Varad, Yanova, Kanija, Uyvar, 1666–1671  
 BOA Kepeci 4733: *yeniçeris* dispatched to Uyvar, 1670–1671.  
 MAD 16662: *yeniçeris* dispatched to Varad, 1672

1 For 1547–1548, see: Ömer Lütfi Barkan, '954–955 (1547–1548) Mali Yılına Ait Bir Osmanlı Bütçesi', *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 19:1–4 (1957–58), 270. For 1596–1597, see: Caroline Finkel, *The Administration of Warfare: The Ottoman Military Campaigns in Hungary, 1593–1606*. Vienna, 1988, 77. For 1669–1670, see Ömer Lütfi Barkan, '1079–1080 (1669–1670) Mâli Yılına Ait Bir Osmanlı Bütçesi ve Ek'leri', *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 17:1–4 (1955–56) 263.



We find the other units of the Porte permanently or temporarily dispatched to Hungary among the payment accounts of the treasury.

## 5. Other Sources

Fortress soldiers appear in many other sources. The records of the outgoing orders of the imperial council, the *mühimme defteris*, are an excellent source when researching major general questions such as the Ottoman concept of defense, fortress building, the total number of troops stationed in the *vilayet*, supplies and so on. Of these I only used the published texts. In treasury accounts we come across fortress soldiers not only in sections on payments, but also in various other places. The most important are those which inform us not of payments or salary *timars*, but of fortress soldiers paid out of local revenues. Unfortunately I know of very few of these. The Ottoman tax registers, the *mufassal defteris*, may also reveal valuable data. For example, in the earlier ones the annotations which reveal that this or that village served a nearby fortress by performing communal work are precious. Such data help to determine the year in which the fortress was occupied, later to prove its existence. Occasionally, these records provided a list of the Muslim population in the southern *sancak* towns, soldiers among them, sometimes whole units. We also find numerous fortress soldiers among the owners of estates, vineyards, meadows and households registered in fortresses, towns and in their surroundings. It is also an important source of information if there are no soldiers among these estate holders at all, as it reinforces the assumption that the given *palanka* did not yet exist.<sup>1</sup> A special asset of the tax registrations is that the military-peasant organizations can only be studied and evaluated from these, as well as the ethnic origins of the population from which these privileged soldiers emerged. I needed to look through the records of the *sancaks* in order to study the privileged *reaya*. Of the unpublished sources, I consulted the following:

The *vilayet* of Buda:

BOA Tapu 441: the tax records of the *sancak* of Mohaç, 1545–1546

Tapu 443: the tax records of the *sancak* of Mohaç, 1550–1551

Tapu 646: of the *sancak* of Görösgal, 1552

Tapu 1012: of the *sancak* of Peçuy, around 1570

Tapu 585: of the *sancak* of Peçuy, 1579

Tapu 332: the records of the *sancak* of Segedin, 1560–1561

Tapu 554: the records of the *sancak* of Segedin, around 1568–1570

1 Some monographs on town Tolna consider the *palanka* here to be from the 16th century. This is not only refuted by the complete silence of sources on soldiers, but also by the fact that in the records of Tolna at the beginning of the 1590s not a single soldier is to be found among the owners of gardens, vineyards etc, listed in three columns. BOA Tapu 632, pp. 21–22.

- Tapu 570: the records of the *sancak* of Segedin, 1578  
 Tapu 412: the records of the *sancak* of Kopan, 1551–1552  
 Tapu 665: the records of the *sancak* of Kopan, 1565  
 Tapu 563: the records of the *sancak* of Kopan, and those of the *sancak* of  
 Şimontorna, 1570  
 Tapu 676: the records of the *sancak* of Kopan, and those of the *sancak* of  
 Şimontorna, 1580  
 ÖNB Mxt 591: the records of the *eflak* villages of the Kopan *sancak*, 1581

From the *vilayet* of Temeşvar:

- BOA Tapu 290: the records of the *sancak* of Temeşvar, 1554  
 Tapu 364: those of Temeşvar and Modava, 1569  
 Tapu 579: those of Temeşvar and Modava, 1579  
 Tapu 292: the records of the *sancak* of Lipova, 1554  
 Tapu 457: of Lipova and Yanova, 1567  
 Tapu 578: of Lipova and Yanova, 1579.

After 1630, when sources on garrison soldiers practically disappear, we have to be grateful for such tiny snippets of data as, for example, the testimony of an officer in a court case, as it proves that the fortress and the officer's unit still existed. The list drafted in the middle of the century about the losses suffered by timariots in the Solnok *sancak* as a result of the campaigns of the Transylvanian princes is of special value. From this we learn that the number of soldiers with salary *timars* of Solnok, Senmikloş and Çongrad (Hu. Csongrád) was about the same as at the end of the 16th century.<sup>1</sup>

Finally, Evliya Çelebi sheds some light on this era shrouded in darkness. His figures are not usually considered trustworthy; however, the few definitely reliable data that have survived from the 17th century often prove him right. Everything bad and good can be said about Evliya. He usually observed and carefully described the fortresses that he visited, and this involved giving an account of the garrison. He often exaggerated, filling the major fortresses with garrisons which they could not possibly have accommodated. For example, there cannot have been a total of 10,000 soldiers squeezed into Vaç, and even the number of 3,000 is an exaggeration for the strictly local defenders. The sizes he gave for garrisons are often standardized: the smallest fortresses were defended by 20, the minor ones by 50 or 70, the medium-sized ones by 200 or 300 men besides the commander. Evliya often used his imagination; the best examples of this are in his chapters on the fortresses of the *sancak* of İstolni Belgrad, where his description suggests either that he did not take a close enough look, and did not

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1 BOA MAD 16046.

take sufficient notes, or that did not put enough effort into compiling the text later: his own numbers contradict each other. Nonetheless, his descriptions sometimes serve as confirmation. The sloppily prepared, apparently incomplete pay lists of the 17th century, and later the payment accounts, copied out without any changes, raise many doubts. It is difficult to believe, for example, that the one-time garrison of 500 men of Şikloş (Hu. Siklós) had shrunk to 150 by 1592, that the fortress of Peçuy, which was originally manned by almost a thousand soldiers, had only about 180 left by the middle of the 17th century, or that in 1631, in the strategically important Titel, which guarded the point where the rivers meet, and in the watchtower on the other side of the Tisza, there were altogether 37 soldiers in service. In such cases we must conclude that these garrisons, and many others, were still sizeable in the 17th century, but that the soldiers who received wages were complemented by defenders paid in other ways, of whom, however, no records survive. Our only clue is Evliya Çelebi, who confirms the suspiciously low numbers: he writes of 150 fortress soldiers in Şikloş, 200 in Peçuy and 20 in Titel.

## 6. How Far Can these Sources Take Us?

The greatest shortcomings emerge clearly from what has been written so far: from the 17th century, useable source material on fortress soldiers survives only from the first decades, not later, and there is nothing to be done about that. Thus I did not come across fortresses which were founded after 1630, and in this book they only appear in the database where I list them in the introduction to the *vilayets*. But even in the 16th century, which is comparatively rich in sources, there are many lacunae. In the southernmost areas of Ottoman Hungary certain fortresses and units within garrisons never appear, or in some cases they do not appear for decades, as their soldiers were paid from local or Lower Danube revenues, and it is hopeless to search for them in the endless accounts. Such fortress include Titel, by and large, Şikloş for a while, or for example the cavalry stationed at Baç. After 1570 the cavalry of some South Transdanubian fortresses disappear for good or for a while. It is hard to believe that cavalry never served in Şikloş, and only up to 1570 in Peçuy, and that between 1570 and 1591 there were none in Kopan (Hu. Koppány), while the letters of appointment of some Kopan cavalymen survive.

We know nothing about the fortresses which were under Ottoman occupation for only a short time and in years for which there are no sources. Hegyesd, which was in Ottoman hands for only one year, is no great loss, but Yanık (Hu. Győr) and its surrounding fortresses, on the other hand, are a major loss. Although the pay lists of the fortresses in the *vilayet* of Yanık are kept in the Istanbul archives, I was not able to inspect them.

In the 17th century the practice of copying data unchanged from one document to another, from one year to the next, poses grave problems. I have already referred to the way in which this reduces the value of treasury accounts. Sometimes this not very useful practice is discernible in pay lists as well. In the lists of 1607 and 1613 the number of individual units is too often suspiciously unchanged in smaller fortresses, officers also barely changed. We can presume that more changes than this took place over a period of six years. There is nothing, however, to confirm our suspicion.

Another characteristic of the post-war decades is that some of the units that previously lived off salary *timars*, mostly *müstafizes* and *topçus*, reappear as cash-paid soldiers in the sources, giving the impression that it was not only the way in which they were remunerated that changed, but that their number had also fallen significantly. In reality, what happened was that the ruined settlements were unable to pay the pre-war taxes, thus the treasury was forced to compensate the units which made their living from these villages with some cash, sometimes more, sometimes less. This dual way of payment can be seen most clearly in the fortresses in the sancak of Solnok; in the others, for example in that of Şimontorna, it is an impression rather than a certainty. Without *icmal defteris* the mistake cannot be corrected.

Nothing can be done about obvious cases of fraud. Reading the registers, especially those from the 17th century, one cannot help feeling that they are full of clumsy lies: listing non-existent people in the records so that someone would be able to pocket their pay. Among the great variety of Muslim names the fashionable ones stand out, but no amount of fashion can make us believe that within a small company, a unit consisting of a few men, or within a single squad, the same few names are shared by all the soldiers and their fathers. In such cases it is more likely that an officer or scribe, who was not blessed with very much imagination, invented non-existent soldiers. This is especially conspicuous when rare names are repeated far too often. According to the register of 1588–1589 in the first squad of the cavalry of Batasek (Hu. Bátaszék) there were three men whose fathers were called by the not particularly widespread name of Mezid, and Mezid was also the father of the second corporal.<sup>1</sup> We can suppose that it was all by chance, or we can pay our respects to old Mezid who fathered many sons, so that later they could defend the sultan's empire at Batasek. What we cannot do is to deduct four men from the Batasek cavalry because they were simply invented, even though this is the most likely explanation. Sometimes we come up against dead men who were 'resurrected'. Comparing the registers of the Kaposvar cavalry in 1619 and 1628, in the latter we meet six men who, three,

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1 ÖNB Mxt 615, p. 136.

six or eight years previously, had died, or 'left the fortress giving up their posts'.<sup>1</sup> The two lists differ in one essential respect: the first one was drafted for local use, and changes were noted in it, while the other was drafted for the central archives, where nobody could have identified the dead camouflaged as the living, and where, by this time, nobody cared.

No doubt there were other ways of raising numbers and increasing expenditure for the purposes of embezzlement, methods which we can no longer hope to reveal. But even if we did come up with something, in the absence of any proof we would not be able to calculate the sums involved. In the end this is not a problem, as these extras correct, at least partially, the deficit caused by soldiers who were waiting for their letters of appointment and as such were considered non-existent.

The missing data reduce the size of the fortress garrison somewhat, while the other uncorrectable change, the fact that the contents of pay lists became meaningless, makes the study of changes in the number of soldiers difficult. Starting in the last decades of the 16th century, but especially in the 17th century, fewer and fewer annotations were entered next to the soldiers' names, and in particular little attention was paid to changes in personnel. From the 1540s to the 1570s transfers, desertions and how long it took to fill vacancies can be traced accurately; later the empty pages containing barely more than names do not offer the opportunity to draw such conclusions, nor do they make it possible to study origins, marital status or lifestyle. It can only be perceived that the change was caused by two factors. One is the stabilisation of garrisons, with fewer and fewer changes taking place. Naturally, some fluctuation is inevitable; *ruzmançes* indicate that the most numerous group to take the place of *sipahis* continued to come from among fortress garrisons; the direction of this flow certainly remained, and, of course, death also took its toll. The other reason for the meaningless pay lists is to be found in the administration becoming more lax; the extent of this, however, is impossible to estimate. Garrisons defending Ottoman fortresses often included no troops from the Porte. *Yeniçeris* serving in larger fortresses are known from several dates, but the other units of the Porte (*ulufeciyan*, *gureba*, *veledan-i kul*, *cebeciyan*, *topçuyan*) can only be pinned down at the time of the Fifteen Years' War (most likely they were really not present in Hungary at other times).

This means that the figures I calculated for the number of soldiers occupying Ottoman Hungary at various dates *always represent a minimum*.

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1 ÖNB Mxt 631, pp. 64–66. BOA MAD 7208, pp. 135–140.



## **II Establishing the Fortress System and Aspects of Defence**

## 1. Tasks of the Ottoman and Hungarian Fortresses

The main characteristic of the period of Ottoman rule in Hungary, which defined the whole way of life of the country, was a permanent state of war. Usually it is only the years filled with campaigns (1521, 1526, 1529, 1532, 1541–1566, 1591–1606, 1657–1664, 1683–1699) that are considered years of war, separated by officially peaceful stretches of time which sometimes lasted for several decades. Considering the number of years, these periods constitute the majority. Real peace, however, did not exist even then. Hungary remained the most important land-front of the Habsburg-Ottoman struggle for domination, where on the one hand campaigns were launched for the possession of fortresses and the areas surrounding them, while on the other hand there was permanent conflict, which often flared up into costly and bloody battles, over the spread of power and influence, the primary aim of which was to exact tax from settlements located in enemy-held territory. On the Ottoman side, to begin with, were the garrison soldiers who made people pay taxes, using a great deal of force to do so; then, after the first assessment of taxes and distribution of *timars* drafted in 1546,<sup>1</sup> the new-born class of *sipahis* set to work, whose members also lived in the fortresses. They formed strong bonds with the fortress troops, not only because they shared their dwelling place, but also because the replacements for the *sipahis* came primarily from among the garrisons.

The partition of Hungary had far-reaching consequences, from the dismemberment of the economic unit to the practice of conducting parallel, Ottoman and Hungarian surveys of the wide stretch of borderland between the Hungarian Kingdom and Ottoman Hungary. These survey registers have survived and are exceptionally useful for modern historians. In order to collect the Hungarian state war-tax (Latin *dica*), the administrative units of the maimed Hungarian Kingdom, the counties (Latin *comitatus*), which were the self-governing territorial units of the Hungarian nobles, annually assessed how much their territories were worth in terms of tax revenues. It was also noted whether each settlement paid tax to the Turks or not. This distinction was important because settlements paying tax to the Ottomans only paid half of the Hungarian war-tax. Tax registers taken at the same time by the Ottoman and the Hungarians in the same territory show very similar pictures of the way in which Ottoman taxation spread through the territory of the kingdom.

The first map was made on the basis of Hungarian and Ottoman surveys between 1546 and 1549 of the counties located north of Buda.<sup>2</sup> By then, nine fort-

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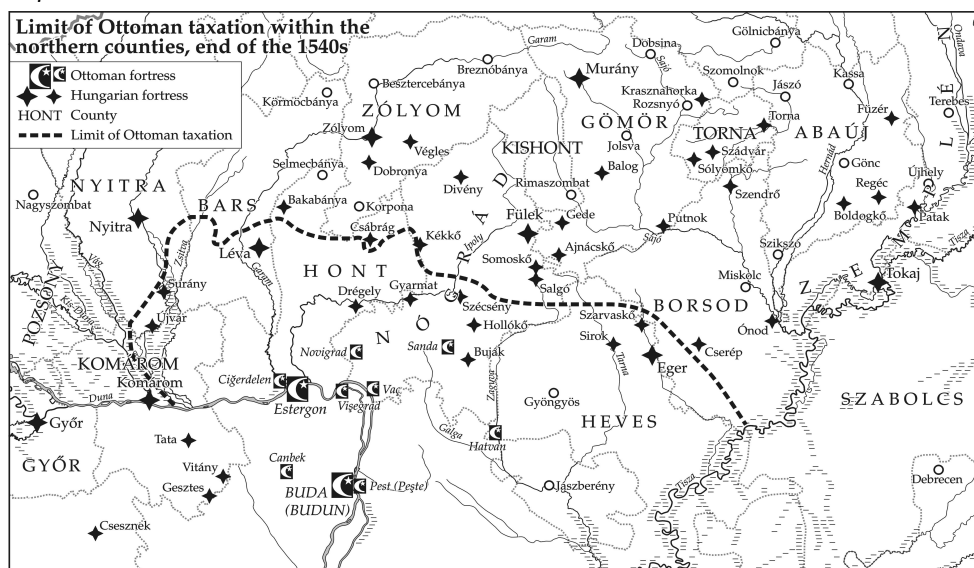
1 Before the first registers were made, few *timars* were distributed whose incomes were estimated (*ber vech-i tahmin*). Géza Dávid, 'Buda (Budín) Vilayetinin İlk Tımar Sahipleri', *Güney-Doğu Avrupa Araştırmaları* Prof. Cengiz Orhonlu Hatıra Sayısı 12 (1982–1998) 57–61.

2 The 1546 tax register of the *sancak* of Estergon (still as a district, a *nahiye* of the *sancak* of Buda); BOA Tapu 410, pp. 104–157. The *mufassal defteri* of the *sancak* of Novigrad also from



resses including Buda were in Ottoman hands (Buda, Pest, Esterгон, Cigerdelen, Vaç, Vişegrad, Novigrad, Sanda, Hatvan). Buda, Esterгон, Novigrad and Hatvan were made into centres of *sancaks*. The approximately ten thousand soldiers of the fortresses and the taxation offices of the centres were let loose on the Hungarian counties lying to the north of them. The territory selected for taxation purposes was supposed to be defended against the Turks by some thirty weak, obsolete, badly supplied Hungarian fortresses, but they were not up to the task. Sultan Süleyman's campaigns against Buda in 1541 and then two years later against Esterгон not only destroyed the Hungarian military defenses, but paralysed all other forms of resistance. Naturally, the conquerors, advancing along river valleys, did not find every tiny settlement in the territories forced into taxation behind the Hungarian fortresses; the hidden villages located further away from the main roads would be found only after a few years of respite.

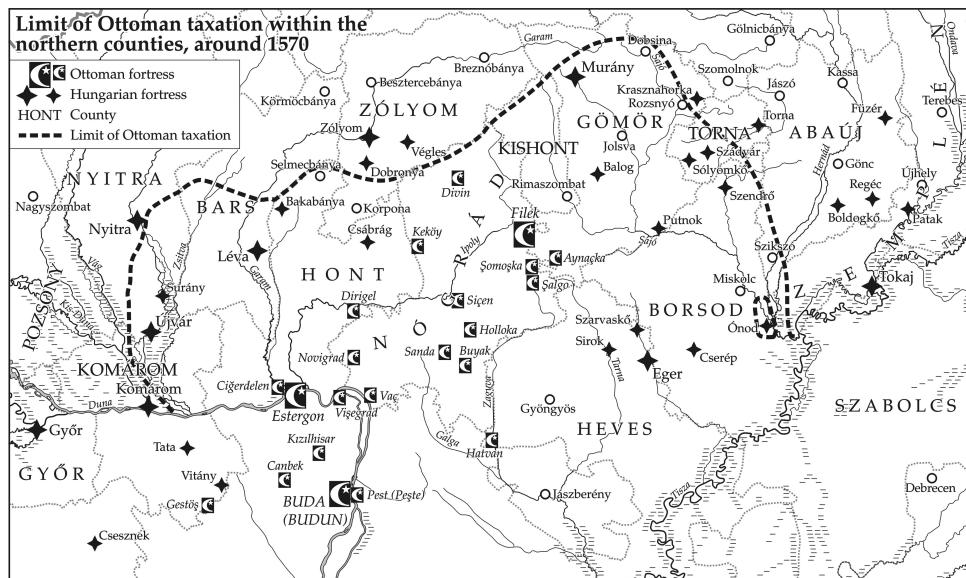
*Map 1*



1546: BOA Tapu 981, pp. 1–39, *cizye defteri* of the same district: Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Wien (henceforth ÖStA), Orientalische Handschriften der Konsularakademie Nr. 291 (Katalog Krafft 291), the last four pages of the manuscript. The *mufassal* of the two northern *nahiyes* of the *sancak* of Buda, of Vaç and of Pest in 1546: Gyula Kaldy-Nagy, *Kanuni Devri Budin Tahrir Defteri (1546–1562)*. Ankara, 1971, 116–326. The publication of the Hatvan register: Lajos Fekete, *A hatvani szandzsák 1550. évi adösszeírása* [The survey register of the sancak of Hatvan in 1550]. Jászberény, 1968. (The correct date is 1546.) The *dica* registers of the Hungarian counties in 1549 were published by Ferenc Maksay, *Magyarország birtokviszonyai a 16. század közepén I–II* [Landed properties in Hungary in the mid-16th century]. Budapest, 1990, all the counties indicated on the map in volume one, from west to east: county Nyitra 537–571, county Bars 141–157, county Hont 367–381, county Nógrád 495–536, county Heves 353–365, county Borsod 255–275.

There are several points during the 16th century when the Ottoman and Hungarian survey registers together show how far Ottoman taxation reached along this stretch of the Hungarian Kingdom's border at the given time. It is worth taking a closer look at at least one of these to see how far the Ottomans advanced in thirty years. The second map shows the situation in the late 1570s. By then, further fortresses had fallen to the Ottomans; in the campaign of 1552

Map 2



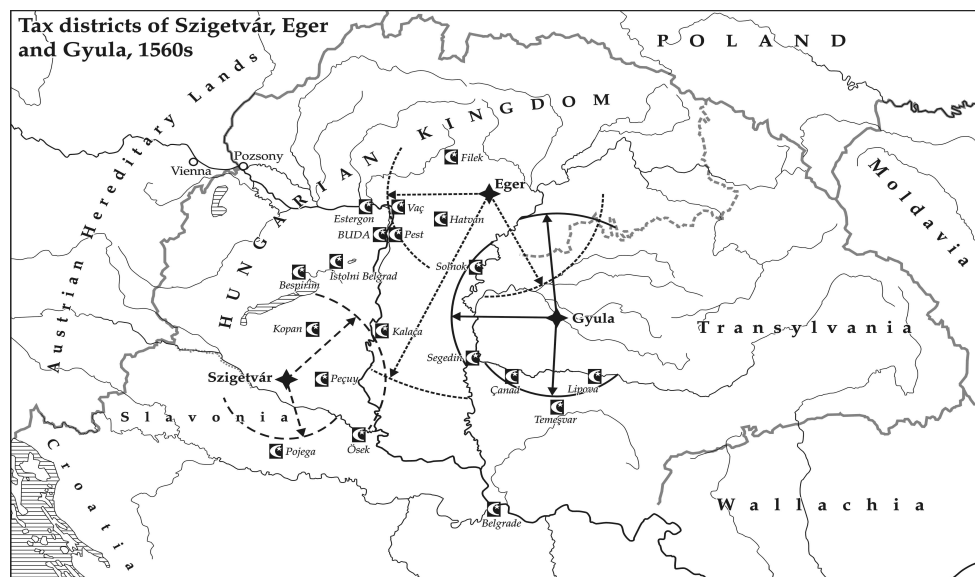
the fortresses of county Nógrád: Diregel (Hu. Drégely), Sičen, Holloka (Hollókő) and Buyak (Buják), in 1554 Filek and Şalgo (Salgó), in 1566 Aynaşka (Ajnácskő), in 1575 Keköy (Kékkő), Şomoşka (Somoskő) and Divin (Divény). These fortresses were not situated very far to the north, and their capture did not move the front line of Ottoman fortresses much further in that direction. The area subject to Ottoman taxation, however, was far more extensive: in the second half of the 1540's it had completely swallowed some of the counties that had just been attacked or had not even yet been approached, while the others had been mostly engulfed.<sup>1</sup>

It was not only along the northern borders of Ottoman Hungary, but along

1 The publications of the Ottoman survey registers of the Northern *sancaks* in 1570 are the following: Lajos Fekete, *Az esztergomi szandzsák 1570. évi adóösszeírása* [The 1570 survey register of the sancak of Esztergom]. Budapest 1943. Bayerle, *Ottoman Tributs in Hungary*. Gusztáv Bayerle, *A hatvani szandzsák adóösszeírása 1570-ből. Defter-i mufassal-i livai Hatvan* [The detailed survey register of the sancak of Hatvan from 1570]. Hatvan 1998. The Hungarian *dica* registers can be found in: Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Budapest, (henceforth OL), Magyar Kincstári Levéltárak, Magyar Kamara Archivuma, Conscriptiones portarum E 158 (the counties are in separate volumes).

all the border areas that similar Ottoman advances were taking place.<sup>1</sup> And the soldiers of the Hungarian Kingdom's fortresses were driven by the same motivation when they raided the *vilayet* of Buda, and used military force to tax the settlements located in the southern parts of the area between the Danube and the Tisza as well.<sup>2</sup> In this case we cannot talk of an advance, but of 'pushing back': the Hungarian nobles were not going to let their lost tax-payers forget them.

Map 3



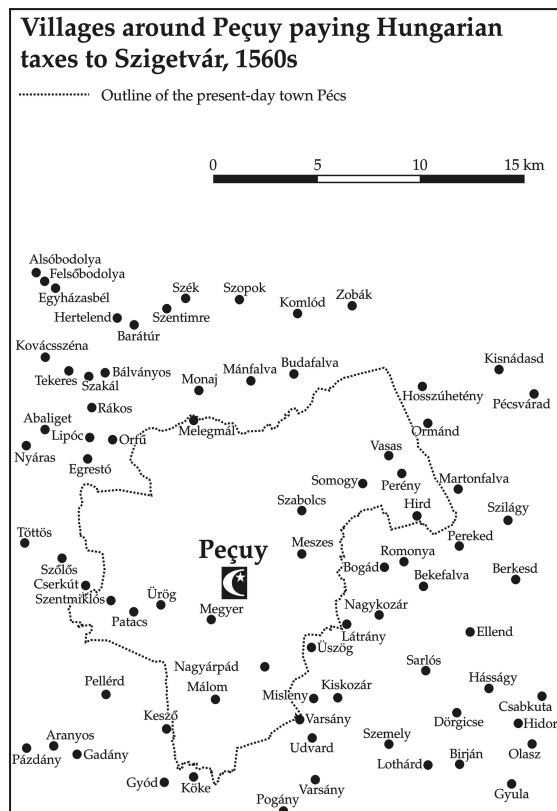
Memory of the tax-payers was kept alive by the soldiers of three major Hungarian fortresses and their dependent fortresses, Szigetvár (Ott. Sigetvar) in the west, Eger (Eğri) in the north, and Gyula (G'ula) in the East, until they were eventually captured by the Ottomans; then the task was taken over by royal fortresses situated behind them. The Hungarian taxation of the sultan's subjects required force too, and the Ottoman fortresses were no better at stopping Hungarian soldiers from raiding for tax than the Hungarian forces were at preventing the Turks from penetrating the Hungarian Kingdom. The third map shows the tax-paying districts of Szigetvár, Eger and Gyula in the 1560s; in the fourth map we can see those villages around Peçuy, located a long way south of the

- 1 The Ottoman advance taking place in the south-west border in the 16th century was studied by Éva Sz. Simon, *A hódoltságon kívüli "hódoltság". Oszmán terjeszkedés a Délnyugat-Dunántúlon a 16. század második felében* [Turkish conquests outside Ottoman Hungary. Ottoman expansion in south-west Transdanubia in the second half of the 16th century]. Budapest, 2014.
- 2 On this topic, see Ferenc Szakály, *Magyar adóztatás a török hódoltságban* [Hungarian taxation in Ottoman Hungary]. Budapest, 1981.

border and defended by five hundred soldiers, which were taxed by the Hungarian soldiery of Szigetvár.<sup>1</sup>

Neither *mufassal*, nor *icmal defteris* were prepared in the 17th century, so if we want to investigate the Ottoman land tenure and taxation systems we can only turn to the daybooks, the *ruzmançes*, among the materials preserved in Turkish archives. The Hungarian archives become the principal source for the

#### Map 4



northern border line. The county officials drafted the assessments needed to collect Hungarian war-tax until the middle of the century, and another kind of register emerged and has survived in great numbers. Prior to the renewals in 1615, 1627 and 1642 of the treaty of Zsitvatorok, which was concluded in 1606, counties carried out a survey of the towns and villages located in their territories. The elected Hungarian leaders and inhabitants of the settlements took an oath to report how their Turkish taxes had changed—increased—and what violence had accompanied the taxation. This type of register is full of horror stories: villages burnt, their inhabitants slaughtered or enslaved, animals, clothing and valuables of all kinds plundered, the detailed descrip-

tion of Ottoman taxation. What can be reconstructed from these deadful accounts is the date when a certain district was forced by extreme violence into paying tax, while the detailed description of services revealed that the norms of taxation laid down in the *mufassal defteris* in the 16th century had come to nothing by the 17th, if they had ever been valid at all. Besides basic produce: flour, oats, straw, honey and butter, every *sipahi* demanded and took whatever he needed, money, agricultural produce, animals and man-made articles in endless varieties. And all the settlements were crushed by endless socage, because when, in the half century of peace, the *sipahis* started farming they needed free labour.

1 The two maps were planned and published by Szakály, *Magyar adóztatás*, 79, 83.

The services demanded in the 17th century bore not the slightest resemblance to the decently determined taxes of the 16th century.

In 1593 the Christian forces recaptured the majority of Ottoman fortresses defending Buda towards the north. With the loss of their centres the *sancaks* of Novigrad, Sičen and Filek disappeared, and their territories were freed from Ottoman taxation for a while. When the northern border territory was retaken by the Ottomans its taxation had to be largely, if not completely, restarted. The lost towns and villages were brought under control for a second time by the soldiery of the two strongest fortresses of the area, Estergon and Eğri. The southern part of the territory was made to pay tax again until the peace of 1606. After this, over a period of several years, various regions located further north were burnt, pillaged and forced into obedience in raids that were almost serious enough to be called small campaigns. Just before the restoration of the Habsburg-Ottoman peace these raids became increasingly frequent, in order to force the negotiating delegates of the Hungarian king to accept that Ottoman taxation of more and more blocks of settlements was irreversible, and to sanction their loss by signing the peace treaty.

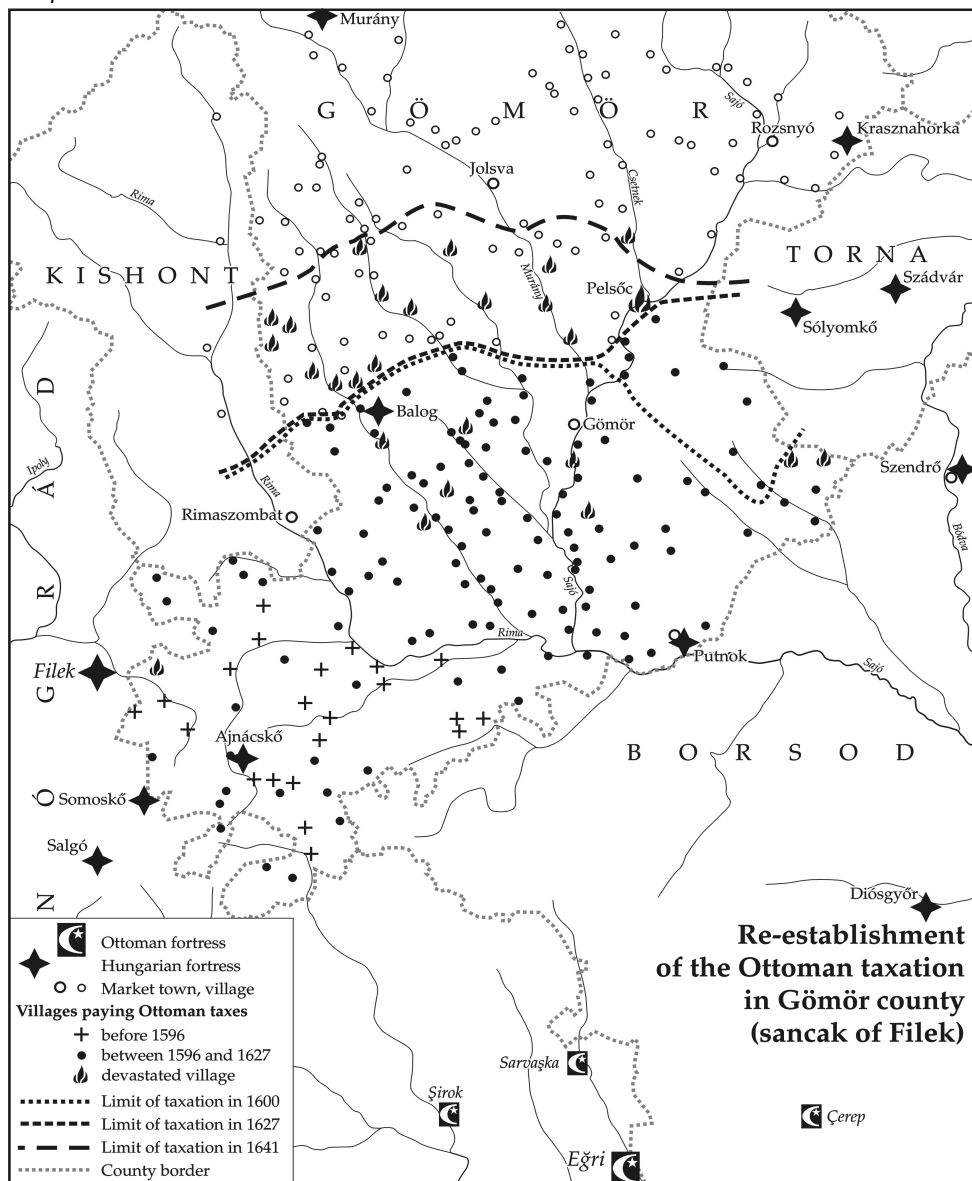
Map 5 shows the re-establishment of the Ottoman taxation in Gömör county, central territory of the *sancak* of Filek, marking those shorter periods of a few years when a certain region paid Ottoman taxes again.<sup>1</sup>

Investigating the changes in power relations in the border areas and the expansion of Ottoman influence still requires a great deal of work and more writing. This brief mention of the question is only intended to show that Ottoman fortresses in Hungary did not only have to manage the defense and expansion of

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1 Sources: Registers made before determining the Hungarian war-taxes (*dica*), OL Conscriptioes portarum volumes E 158 on the counties of Hont, Gömör, Torna and Borsod, and the reports of investigations carried out before the peace negotiations from the same counties, OL Magyar Kancelláriai Levéltár, Magyar Királyi Kancellária regisztrátúrāja, Transylvanica, A 98, volumes 13–14. To illustrate the investigations, I shall quote the statement of the inhabitants of one village, Derencsény, given under oath in 1641. 'Derencsény was burnt and pillaged by the Turks in 1634 (in 1632 in another confession). 11 people were slaughtered (9 according to another statement), 77 were taken captive (80 in another confession). Of the captives six paid a ransom of 1,400 Florins (1 Florin = 66 *akçes*), the others are still in captivity. One man had just sold his six oxen for 100 Florins, they took that as well. Apart from these the houses that were burnt down, cattle that were taken, clothes, weapons, money that was taken, their wheat and money that were burnt, add up to 1,000 Florins. Including the ransom for the captives, the damage done to them amounts to 2,500 Florins, besides the captives that stayed. The remaining inhabitants surrendered after the pillage. Their total tax was 12 Florins, 12 icce of butter (1 icce = about 0.8–0.9 liters), enough steel for a gun, apart from these they did not give anything else. Now (in 1641) their total tax has been increased to 66 Florins, the *paşa's* present is 6 Florins, the sultan's tax is 6 Florins, in addition an iron-bound wheelbarrow and an iron-bound bucket; an iron-bound wheelbarrow and an iron-bound bucket could be bought for 8 Florins. Straw stacking to be redeemed for 6 Florins. Which, besides the pillage, is 92 Florins in one sum.' OL A 98, volume 14, pp. 1135 rv. (Unfortunately, translation cannot render the archaic language of the text, which makes the account even more shocking.)

Map 5



conquered territories, but the spreading of influence and taxation as well. In itself, the fact that they were stationed on the European frontier of the Ottoman Empire burdened them with greater importance and responsibility than was borne by the garrisons of fortresses in the hinterland, within the Balkan Peninsula; the permanent war being fought in Hungary only increased this. Compared to the troops stationed in the hinterland, they were relieved of only one

duty: that of maintaining order, as in Hungary after the relatively peaceful decades of the 1570s and 1580s disorder and danger prevailed, caused mainly by the Ottoman and Christian soldiers themselves who were tearing at each other and at the population. Their task was to ravage the territories governed by the enemy, to make their lives more difficult. Both armies did so admirably.

## 2. Fortresses Captured by the Ottomans

The Ottoman fortress system was based on the fortresses which were captured between 1521 and 1566. These had to be completed and reinforced by the construction of new fortifications so that the defensive network of Ottoman Hungary would meet every requirement connected to its role. Establishing the necessary defense system also meant that some of the fortresses that were captured had to be abandoned after a while.

In military terms, it was not the battle of Mohács (1526) that opened a new era, but the fall of Belgrade (Hu. Nándorfehérvár) and Böğürdelen (Šabac) in 1521, which together brought down Hungary's whole southern line of defense.<sup>1</sup> In 1526 Süleyman captured the fortresses of Sirem, and probably established his first bridgehead north of the Danube above the confluence with the Tisza, at Titel. In 1529 he held Ösek (Osijek), which in the following year appears as a fortified place.<sup>2</sup> From then on it was the permanent crossing place of the sultan's army and all north-south land traffic on the Drava. In November 1532, long after the Ottoman army had left the country, in Buda a small Ottoman fleet and several thousand soldiers guarded Luigi Gritti, delegated to Hungary as the sultan's governor, hundreds of whom stayed around the capital and Ístolni Belgrad in the following years too.<sup>3</sup> In the years following 1521 the Ottoman army marched up and down undisturbed, what is more it was stationed in the country, and seized an area which was insignificant in size, but extremely important because it served as a gateway into the country. The actual capture of Buda in 1541 made little difference to this situation. The crucial point in the establishment of the Ottoman province was the fact that between autumn 1541 and spring 1542 the Ottoman army successfully, although with gaps, conquered and securely held the Danube and the military road running alongside it (through Kalaça, Seksar, Sekçöy).<sup>4</sup> By the spring of 1543 the southern part of the area between the Tisza

1 Ferenc Szakály, *A mohácsi csata* [The Battle of Mohács]. Budapest, 1975, 58–64.

2 Olga Zirojević, 'Turska utvrđena mesta na području današnje Vojvodine, Slavonije i Baranje', *Zbornik za istoriju* [Matice Srpske] 14 (1976) 128.

3 Ferenc Szakály, *Vesztőhely az út porában. Gritti Magyarországon 1529–1534* [Scaffold in the dust of the road. Gritti in Hungary, 1529–1534]. Budapest, 1986, 75, 130.

4 The secure Ottoman control of the middle stretch of the Danube is considered complete already prior to the 1543 campaign by Ferenc Szakály as well: 'Az első dunántúli szandzsák és megszervezője, Kászim bég [The first sancak in Transdanubia and its organizer, Kasım Bey]', *Keletkutatás* Spring (1995) 40.

and the Danube had also been occupied: after Titel and Kalaça Ottoman garrisons were also stationed in Segedin, Zombor and Baç. The sultan's campaign in 1543 took the most important fortresses in eastern Transdanubia, from Şikloş on the Drava to Vaç, located on the northern bend of the Danube, with which he secured Buda and the river, and provided a province for the *vilayet* centre which had so far been standing by itself.

Following the campaign of 1543 a line of fortresses already guarded the emerging, somewhat one-sided Ottoman province: starting from the Drava, Şikloş, Peçuy, Baranvar (Hu. Baranyavár, Sas (Szász, Szászvár), Malvar (Márévár), Ístolni Belgrad, Estergon and Vaç, along the Danube on the western side, Buda, Seksar (Szekszárd) and Sekçöy (Szekcső), to the east Pest, Kalaça, Zombor, Baç (Bács), along the Tisza Segedin and Titel. These fortresses were located at a fair distance from one another. The fortresses of the counties of Baranya and Bácska can be considered as a group, more or less, members of which could support each other if needed, the northern ones, however, stood alone, even the seemingly paired Estergon and Vaç, and Buda and Pest were separated by the Danube. In this situation all the fortresses were left to themselves and had to manage on their own (*sipahis* did not yet help them as there were no *timars* or *timariots* yet). Therefore it is hardly surprising that huge garrisons were stationed in the larger fortresses, and one or two hundred soldiers were placed even in smaller ones.

This military force was already able to launch independent campaigns under the supervision of the *beylerbeyi* of Buda. Battles fought by the garrisons outside their fortress involved the risk of leaving the poorly defended fortresses themselves vulnerable to enemy attack. Around the turn of 1544–1545 Ahmed, *sancakbeyi* of Ístolni Belgrad, led his soldiers to capture Ozora, and while he was away a Christian detachment forced its way into the fortress through one of the gates, and set houses on fire.<sup>1</sup> In spite of this interlude, in 1544 the combined military forces of the fortresses conquered Vişegrad and Hatvan, Göröşgal (Hu. Görösgál) in the area before Sigetvar, Çoka (Csóka), auxiliary to Ístolni Belgrad (and Baranvar, if not in 1543, then in this year). In the following year came the fortresses of Tolna county: Endrik, Şimontorna, Ozora, Tomaşin (Tamási) and Döbrekös (Döbrököz). The new fortresses did not increase the number of soldiers stationed in Hungary, as the troops were transferred from existing garrisons, but they greatly reinforced the Ottoman military presence. The fortresses in county of Tolna created a continuous border in Transdanubia, and the previously isolated fortresses were beginning to represent conquered territory. Taking Vişegrad and especially Hatvan reinforced the defense of Buda, which had been previously based only on Estergon and Vaç, towards the north-north east.

1 Sahillioğlu, *E 12321 Numaralı Mühimme*, No. 189. Dávid–Fodor, *Az ország ügye*, No. 32.



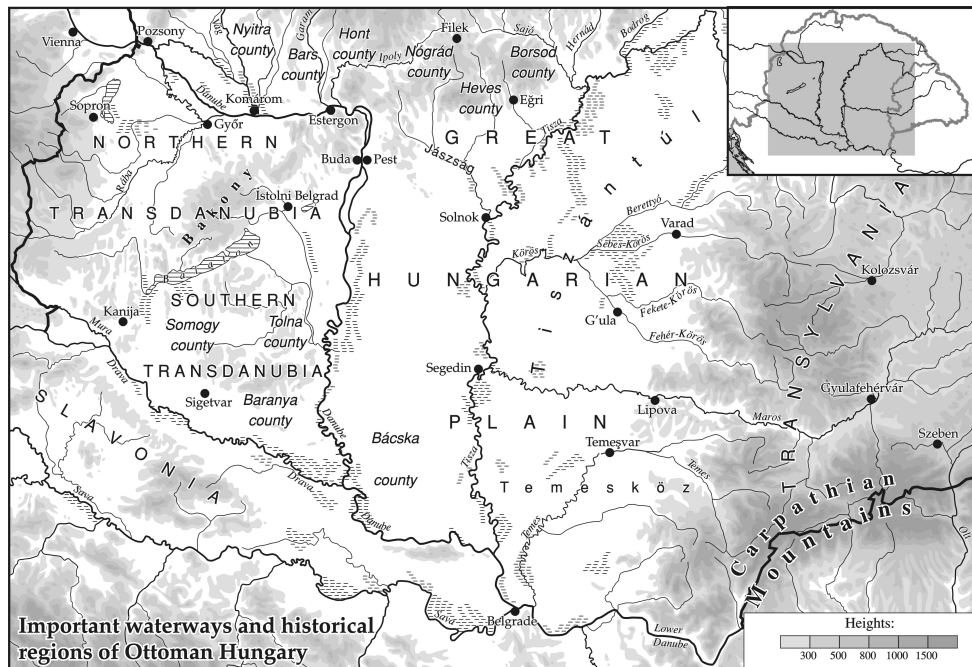
In the establishment of a province which was continuous, surrounded by fortresses and defensible as a territory, the years 1551–1552 brought the greatest success; the fruits of an unwanted campaign into which the Porte, overburdened by the permanent conflicts around the Persian border territories, the seas around Arabia and the Mediterranean, was forced by the events in Transylvania: the Habsburg occupation of the principality.<sup>1</sup> With the capture of Beçey (Hu. Becse) and Beçkerek (Becskerek) along the Tisza, Temeşvar further east and the territory south of it stretching to the Lower Danube, the fortresses along the river Maros, and then with the taking of Solnok (Szolnok), the more-or-less continuous fortress system of the first two Hungarian *vilayets* was established in the east as well. In the west, the Transdanubian border was reinforced with Bespirim, while in the north the fortresses of Nógrád county, Novigrad, Diregel, Siçen, Holloka and Buyak drew defensive rings around Buda. The establishment of the Ottoman's two youngest European provinces had been completed. Ottoman Hungary was brought into being: a coherent territory framed by a more or less continuous chain of border fortresses, defensible and manageable as a unit, whose strongholds defended not only themselves but each other as well, in which from the mid 1540s the survey of the population and what was produced began, as well as the distribution of *timars*, and with this the settling of the military forces of the *sipahis*. Every subsequent action taken by local forces and the imperial army was intended to extend, widen and enforce this core territory; in 1554 the capture of Filek and Şalgo in the north; in 1555 Kaposvar in southern Transdanubia and maybe Karad (Karád) at the same time; Tata, Gestöş (Gesztés) and Vitan (Vitány) in the north-west in 1557, on the eastern frontier G'ula, Yanova (Jenő) and Vilagoş (Világos) in 1566, and finally the capture of Sigetvar in the south-west, which sealed the fate of the fortresses located around it—Bobofça (Babócsa), Berzenç (Berezence), Lak, Şegeş (Segesd)—, that is the whole defensive zone that centred on Sigetvar.

Many smaller or greater fortresses have not been included in this short overview; I do not intend to list them all, as I also have not followed the capture and re-capture of some locations. What is important is the process of military conquest, the emergence of occupied territory, its form and locations, as this determined the defense as well, and also where the captured fortress system had to be complemented with new fortresses. The Ottoman military leadership struggled with the same task as the defense of the Hungarian Kingdom: they had to organize regions into a frontier which, since it lacked any previous strategic significance, also lacked fortresses.

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1 Pál Fodor, *The Unbearable Weight of Empire. The Ottomans in Central Europe—a Failed Attempt at Universal Monarchy (1390–1566)*. Budapest, 2015, 112–121.

Map 6



The map of Hungarian rivers and historical regions may help the reader to follow what has been described so far and what will be discussed later.

### 3. Fortress Constructions and Aspects of Defence

The Ottomans started building fortresses as early as the 1540s, and continued energetically up to the 1580s, but still at the turn of the century, and even in the first half of the 17th century new fortifications were raised in several important locations. These were always *palankas*, or wooden palisades. The terminology in the sources makes a clear distinction between a captured fortress and a *palanka* constructed by the Ottomans. Whatever was captured was consistently called a fortress, *kale* even if it was small, obsolete and worthless, or if it had been badly enlarged by the Hungarians, building on some earlier stone structure and then occupied by the Ottomans and reinforced maybe only later, and garrisoned with soldiers. On the other hand, they called a *palanka* or *parkan* everything that they raised themselves, even if by its size and strategic importance it would have deserved to be listed with the great strongholds, or if it had a previous, stone-built core, usually some form of ecclesiastical structure. In the first decades the differentiation was consistent. Later, in a disorderly fashion, a *palanka* here or there was promoted to the status of fortress; it also happened that the ruin of some old stone walls and their *palanka*-style reinforcement degraded once

proud stone fortresses into *palankas*. At the turn of the century and later the terminology was used interchangeably.

The constructions reveal threefold ambitions. The first aim was to surround the borders of Ottoman Hungary, whatever they might have been at the given time, with several lines of fortresses, preferably at equal distance from one another. The second was to defend the centres of *vilayets*, especially Buda and Temesvár, which, again, were surrounded by several lines of defensive rings of smaller or greater fortifications. Finally they enhanced the security of rivers and roads running alongside them with large numbers of minor *palankas*.

### Establishing a line of defence along the border of the *vilayet* of Buda

Both the Porte and local governors put great emphasis on border defense throughout the empire, including the Balkan territories located close to Hungary, into which they drew not only the soldiery of the fortresses, but privileged military peasants performing auxiliary military duties as well. In the Balkan Peninsula this was mainly done along the Adriatic coast and the areas bordering the Habsburg provinces: in Bosnia and between the Drava and Sava rivers. Naturally the line of the border often changed along with the current frontier, and the very meaning of 'border' changed as well. When the Hungarian soldiers of Szigetvár and the other fortresses surrounding it were conducting raids as far as the Danube and beyond in the east, and as far as Pojega (Požega) in the south, the Ottomans considered the whole southern part of the Buda *vilayet* as an area that had to be defended. While Eger and Gyula were still in Hungarian hands, the raids by their soldiers made Bácska county into a border area.<sup>1</sup> Thus guarding the border was a very complex task which, besides establishing and maintaining a chain of strongpoints consisting of conquered and constructed fortresses, included fending off raids, defending the hinterland and extending Ottoman taxation in the Kingdom.

The central and local Ottoman authorities tried to meet all these needs by filling the most endangered areas and the borders of Ottoman Hungary with fortresses, from which it was easy to reach the Kingdom, and which—or so it was still hoped in the 16th century—would hold off the Hungarian raiders. However, by the end of the century it had become obvious that no chain of fortresses could prevent either side from penetrating the other's territory. The 17th century borders of Ottoman territory had more gaps in the chain of fortresses than before, and not much attention was paid to filling them.

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1 Szakály, *Magyar adóztatás*, especially 60–80. In the chapter on military peasants I will return to the above question.

Let us look at the steps by which the system of fortresses guarding the border was established in chronological order. Geographically speaking we start from the Drava and reach the Tisza at Solnok. Again, I shall not mention the dates of construction, the references can be found in the database; I shall only provide the sources for the story of the reinforcement of the vulnerable district of Mohaç. This is a classic example of the relative nature of the border, so I will describe it at more length than the space in the database would allow.

The first Ottoman border fortress of Baranya county was Şikloş, taken in 1543, then in the next year Görösgal became the westernmost fortification. It is a mystery how this small garrison, only about a company strong, could survive on its own to the west of Sighetvar, in the midst of the rings of Hungarian fortresses, but it did so for one and a half decades, and in the absence of a more suitable alternative it became the centre of this far-away area; in the first half of the 1550s it also functioned as the centre of a *sancak*.<sup>1</sup> By 1546 the survey of Baranya county, or in Ottoman Turkish the *sancak* of Mohaç, had been completed,<sup>2</sup> and the seats of the *nahiyes*, the smallest units of administration, were selected. Several of these were unfortified. The Ottomans tried to secure their defence by ordering privileged peasants from the wide zone of border villages populated by Hungarians to perform military service (I will discuss the system in more detail in the chapter on military peasants). However, the system that functioned well in the Balkans did not work here, and was soon abandoned; it seemed to be a better solution to reinforce and place under military protection the seats of *nahiyes*. Thus were the *palankas* of Senmartin, Senlörinç (Hu. Szentlőrinc) and Şelin (Sellye) constructed in the early and mid-1550s, which, together with Donbo (Dombó), probably taken in 1546, and Kapošvar, taken in 1555, almost created a proper system of fortresses compared to the previous situation, when Görösgal stood guard by itself. However, up to 1566 the fortunes of war shifted back and forth along this border section. In 1555 Bobofça became Ottoman for a year; however, the successful defense of Szigetvár and the recapture of Bobofça brought temporary Christian superiority. At the end of 1559, following three years of attacks and destruction, Hungarian troops from Szigetvár slighted Görösgal, Şelin and Senlörinç for good: their walls were pulled down and their moats were filled in.<sup>3</sup> Although both the Ottomans and the Hungarians expected

1 Gyula Káldy-Nagy, *Baranya megye XVI. századi török adóösszeírásai* [The 16th century Turkish survey registers of Baranya county]. Budapest, 1960, 3. Géza Dávid, 'A Dél-Dunántúl közigazgatása a török korban [The administration of southern Transdanubia in the Ottoman era]', *Zalai Múzeum* 4 (1992) 6.

2 BOA Tapu 441.

3 The Hungarian garrison of Szigetvár had been working hard at the destruction of the three fortresses since 1556, this is often mentioned in the correspondence of the captains of the Hungarian fortresses in the neighbourhood. The imperial council often discussed their fate: one of its decrees from 1560 mentioned the three fortresses as 'defeated *palankas*' (*münhezim*

the other side to want to rebuild them, they remained in ruins. As a result of this, up to 1566 the defense of southern Transdanubia continued to be weak: of the palisades that had been built only Senmartin survived, and of the captured ones Göröşgal was lost, while further east the garrisons of Malvar and Sas disappeared from the pay lists. These were presumably abandoned because they were relatively safe in their locations away from the border, and they were obsolete anyway. The whole area remained a border area, and the Hungarian soldiers of Szigetvár and its neighbouring fortresses went raiding unhindered as far down as the Danube. At the end of the summer of 1558 the Hungarian soldiers of the Kanizsa “were roaming around Mohaç for 15 days, and there were no Turks to be found”.<sup>1</sup> During these years the constant subject of the submissions by the local Ottoman high-ranking officials and the decrees of the imperial council sent in reply was the presence of Hungarian border garrison soldiers in Southern Transdanubia; it transpires even today that this caused the most trouble in the consolidation of the new provinces. The soldiers of Szigetvár went on raiding the territory between the Drava and Sava, so the sultan’s council ordered the construction of a *palanka* at Moslavina on the banks of the Drava in order to block their way in January 1560.<sup>2</sup> They crossed the Danube too: in 1559 they collected tax and started fires in Zombor and the neighbouring villages.<sup>3</sup> In 1561 at the suggestion of the *mirliva* of Segedin a company of Balkan peasants divided into squads were settled in three deserted villages between Baya and Zombor, so that in return for exemption from taxation they would help repel the continuous incursions of the Hungarians.<sup>4</sup> The south-eastern part of Transdanubia suffered the most from raids, especially the area around Mohaç. At the beginning of 1560, according to a decree on the subject issued on April 10, Hungarian soldiers from Szigetvár, Babócsa and Csurgó made a sortie as far as Mohaç, where the fifteen men sent by the *sancakbeyi* and forty *martoloses* locked themselves into a church; then the Hungarians and the Ottoman troops fought several skirmishes in which the local peasants helped the Hungarian soldiers.<sup>5</sup> Hungarian raiders liked to disappear into the islands along the Mohaç reach of the Danube.

This ill-regulated area had to be reinforced both on shore and on water. On September 17, 1559 The imperial council sent a decree to the *paşa* of Buda,<sup>6</sup>

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*olan palankalar*). 3 *Numaralı mühimme defteri* (966–967 / 1558–1560) I–II. Ankara, 1993, Nos. 702 and 1293.

1 Sándor Őze, *500 magyar levél a XVI. századból. Csányi Ákos levelei Nádasdy Tamáshoz, 1549–1562. II* [500 Hungarian letters from the 16th century. Ákos Csányi’s letters to Tamás Nádasdy, 1549–1562]. Budapest, 1996, 62.

2 3 *Numaralı mühimme defteri*, No. 699.

3 *Ibid.*, No. 118.

4 See the chapter on military peasants for more details.

5 3 *Numaralı mühimme defteri*, No. 960.

6 *Ibid.*, No. 342.

whose predecessor, Toygun Pasha, had already recommended that a *palanka* be built at Mohaç. His suggestion was supported by the *divan* then, and the construction was ordered. According to the terms of the decree the selection of two hundred 'kâfir with guns' (that is peasant-*martoloses* equipped with firearms) was completed on April 9, 1559, for the defense of the future *palanka*, and presumably first for the defense of the builders. However, Toygun Pasha died before work began. His successor, Rüstem, turned again to the Porte, and was ordered on June 29, 1560 to have the *palanka* built in accordance with the previous decree, and to make up the garrison out of soldiers from three vacated fortresses and the *martoloses* who had been chosen. The *divan* sanctioned the formation of a Mohaç river-fleet as well, and nominated its commander, the *kapudan*.<sup>1</sup>

At the time when the decree of the sultan's council was drafted, preparations for the fortress constructions had already begun. Several Hungarian letters about this survive from September 1560. According to these, great forces brought in from Buda, Ístolni Belgrad, Šimontorna, Seksar, Kopan, Segedin, Ösek and from further south blocked the roads to Mohaç, to secure the construction.<sup>2</sup> The letters also mention that after Mohaç the ruined fortress at Baranvar was to be built up. Exactly when this happened I do not know, but I presume that they took advantage of the great concentration of forces and the presence of builders to complete both fortresses. Baranvar was already standing by 1562 at the latest. In 1565 the treasury paid for 228 soldiers in the two new palisades and it is highly likely that privileged peasants also participated in the defense of the area.

In spite of all this, the border defenses of south Transdanubia were only consolidated by the campaign of 1566, to the extent that the inevitable raids made consolidation possible. The gains: Sigetvar, Boboçfa, Berzenç and Lak, were very valuable in themselves; however, the border was further reinforced by the construction of newer palisades. By the autumn of 1567 the *palanka* of Barça (Hu. Barcs) on the Drava had been completed. By 1570 the Ottomans had reinforced Şegeş, occupied in 1566, which they considered a *parkan*, not a fortress, and whose garrison we first hear of in 1572. After 1574 the small *palanka* of Söçin (Szöcsény) was set up on the border between Şegeş and Lak; its garrison first appears in the treasury accounts of Buda in 1578, as well as the fortification of Bolondvar (Bolondvár) to the north-east, close to Lake Balaton, which is sometimes called a *kale*, sometimes a *parkan*, and whose defenders are first listed in a document that survives from 1578.

The chain of Ottoman border fortresses was built further east in the part of Transdanubia which stretches north of the Balaton. Ottoman military planners never gave up the idea of conquering territory further west, and the way to-

1 Ibid., No. 1293.

2 Ágoston Szalay, *400 magyar levél a XVI. századból 1504–1560* [400 Hungarian letters from the 16th century 1504–1560]. Pest, 1861, 374–378; a letter contradicting the news: 390–391.

wards Vienna led through northern Transdanubia. However, Bespirim, Polata (Hu. Palota) and Tata, fortresses in the hilly region above the Balaton and the mountain Bakony, and the coveted Yanık (Győr) were only in Ottoman hands for a brief period. In this territory the greatest success was achieved in 1594, when Ottoman garrisons manned the fortresses of Yanık, Papa (Pápa), Bespirim, Polata, Vajon (Vázsony), Tihon (Tihany). The Ottomans not only taxed northern Transdanubia, but also took military control over it. For the first time in the series of Viennese campaigns they stood before the imperial city with their backs and supply-lines secured.<sup>1</sup> Of what had been captured they only managed to keep Polata. Apart from the four years between 1594 and 1598 the border moved much further east: it followed the Endrik–Ístolni Belgrad–Estergon line, and its military forces were used to extend Ottoman taxation as far as the river Rába. Although the whole territory of Ottoman-ruled Transdanubia bordered on the Kingdom, and the Ottomans considered this the ‘border’ or the ‘frontier’, it was always in the southern part of Transdanubia that more fortresses were located and more soldiers were stationed, as this faced the hereditary Habsburg provinces.

The border between the southern and northern parts stretched along the southern shore of Lake Balaton, and its eastern point reached the fortresses in Tolna county. At this point, where Hungarian soldiers from Veszprém often broke into Ottoman territory, the little *parkan* of Hidvig (Hu. Hidvég) was constructed in 1570 or a little earlier. The border turning north was originally only defended by Ístolni Belgrad, Çoka and Estergon. To fill the gaps between them, first two fortresses were established in the area before Buda: between 1546 and 1548 Canbek (Zsámbék) was taken and maybe added to (it is possible that they did not even construct a *palanka* around the original stone building, which is suggested by the term *kale*), and in 1550 a *palanka* was built at Val. In 1552 the Ottomans captured Bespirim, and in 1557 Tata, Gestös and Vitan. Having occupied these fortresses, they suspended construction for a while; however, when Bespirim, Tata and Vitan were lost in 1566, they started again. In 1567 the submission of the *paşa* of Buda to extend the already existing towers and walls of Bak’an (Battyán) on the southern approaches to Ístolni Belgrad into a *palanka* was approved by the imperial council. At the beginning of the 1570’s Kızılhisar (Vörösvár) also became a fortification; we first hear of its garrison in 1572. With the constructions this border section was also filled with fortresses, but it differed from the south Transdanubian border. While in the latter area a number of more or less equal fortresses manned with a few hundred soldiers and some smaller ones constituted a defensive chain of several layers, here a single line of

1 Pálffy Géza, *A császárváros védelmében. A győri kapitányság története 1526–1598* [In the defense of the imperial city. The history of the captaincy of Győr]. Győr, 1999, 208–213.

smaller fortresses was constructed between the two great strongholds of Ístolni Belgrad and Esterгон.

The fortifications of Esterгон would deserve a separate study. When it was captured, the Ottomans won a fortress, a walled town, and down at the Danube a water-works built into a stone tower, which they also called 'water tower' (*kule-i ab*). All three parts were given their own garrisons. Esterгон's military significance possible surpassed even that of Buda, as it guarded the water and land routes to Vienna, and Buda itself. First a *palanka* was constructed between 1545 and 1549 on the far side of the river on the site of the ruined village of Kakat, which they named Cığerdelen<sup>1</sup> (in their correspondence written in Hungarian the Ottomans too called it 'the castle named Kakat, Kakat palisade'). Esterгон and Cığerdelen were considered as one unit, their personnel were consistently mixed up in the pay lists. At the turn of the century the *palanka* which was built on the Szent Tamás (Saint Thomas) hill<sup>2</sup> played a part in the battles for possession of Esterгон, and was given the name Tepedelen ('head puncher').

From this heavily reinforced strongpoint the border led on to Vişegrad and Vaç; then, describing a wide semicircle, it followed the outer line of the fortresses in the Nógrád county. The majority of these were captured by the Ottomans between 1552 and 1554; a few were taken later: Sobotka (Hu. Szabadka) probably in 1557, Aynaşka (Ajnácskő) in 1566, Keköy (Kékkő), Şomoşka (Somoskő) and Divin (Divény) in 1575. In spite of the fact that the deep, multi-layered set of conquered fortresses securely defended the northernmost part of Ottoman Hungary, the section was further strengthened by two newly constructed fortresses. These were not placed at the furthest point of the border, but both defended the river Ipoly and the road running alongside it. The earlier Böğürdelen (Drégelypalánk), was constructed in 1575, the later one Derbend was reconstructed from the ruins of Damásd in 1581.

From the south-east end of the Nógrád fortress line, once again the border between Hatvan and Solnok consisted of a single row of well-separated fortresses. Although the line is short, it can be considered important because it faced Eger, which was still in Hungarian hands. As the garrison of Eger raided the territory between the Danube and the Tisza as often as the Szigetvár soldiers harassed southern Transdanubia, it is surprising that only two Ottoman *palankas* were constructed here, albeit strong ones. The reinforcement and fortific-

1 The word means 'liver puncher', and is a typical example of how the Ottomans gave names: it was supposed to express the terrible power of the palisade. Together with the explanation of Tepedelen, see Lajos Fekete, 'Hódoltságkori oszmanli-török helyneveink [Ottoman Turkish toponyms from the Ottoman era of Hungary]', *Századok* 58 (1924) 618–619.

2 István Horváth, 'Ottoman Military Constructions in Esztergom', in Ibolya Gerelyes–Gyöngyi Kovács (eds.), *Archaeology of the Ottoman Period in Hungary*. Budapest, 2003, 75–87.



ation of the convent of Jászberény started in 1567, just before the treaty of Adrianople, which forbade fortress building. The *palanka* called Canfeda belonged to one of the greatest fortifications along the border, and was manned by almost 450 soldiers. The *palanka* of Senmikloş (Hu. Szentmiklós) raised in 1554 on the far side of the Tisza, a twin fortress to Solnok, was of medium size and importance. This border reached into the territory of the *vilayet* of Temeşvar, which was also the location of many Ottoman fortifications.

### The concept of the border and the role of border fortresses in the *vilayet* of Temeşvar

The position and geographical nature of the province founded in 1552 were fundamentally different from those of Buda. Among the differences, two were crucial. The first aspect is political and military: the territory belonging to Temeşvar bordered a vassal state of the Ottoman Empire, the Principality of Transylvania, and was nowhere near the areas that would have been involved in Ottoman plans for expansion into Western Europe. The second aspect is physical: from the east, the province was walled in by mountains, which could be crossed by following the valleys which stretched east to west: defence could and had to be based on these.

The area lying to the north-east of the empire consisted of four vassal states: Transylvania, Wallachia, Moldova and the Crimean Khanate. They were all kept open to attack by the Porte using the same method: by capturing their border fortresses the Ottomans maintained a situation whereby in case of disobedience they could invade the vassal state. From this point of view it is a matter of secondary importance that the latter three states were forced into vassallage by the Ottoman capture of their fortresses, while in Transylvania the order was the opposite. Here the alliance between János Szapolyai, King of Hungary (1526–1540), and Sultan Süleyman established vassal status in 1529, then the campaign of 1552 opened an entry from Temeşvar into the principality, which was vulnerable both from the south and the east. Through the Carpathian passes the armies of the Moldavian and Wallachian voivodes and the Crimean khan could invade any time, should the Porte decide to use the effective method of setting the vassals against one another, and order them to do so.

Given Transylvania's political and military vulnerability, at the south-east end of Ottoman Hungary there was no need for a strong chain of fortresses arranged in several secure rings, such as the Ottomans constructed opposite the Kingdom. If we really want to see a line of border strongholds, we can tour the fortresses that stood along the eastern ends of the *vilayet* of Temeşvar; after 1566, going from south to north Irşova, Bokça (Hu. Bogcsa), Façet (Facsád), Varadya (Tótvárad), Totinç (Feltót) and Yanova. This group, however, does not

really give the impression of a planned chain of border fortresses. As the crow flies, between Irşova and Bokça there is a stretch of highland about 90 kilometers long, and the distance between Bokça and Façet is barely less; the remaining three fortresses were located closer to each other, but separated by rivers. And just as important: towards the west, behind them, the only other fortresses lay far away, a system of defense consisting of several rings was nowhere to be found. What is more, the only garrison sufficient to man a real border fortress was stationed in Yanova. The fortifications listed above were the easternmost defensive strongpoints for the Danube, Béga, Maros and Körös rivers (only Bokça did not lie on a river), and, although they were on the border they cannot be considered as border fortresses.

The defense of the *vilayet* of Temeşvar was thus not so much based on the border fortresses as on the two other elements: the numerous larger or smaller fortresses of the territory enclosed by the Temes–Béga–Danube (the greater part of Temesköz), and the line of defence guarding the river banks; palisade building was adjusted to these two aspects, the defence of the core territory and the waterways. The rivers and fortresses on the roads running alongside them will be discussed in more detail in due course, however, they do play a role in the subject of border defence.

The eastern border of the *vilayet* did not need to be defended against the vassal state of Transylvania, as only in the very worst of cases could it have turned hostile, but against the real enemy, the Hungarian Kingdom of the Habsburgs. Up to 1566, while Gyula was still a royal fortress, it collected as much tax from the Ottoman territories as Szigetvár and Eger did; its soldiers campaigned as far as the southern part of the territory between the Danube and the Tisza, and collected taxes in the territories beyond the Tisza as far as the river Maros. After Gyula fell to the Ottomans in 1566, it was replaced by Eger in the Hungarian taxation system for the territories east of the Tisza, and after a while Transylvania joined in the competition for taxes that could be collected in the eastern part of the *vilayet* of Temeşvar.<sup>1</sup>

On the border line of the *vilayet* facing north north-east, raiders attacking from the Kingdom and Transylvania were supposed to be stopped by the Ottoman fortresses on the shores of the three Körös rivers, this was the ‘border’, which is also indicated by the fact that in the garrisons stationed here, in accordance with their border defence task, the cavalry predominated. The defences of the border were constructed slowly; work started with more difficulty than in the *vilayet* of Buda. The tiny fortress of Totinç, the first fortress of the defensive line, which stood on its own for years, had an Ottoman garrison as early as 1554

1 Szakály, *Magyar adóztatás*, 128, 134–136, 138. László Szalay, *Erdély és a Porta* [Transylvania and the Porte]. Pest, 1862, 62.

(it was probably captured in 1552, and how it managed to hold out for so long is as much a mystery as that of the survival of the equally isolated Görösgal on the western border). The occupation of the Körös rivers did not happen until the mid 1560s. Vilagoş, Yanova and G'ula, which were taken in 1566, already represented strongholds worthy of note; however, west of them the river was undefended all the way down to its confluence with the Tisza, leaving the way open for Hungarian raiders. To fend them off, *palankas* were constructed: Erdöheg' (Hu. Erdőhegy) in 1571, then Bekeş (Békés) and Sarvaş (Szarvas) in 1584. These completed the defense of the three Körös rivers.

This, of course, did not enable the fortresses along the Körös rivers to put an end to the tax collecting raids by royal and Transylvanian troops, any more than the completion of a certain section of the border fortress in the Buda *vilayet* managed to stop them. Only the defensive line along the river Maros, which was set up in the middle of the 16th century, was able to achieve this. Following the course of the river, it consisted of Varadya (this was built later), Viziaş (presumably Eperjes), Lipova, Şolmoş (Solymos), Arad, Felnak, Çanad (Csanád) and Beşenova (Besenyő, of unknown date). This chain of fortresses was neither denser nor stronger than that on the Körös rivers, and what is more, apart from Lipova they were manned with weak garrisons. The fact that royal and Transylvanian troops did not wish to push through the chain was not due to its defensive strength but to the fact it was not worth raiding here. While between the Körös and the Maros the rich towns and villages of the Great Hungarian Plain, the Alföld, tempted the Hungarians, south of the Maros, apart from the Hungarian villages around the confluence, the population consisted of a solid block of Balkan people, who resisted taxation by the Hungarians whether in Transdanubia or in Bácska or here. Ottoman survey registers indicate that the tiny Serbian hamlets of Temesköz, and the Romanian villages in the east, were poor: there were no herds of cattle grazing in the outskirts of their villages, whatever could be taken from them was not worth risking any lives for.

#### Border defence and new *vilayets* at the end of the 16th and in the 17th century

The long war at the turn of the century weakened the line of border fortresses at several points, primarily in the sections located north of Buda and flanking Transylvania. The fortresses in Nógrád county were soon lost, in the first years of the war. Buda did not launch a counter-offensive; after the conclusion of the war the defense of the northern border was considered to have been ensured by the recapture of Vaç in 1620, and no further steps were taken until 1663. A new palisade was only raised below Eğri, at Heveş (Hu. Heves) in 1605, and except for Vaç the remaining garrisons were not reinforced. From Temeşvar, the 1595

campaign by the Transylvanian army captured the fortresses along the Körös rivers and the Maros, except for G'ula; what is more they took Bokça and Virşiç, in the heart of Temesköz, as well, and the Ottoman military leadership did not do much to retake any of them. The Ottomans won back Çanad, Felnak, Arad and according to some reports Vilagoş (as well as Virşiç and in 1607 Bokça) while the war was still going on, then in 1616 Gábor Bethlen, Prince of Transylvania, gave back Lipova with several smaller fortresses; some of these, however, remained vacant for a long time or were never re-occupied. As a result of these changes, between 1616 and 1658, the defense of the rivers which functioned as a border was very weak: only G'ula defended the Körös rivers, and of the Maros fortresses, Varadya, Vizias, Şolmoş and Arad fell, in which for decades there were no garrisons. The capture of Eğri and Kanija did not alter the fact that certain sections of the border defense of the two largest *vilayets*, the northern part of the Buda *vilayet*, and the section along the river of the Temeşvar *vilayet*, practically collapsed.

These two great fortresses, and then in sixty years the capture of Varad in 1660 and Uyvar in 1663, along with some smaller fortresses belonging to them, greatly reinforced the Ottoman occupation, including the borders. Taking Eğri and Kanija was profitable in several ways. On the one hand, the Ottomans acquired two valuable and powerful border fortresses, around which new *vilayets* could be organized, and on the other hand the Hungarians lost two strong-points whose garrisons had caused the Ottomans constant problems throughout the 16th century by carrying out raids and collecting Hungarian taxes by force. Their occupation greatly favoured the Ottomans, and from then on Kanija increased the territories open to Ottoman taxation in the western Transdanubian parts of the Kingdom. Combining to reintroduce Ottoman taxation among the northern Hungarian population that had been temporarily lost during the war, Eğri and Estergon took the lead. As during the fifty years following 1606 there was peace in Hungary, with no campaigns, and no occupation of fortresses, the primary task of the two new *vilayet* centres was to extend influence and Ottoman taxation, not to defend the border.

Eğri and its three auxiliary fortresses reinforced the defense of the northern border not as a carefully planned unit, but an acquired group of fortresses. For reasons that are not quite clear, this was still considered a weak point, thus a *palanka* was constructed at Heveş. This was the last border fortress constructed in Ottoman Hungary (though in view of its location it might be better considered a near-border fortress), which indicates clearly that the military authorities did not wish to deal with the issue of border defense. Kanija did not bring auxiliary fortresses with itself; its hinterland was made up of the strong unit of Şegeş, Berzenç, Bobofça and Sigetvar.

In the 17th century the situation around Temeşvar changed significantly. With the capture of Şebeş (Hu. Karánsebes), Lugoj (Hu. Lugos) and Varad and the recapture of Yanova in 1658–1660 a genuine, although single-file, defensive system emerged facing Transylvania. Irşova, Mehadia, Şebeş, Lugoj, Façet, Varadya, Lipova, Vilagoş, Yanova and Varad (with some auxiliary fortresses) already constituted a real line of defense mainly manned with strong garrisons. Every single link in the chain is a captured fortress; there are no signs that the eastern border of the *vilayet* was to be reinforced with newly-built fortifications. It is true that the Principality of Transylvania, regarded as rebellious, was suppressed by Mehmed Köprülü, thus a line of defense against it was even less necessary than in the previous century. The mighty and strongly garrisoned Varad, situated at the meeting point of the Hungarian Kingdom, Ottoman Hungary and Transylvania, was able to supervise the three parts of the country on its own.

Uyvar and its auxiliary, Şuran (Hu. Surány) were great assets, primarily because they increased and reinforced Ottoman territory facing the ancient enemy, Vienna. Uyvar was soon to become Ottoman Hungary's main arsenal of munitions and provisions, which, among other signs, indicates that the Porte had not given up hope of waging a war against the Habsburgs and of achieving further western expansion. The *vilayet* organized around Uyvar only had these two fortresses, and it received taxable settlements north of the Danube between the rivers Vág and Ipoly. If we compare the part of the *sancak* of Estergon located above the Danube surveyed in 1570 with the counties of Nyitra and Bars in the *vilayet* of Uyvar we can see a huge gain of territory.<sup>1</sup> This was obviously not the result of Uyvar's occupation alone, but of the continuous expansion of Ottoman taxation over most of the preceding century. But it is beyond doubt that the establishment of the new *vilayet* and the recapture of the five fortresses in Nógrád county, namely Novigrad, Sičen, Holloka, Buyak and Aynaşka, in 1663 brought the territory of Ottoman Hungary to the greatest size it would ever reach, and restored the earlier powerful defenses of the northern border.

Even a brief summary of the events of the 17th century makes it clear that the continuous reinforcement of border defenses manifested in the construction of *palankas* lost its importance. The indifference with which the central and local decision-makers observed the collapse of the defensive systems at Buda and above Temeşvar in the 1590s can be explained by two factors. The first is a period of more than fifty years of official peace, which excluded war and fortress sieges. The other is even more important: by the turn of the century both Hungarians and Ottomans had abandoned the naïve idea that they could seal off their parts of the country from the raiding, pillaging and tax-collecting troops of the enemy. Public safety in Ottoman Hungary ceased to exist; not only Hungar-

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1 Fekete, *Az esztergomi szandzsák*, Blaskovics, *Érsekújvár és vidéke*.

ian border garrison soldiers, but hordes of common highwaymen and robbers looted at will. Through the gaps between border fortresses it was not too difficult to steal cattle by the herd, even several hundred animals at a time.

I shall illustrate the fact that all four Ottoman *vilayets*, except for the well-defended Temesköz, were open to Hungarian soldiers, especially those coming from fortresses in the northern part of Hungary, with four examples. All four raids took place in years when the Ottoman defense of the given district had already been reinforced by new acquisitions.

On February 2, 1641, Ádám Batthyány, commander-in-chief of the Transdanubian army, with the permission of the highest Hungarian official, Palatine Miklós Esterházy, raided the Ottoman *palanka* of Ígal south of Lake Balaton, its suburbs and four neighbouring villages populated by Serbians serving in the defense of the *palanka*, with 4,000 Hungarian soldiers. They did not want to occupy the *palanka*, but to punish and destroy it. They took 397 captives, including 40 Muslims, 356 of whom were later sold as slaves. They drove away the livestock, and pillaged the valuables of the five villages. The booty, including the captives, was auctioned off in a royal fortress for 14,257 florins.<sup>1</sup>

In 1665 103 soldiers of the northern Hungarian fortresses drove away 1,500 animals, horses, oxen, cows and calves from town Solt, situated along the Danube, in the *sancak* of Segedin.<sup>2</sup>

In June 1668 about 350 north Hungarian soldiers ravaged villages in the *sancak* of Segedin as well. The protesting *paşa* of Temeşvar and the *mirliva* of G'ula accused them of slaughtering 400 and 600 people respectively, burning and pillaging thirty villages, and stealing their cattle. The investigation following the raid established that 48 salt-carrying carts, 300 horses and 76 captives had been captured.<sup>3</sup>

One of the warlike counts of northern Hungary, Imre Balassa, wrote a diary in 1679–1680 in which he kept notes of affairs concerning his estates located in Turkish territories. Unjustly, he included here the town of Makó and 18 villages in the area. Makó was situated in the *sancak* of Çanad, on the northern bank of the Maros. It was the sultan's rich *has*-town, with 595 tax-paying households (*hane*) in 1567, 710 in 1579, and it boasted a harbour and a customs house.<sup>4</sup> Count Balassa hired soldiers from northern Hungarian fortresses to collect the tax due from his estates above the Maros. An extract from his diary reads: "Of

1 László Fenyvesi, 'Az igali portya és a körmendi kótyavetnye balkáni tanulságai [The Balkan lessons learnt from the raid of Ígal and the auction of Körmend]', in Sándor Bodó–Jolán Szabó (eds.), *Magyar és török végvárak 1663–1684*. Eger, 1985, 199–212.

2 Szakály, *Magyar adóztatás*, 257–258: note 52.

3 Edit Izsépy, 'Török panaszok a magyar végváriak ellen 1668–1669 [Turkish complaints against Hungarian garrison soldiers 1668–1669]', *Az Egyetemi Könyvtár Évkönyvei* 3 (1966) 254–255.

4 Gyula Káldy-Nagy, *A csanádi szandzsák 1567. és 1579. évi összeírása* [The 1567 and 1579 survey registers of the sancak of Csanád]. Szeged, 2000, 132–150.

the profit, which they could get and win, half is mine, the other half is theirs. ... The annual tax of the inhabitants of Makó was two hundred florins, when they paid it of their own good will, and forty crane feathers. But when my soldiers were set on them, a few times they took a thousand thalers from them. A thousand thalers would have been enough for ten years. What they paid me in three or four years would have been enough for forty years. ... I would have been satisfied with four or five thalers from my farmstead of Férged. My soldier, Balázs Sós with his companions drove away six hundred cows in an hour from that farmstead, drove them into my fortress at Divény; half of that was the soldiers', half of it was mine. Counting five thalers a year, how many years would that be enough for, maybe two hundred.<sup>1</sup>

### Fortress systems defending Buda and Temeşvar

The location of new fortresses constructed by the Ottomans indicates another aim beyond the reinforcement of the border: the special defense of the first two *vilayet* centres. In the case of the other four *vilayets* this was not the case, as here—with the single exception of Heveş—no new fortresses were built. Eğri, Kanija, Varad and Uyvar were defended by smaller or larger fortress districts; these, however, were occupied by the Ottomans either earlier, or together with the new centres; they did not extend them any further.

The defensive area around Buda can really be called a ring, as the fortresses surrounded the centre in a regular circle. Although the upper arc of the circle coincided with the northern chain of border fortresses, it is my firm belief that the reinforcement of this border section was mostly intended for the defense of Buda. Although the ring was open between the Danube and the Tisza, it was made very strong in the west, north and east.

The starting point of the defensive ring was the *palanka* of Cankurtaran ('soul-saving') constructed at the southern end of Csepel island, otherwise known as Korkmaz ('fearless'), as used generally in pay lists. This was not, as the legend goes, built in 1529 when Süleyman retreated from Vienna, but between 1546 and 1549 (it appears as Korkmaz in the database). North of this, immediately before Buda, near the Danube, Hamzabey sarayı was erected. It received its name from Hamza Bey, *mirliva* of İstolni Belgrad in the 1550s, who in 1559 had a 'castle' here which he had bought from the treasury.<sup>2</sup> No evidence has yet emerged about when this was extended into a *palanka* and when it was manned with a garrison. In 1569 a letter from the *paşa* of Buda written in Hungarian

1 Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Kézirattár, Fol. Hung. 36, pp. 71–73. Balassa's deeds were written up on the basis of the diary and other sources, and excerpts from the diary were quoted: Szakály, *Magyar adóztatás*, 308–313. Idem, *Makó a török hódoltság idején* [Makó during the Ottoman conquest], Makó, 1993, 280.

2 Káldy-Nagy, *A budai szandzsák 1559. évi összeírása*, 43.

talks about Hamza Bey's *parkan*<sup>1</sup>, so there was already a fortified place there; in 1569–1673 however, it did not yet appear either in pay lists or in treasury accounts; its garrison was only mentioned in 1578 in the account books of Buda. The *palankas* of Korkmaz, Hamzabey sarayı and Erçin (Hu. Ercsi), constructed in the 1620s, stood along the Danube, within the defensive ring; before them to the west stood the line of occupied and constructed fortresses which also guarded the border: Bak'an, Istolni Belgrad, Val, Çoka, Gestös, Canbek, Kızılhisar, Estergon-Ciğerdelen, Vişegrad, Vaç, Derbend, then the fortresses taken in Nógrád county: Novigrad (1544), from 1552–1554 Diregel, Siçen, Buyak, Holloka, Filek, Şalgo, from 1566 Aynaşka, from 1575 Şomoşka, Keköy and Divin. South of these, close to Buda, little Sanda stood guard, which was probably taken by the Ottomans together with Novigrad and Hatvan in 1544, though a garrison was stationed there in 1546. The eastern arc of the defensive ring consisted of the four border fortresses of Hatvan, Canfeda, Solnok and Senmikloş.

Although the network of fortresses around Buda was both dense and powerful, it was further strengthened by three new *palankas*. The earliest, Sobotka, was built in the mid 1550s on the eastern border of Nógrád county. The other two guarded the river Ipoly: Böğürdelen (1575) the northern reach of the river, while Derbend was reconstructed in 1581.

As the border and Buda were defended by almost the same fortresses, the Fifteen Years' War threw the defensive ring into disarray just as it did the chain of border fortresses. The section facing west remained intact, the northern part thinned out and became a single row, and Canfeda was lost from the eastern section. Maybe the *palanka* of Heveş, constructed in 1605, was supposed to replace this, although after the taking of Eğri and the smaller fortresses belonging to it this was not strictly necessary. Up to 1663 not only the *vilayet* of Buda, but Buda itself was only defended by Vişegrad, Vaç, and Hatvan towards the north and north east. The upper arc of the ring was only restored in 1663.

The story of the area around Temeşvar turned out differently. As we have seen, with the building that took place the 16th century the Maros and the Körös rivers were lined with fortresses, and this was regarded as sufficient for the defence of the *vilayet* centre. Temeşvar was only surrounded by occupied fortresses, many of which stood far from each other: Beçkerek, Beçey, Çanad, Felnak, Arad, Lipova, Façet, Bokça, Virşiç and Çakova (Hu. Csák). Apart from the military inhabitants the military peasants of the *vilayet* lived in this central territory, which also contained the majority of settlements with *derbend*-rights who were tasked with defending roads, fords and harbours (these semi-military ele-

1 Sándor Takáts–Ferenc Eckhart–Gyula Szekfű, *A budai basák magyar nyelvű levelezése I* [The Hungarian correspondence of the pashas of Buda]. Budapest, 1915, 39.



ments will be discussed in more detail in the chapter on the military peasants of the *vilayet*).

Stronger defense of the *vilayet* centre became necessary when at the turn of the century the defenses of the two rivers broke down, and G'ula was the only place north of Temeşvar that still had a garrison. Thus a long, undefended section opened along the Maros, just above the *vilayet* centre. To create a defensive ring, six *palankas* were constructed; starting from the south and going clockwise they were the following: Denta, Rudna, Çonbol (Hu. Zsombolya), Beşenova, Şarad (Sárád) and İktar (İktár). On the basis of the few remaining sources we cannot even guess at an approximate time of construction. All of them appeared first in sources from the 1620s, half at the beginning, half at the end of the decade, which might mean that they were reinforced as early as the beginning of the century (as we have no sources from the first decade), but might equally mean that they were the result of reorganisation following the recapture of Lipova. The result, however, was certain: a ring of defense around Temeşvar, which was similar to that of Buda but much weaker, was only constructed because of—and only after—the collapse of the defense of the rivers, in the first decades of the 17th century.

### Defence of waterways and roads

Securing the rivers and the roads running alongside them was an especially important part of the concept of defense. This is obvious after the capture of Buda: by taking several points on the Danube links had to be established with the fortresses of Sirem and Belgrade: it was necessary to take control of the river, the roads used by the army and the Danube fords. This military road was very important throughout the Ottoman era: along it the soldiers marched to the north, guns, ammunition, and victuals were transported on the river. Domestic and foreign envoys and merchants traveled here by water or by land, and this is where the funds that were needed to supplement the income of the treasury of Buda were transported from Istanbul.

The Danube and the road running alongside it only diverged for a short stretch (after the confluence with the Drava the road turned towards Ösek, then crossing the Drava returned to the Danube at Mohaç), so they could be lined with *palankas* together. The fortresses captured on the eastern bank of the river were complemented with only one *palanka*, Baya, probably constructed at the beginning of the 1550s. On the western bank, however, where the main road lay, several guard posts were constructed. Establishing the guard posts on the river bank resulted in a system whereby simple *palankas* located more or less equal distance from each other, a day's walk or less, offered if not comfort, at least security to envoys, messengers, money carriers, merchants, sailors: in other words

for travellers of all kinds, and even guarded fords and customs houses. While the strong defense of the borders and Buda were not considered as important after the turn of the century as in the first decades of Ottoman rule, roads and waterways still received special attention in the 17th century, as transportation now had to be defended not only against the soldiers of the Hungarian fortresses, but the greatly increased number of bandits and highwaymen as well.

Establishing the chain of *palankas* along the Danube took a good seventy years, but most of it had been completed by 1570. When finished, it consisted of the following fortified places going from south to north (some of these are not actually on the river bank, but were built along the edges of the wide Danube marshes)<sup>1</sup>. Opposite Ösek the traveller reached a derelict, dangerous area: nothing defended this part of the road as far as Sekçöy for almost twenty years. The construction of Baranvar and Mohaç in 1560 greatly improved the situation. The remaining gap was filled at the turn of the century and around 1610 with the construction of two *palankas*. The garrison of Feleşmarta (Hu. Vörösmart) appears in the accounts for 1599–1600 of the Buda treasury. The *palanka* was built not immediately next to the road but further east, by the landing stage on the Danube; there are no later data on the garrison, but according to Ottendorff the palisade still stood in 1663. Opposite the northern end of the bridge of Ösek the *parkan* of Darda (Dárda) was constructed around 1610, which in 1607 does not appear in the pay list of the *vilayet* of Buda, but already does in 1613. North of Mohaç come Sekçöy, Batasek and Seksar. The *palanka* of Batasek was built around 1550. The distance between Seksar and Tolna (rarely Toğna) is short; nonetheless at the crossing-point of the wide marsh a new fortress, Serdahel (Szerdahely) was built at the turn of the century. Its later, better known name was Yenipalanka. Built at about the same time, the next staging post on the road is the nearby Tolna, whose fortress and garrison first appear in the pay list of 1607. From here, the road proceeds to Pakşa (Paks), which was reinforced with a wall between 1565 and 1568, then on to Fedvar (Földvár), whose early 16th century Old Tower had a wall built around it in the beginning of the 1550s. The next post is the youngest member of the chain, Pentele, which appeared in Ottendorff's description in 1663. It might have been constructed so much later because the section between Fedvar and Korkmaz was about twice as long as the distance between the other posts. In 1630–1631, for example, Hungarian soldiers from Tata and Komárom robbed several Turkish merchants and slaughtered sol-

1 Heinrich von Ottendorff, a member of the mission sent to Köprülü Ahmed by Emperor and Hungarian King Leopold I, visited, described and drew pictures (or rather quick sketches) of every fortress of the defensive line of the Danube. See Egyed Hermann, *Budáról Belgrádba 1663-ban. Ottendorff Henrik képes útleírása* [From Buda to Belgrade in 1663. Ottendorff Henrik's illustrated itinerary]. Pécs, 1943.

diers here, a stone's throw from Buda.<sup>1</sup> The road ran from Pentele to the above-mentioned Cankurtaran/Korkmaz, constructed in the 1540s, on to Erçin which was also built in the middle of a longer, unprotected section, perhaps in the 1620s and through Hamzabey sarayı constructed in the 16th century it ran into Buda. Starting from here, the twin fortresses of Vişegrad-Vaç and Estergon-Ciğerdelen defended the river and the military road.

Of the sixteen *palankas* constructed from the Drava to Buda ten were the products of the 16th century: the system had been more or less completed by the 1570s; even then it followed the complete length of the river and the main road as far as Buda. This is especially true if we consider the fortresses on the eastern bank, Baç and Zombor, occupied in 1542–1543, Baya, constructed at the beginning of the 1550s, and Kalaça, taken in the winter of 1541–1542, as belonging to the system. By 1570, the *palanka* of Senkirál north of Kalaça had already been complete (it is only incidentally mentioned in the Ottoman sources). The negative experiences of the long war at the turn of the century required the building of six *palankas* in the 17th century to reinforce the line. This also indicates the constant military importance of the Danube's waterways and land routes throughout the Ottoman era. The fortresses guarding the road were small and weak, barely any of them were garrisoned by more than a hundred men. Individually they were not worth too much. The combined soldiery of the many small links in the chain, however, was able to ensure safe travel in peace time.

The other great river of Ottoman Hungary, the Tisza, received less attention. The defence of its western bank relied on three large, occupied fortresses: Titel, Segedin and Solnok, the eastern defense on Beçey (which was supported by nearby Beçkerek on the river Béga), and on the empty sections between them a few new *palankas* were erected. As a result of its lower strategic importance and role in transportation, the extended marshes of the lower reaches of the river, the later occupation of its upper and middle reaches, the chain of fortresses along the river was established more slowly and it was less dense than along the Danube. Because of the wide marshes some were further from what we would strictly call the river bank. As the system of fortresses along the Tisza is easily covered, I shall proceed not in geographic but chronological order.

After the *palanka* of Senmikloş, which was of medium size and constructed opposite Solnok in 1554, in the autumn of 1561 smaller fortifications were built in two locations: at Tömörkin (Hu. Tömörkény) and at Çongrad. Both guarded fords, Çongrad opposite the Körös delta, Tömörkin south of it. The latter appear briefly in the Ottoman military sources, after that its traces are lost, either because it were abandoned or because it started paying the soldiers from local rev-

1 Ludwig Fekete, *Türkische Schriften aus dem Archive des Palatins Nikolaus Esterházy*. Budapest, 1932, 278–279, 436–437.

enues. During or after the war at the turn of the century the Tisza was further reinforced as well. In the pay lists, in 1613 Martonoş (Martonos), located south of Segedin, and Foka, opposite Titel, appear. The latter, which was depicted with a bastion by Lazius and named of 'Cusstosfoka' on the map he drew in 1556,<sup>1</sup> presumably already existed earlier, but its soldiers, together with Titel's, were not paid from the treasury, so we do not meet them in the sources.

The southern river of the *vilayet* of Buda, and then Kanija, the Drava, was considered significant by the military high command not because of the intense traffic traveling along its banks and on the water, but because it arrived from Habsburg and royal territory seen as dangerous from a military point of view, with which conflicts never ceased. With the construction of the *sancaks* of Sirem and then Pojega, the southern bank of the river had been completely fortified by the end of the 1530s, to its north, however, only Şikloş stood guard in the 1540s. During the fortification of the *nahiye* centres of Mohaç *sancak*, in the mid 1550s a palisade was constructed at Şelin near the Drava (the last stone and ditch of which, as we have seen, disappeared for good in 1559). In 1566 Bobofça and Berzenç, which according to maps made before the regulation of the river were considered riverside fortresses, joined the border fortresses guarding the river. In 1567 the *palanka* of Barça was completed; the imperial council had high hopes that it would hold back the raiders.<sup>2</sup> In the end, the Drava was almost entirely guarded by captured fortresses; of those that were constructed only Barça and the above-mentioned Darda, built opposite the bridge at Ösek, served throughout the period.

The Danube was the most important waterway not only for the *vilayet* of Buda, but also for that of Temeşvar; the lower Danube was a crucial route for military transports. The munitions and provisions needed for the war in Hungary were transported from the centre of the empire and from Anatolia, either up the Balkan Peninsula to Belgrade, and from there up the Danube, or across the Black Sea, through Varna and Ruse and all the way up the Danube to Buda.<sup>3</sup> This traffic necessitated fortresses lining the northern bank of the lower Danube as well, on the southern border of the *vilayet* of Temeşvar. Some of these were also captured places: the fortresses of Irşova, Haram and Köfin (Hu. Keve); being located far from each other, however, they were unable to fulfill the tasks associated with the long stretch of river. In the 16th century several *palankas* were built between them: going from east to west Daudabad (I place it tentatively on the Kazán straits, and I cannot tell the year it was constructed), Modava and Pançova (Pancsova), both built in the middle of the century. Then, at the begin-

1 Diana Vukičević-Samaržija, *Sakralna gotička arhitektura u Slavoniji*. Zagreb, 1986, 11.

2 7 Numaralı mühimme defteri, No. 266.

3 Gábor Ágoston, *Guns for the Sultan. Military Power and the Weapons Industry in the Ottoman Empire*. Cambridge, 2005, 50, 52. Idem, *Osmalı'da Strateji ve Askeri Güç*. İstanbul, 2012, 98–102.

ning of the 17th century, three more *palankas* reinforced the bank: Drenkova, Lupkova and Haram-i cedit (Új-Haram).

Although the Bacska reach of the Danube bordered the *sancak* of Segedin, which was once registered as part of the *vilayet* of Eğri, once that of Buda, palisade constructions taking place here can be considered as the continuation of the above system. In the 16th century the northern bank of the river was only guarded by captured Titel and Baç. At the end of the century, a *palanka* was built at Futok (Hu. Futak), then at the beginning of the 17th century one at Kobilá and another one opposite İlok at Peşte (Hu. Pest). With this, from Irşova to Baç, as far as the wide marshes made it possible, the fortification of the northern bank of the lower Danube was completed, with guard posts located at more or less the same distance from one another. These, together with the Bulgarian, Serbian and Sirem fortresses located on the southern bank, continuing with the fortifications from Ösek to Estergon, formed a system which was reminiscent of the *menzils* established on the Balkan Peninsula. These were stations which not only provided security for travellers and their burdens, but also had storehouses of provisions for armies on the march. Fortresses on the Ösek–Buda section were one day's march from one another for the Ottoman armies entering Hungary; indeed after the recapture of Buda (1686) the Christian army accommodated to these intervals: Karl von Lothringen, turning south from Buda, set up camp on September 6 at Hamzabey sarayı, on the 7th at Erçin, on the 8th at Korkmaz, and on the 9th at Pentele.<sup>1</sup> There is no reference, however, to the chain of fortresses on the Belgrade–Buda military road being used as supply-posts for the Ottoman army. We can be sure that when the sultan's army set off, the necessary food depots were set up along this section too,<sup>2</sup> but presumably outside the palisades, and we can only suppose that the garrisons were involved in guarding them. The most appropriate term to describe most of the *palankas* constructed along the river is 'kennel'. The better ones boasted a landing stage and a modest boarding house, but there are no signs of storehouses or warehousemen. They provided modest services not to marching armies, only to carriers and travelers. Of course, this does not question the importance of the whole system.<sup>3</sup>

1 *Lotharingiai Károly hadnaplója Buda visszafoglalásáról 1686. / Kriegstagebuch Karls von Lothringen über die Rückeroberung von Buda 1686.* Prepared for publication by Károly Mollay. Ed. by József Kun. Budapest, 1986, 233, 409.

2 On February 13, 1545, the imperial council ordered the *mirliva* of Mohaç to buy flour at the state's expense, and store it in the fortresses of Seksar and Sekçöy, and in the yet unfortified Tolna and Mohaç. Sahillioğlu, *E-12321 numaralı mühimme*, No 287. Dávid–Fodor, *Az ország ügye*, No. 65.

3 The more important 'kennels' were kept in order. Sometime in the 1630–1640s many Hungarian and northern Balkan fortresses were restored, and several of these lay on the axis along the Danube. Pál Fodor, 'Néhány adat a török végvári rendszer állapotáról a 17. század közepső harmadából [Some data on the condition of the Turkish border fortress system from the middle third of the 17th century]', in Sándor Bodó–Jolán Szabó (eds.), *Magyar és török*

The fortresses of the Maros and the Körös rivers, apart from a few unimportant ones have already been discussed as border fortifications. I would only emphasise once again that except from G'ula, the long stretch of the three Körös rivers was defended only by constructed fortresses. The northernmost *palanka* on the Maros, Varadya, was also built by the Ottomans, west of it two smaller places were reinforced: sometime in the 17th century Radna, opposite Lipova, received a garrison consisting only of *martoloses*, and one pay list registered the garrison of the *palanka* of Hodoş (Hu. Hodos) on the bank of the river or on an island, at the border of the *sancaks* of Arad and Çanad in about 1621.

Around the territories of Eğri and Kanija it was not necessary to organize river defenses. Although Varad and Uyvar are settlements on river banks, these waterways were not significant.

The southern shore of Lake Balaton was the border of Ottoman occupation in the south of Transdanubia. The fortresses here, Lak, Bolondvar and Endrik, have been discussed earlier, with one exception: the fortress of Foka (Hu. Siófok),<sup>1</sup> which served only to keep watch over the lake, was left out. It belonged to the group of *palankas* which were erected during the war at the turn of the century. It first appears in a pay list drafted in 1607 with its relatively large (at least in this region) garrison of 163 soldiers, more than half of whom belonged to *azab* and *martolos* units of Balkan Christians who specialized in guarding waterways and shorelines.

### River fleets and their commanders, the *kapudans*

Waterways were not only protected by garrisons, but by river fleets as well, which were commanded by *kapudans*. I do not intend to deal with fleets and their commanders; I shall only give a brief summary of the little that can be learned from the archive material on garrison soldiers. While doing so I shall try to pay attention to the various meanings of the term *kapudan*.

In the sources on Ottoman soldiery in Hungary, four degrees appear in the hierarchical ordering and substance of the post of *kapudan*. The first and highest rank, the one about which we know the most, and which existed in both centuries of Ottoman rule: *kapudans* were the commanders of larger, strategically important river fleets. Naturally, in Hungarian territories the most important and prestigious were the *kapudans* of the Danube (*kapudan-i ab/nehri Tuna*). The *kapudan* of the Lower Danube resided in Vidin, that of the Hungarian section of the river in Buda. In 1546 *kapudan* Derya bin Lokman enjoyed a *ziamet*

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*végváarak 1663–1684*. Eger, 1985, 165–172.

1 The ruins at the mouth of the river Sió were long believed to be Roman. The discoverer of the Ottoman fortress was Károly Sági. See his 'Siófok török vára [The Turkish fortress of Siófok]', in József Kanyar (ed.), *Siófok. Várostörténeti tanulmányok*. Siófok, 1989, 129–143.

estate bringing in an annual income of 91,000 *akçes*,<sup>1</sup> which made him the second most prestigious prebend holder of the central *sancak* after the *paşa* of Buda. The income of his known successors was around this sum as well: in 1559 Mehmed bin Bali, who was also honoured with the rank of *paşa*, had an estate with an income of 92,124 *akçes*.<sup>2</sup> When speaking about the reinforcement of Mohaç it was mentioned that the imperial council ordered the establishment of the second Danube fleet of the *vilayet* of Buda, that of Mohaç. In December 1565 Mehmed, *kapudan* of Mohaç, was responsible for arranging the transportation of 40 boxes of sulphur from Belgrade to the gunpowder mill in Buda.<sup>3</sup> I know nothing else about the fleet command of Mohaç, not even for how long it existed.

The commanders of the Tisza fleet (*kapudan-i nehr-i Tisa*) resided in Solnok. We know the names of two of them: In 1554 a certain Ali held the post; who owned a partial *timar* in the *sancak* of Temeşvar with an annual income of 23,318 *akçes*.<sup>4</sup> His successor, who appears in 1592, was one Mehmet, with a *ziamet* in the *sancak* of Solnok bringing in an annual income of 45,000 *akçes*.<sup>5</sup> The fact that his income was exactly half of that of his Danube colleague clearly reflects the difference in the military importance of the two rivers.

The residence of the Drava fleet and *kapudan* was in Ösek. The fleet and its commander on the river Drava were based at Ösek, then as a seat Barça appeared as well. In the sources that I used I did not come across *kapudans* of the Drava, nor of Ösek or Barça.<sup>6</sup> I have not seen the definition 'kapudan of the river Drava').

In *ruzmançes* the *kapudans* of the river Mura often appear (*kapudan-i nehr-i Mura*): in 1568–1569 Malkoç received 27,000 *akçes*,<sup>7</sup> in 1585 Mehmed 21,200,<sup>8</sup> in 1592–1593 Perviz 25,999,<sup>9</sup> and finally in the following year Divane Sefer 23,000,<sup>10</sup> all of whom enjoyed the ownership of a *ziamet* in the *sancak* of Sigetvar. Their lower income indicates the poor prestige of the river Mura. The establishment

1 BOA Tapu 1044, p. 14.

2 BOA Tapu 329, p. 18. Around 1570 *kapudan* Ferruh's estates were only partly located in the *sancak* of Segedin, and brought an annual income of 35,245 *akçes*. BOA Tapu 551, p. 14. Even those who departed from their post had no reason to complain: in 1569 Mehmed, one-time Danube *kapudan* enjoyed a *ziamet*, presumably the one above, bringing in an annual sum of 33,606 *akçes* in the *vilayet* of Temeşvar. BOA Tapu 552, p. 14.

3 5 Numaralı mühimme defteri (973 / 1565–1566) I–II. Ankara, 1994, Nos. 666–667, 685, 687, 702.

4 BOA Tapu 298, p. 18.

5 BOA Tapu 658, p. 5.

6 Gyöngyi Kovács–Márton Rózsás, 'A barcsi török palánkvar [The Turkish palisade of Barcs]', *Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei* 12 (1996) 163. Nenad Moačanin, 'Some Observations on the "kapudans" in the Ottoman Northwestern Frontier Area 16–18. c.', in *Acta Viennensia Ottomanica. Akten des 13. CIEPO-Symposiums 1998*. Wien 1999, 242.

7 BOA Ruznamçe 25, on the fifth page of the chapter of Filek and Sigetvar.

8 BOA Ruznamçe 78, p. 454.

9 BOA MAD 15957, p. 500.

10 BOA Ruznamçe 168, p. 133.

and sustained existence of this river fleet, however, strongly reflects the point of view which considered the south Transdanubian border especially important. Although the Mura did not flow through Ottoman territories, and was not suitable for waterborne manoeuvres, it flowed through an important sector of the border which faced Styria and was therefore given a fleet.

The source material on 16th century Temeşvar is of poor quality; I have only one piece of information and I do not know what to make of it. One of the *zaims* of the 1579 *icmal defteri*, *kapudan* Mahmud Bey, had a high annual income of 52,535 *akçes*.<sup>1</sup> His title is not followed by the name of any rivers, so presumably we have to place him among the second rank of *kapudans*. He could not have been the commander of fleet of the Lower Danube, as they resided in Vidin.

In 1595 the *kapudan* of Balaton, İbrahim Hüseyin, received a *ziamet* with an income of 20,000 *akçes* instead of his daily pay of 30 *akçes*.<sup>2</sup> Thus the lake had its fleet too,<sup>3</sup> which also functioned in the following century; then this fleet was stationed at the fortress of Foka, and the resident *kapudan* lived off the income from its *timar* or *ziamet*. The only thing we know about his estate is that the town of Keszthely belonged to it: the inhabitants complained in 1651 to the *paşa* of Buda that the *kapudan* of Foka had raised their tax from 12 *kara guruşes* to 40; the *paşa* forbade this in two letters.<sup>4</sup>

The next group of *kapudans* consisted of those who were appointed to the *vilayet* centres. In their titles the names of rivers never appeared, only the name of the centre. Apart from their existence the pay lists say nothing about their sphere of authority; presumably they were competent only in the given province. I do not know of such a *kapudan* in the *vilayet* of Buda. In 1579 in the Temeşvar *vilayet* it was probably the above-mentioned Mahmud who bore the title. In the pay lists of the 17th century a *kapudan* always appears among the *müteferrikas* of Temeşvar, no longer with *timars* but with high wages; always 40 *akçes* a day: around 1621 Receb, between 1631–1634 Ayaz(?).<sup>5</sup> In 1596–1597 in Eğri *kapudan* Salih was registered among the high-ranking officers of the *azabs*, but as the centre had no fleet we may suspect that he was rather *kapudan* of the *vilayet*.<sup>6</sup> The situation is similar in Kanija, where a document of the sultan in 1606 donated a *ziamet* with an income of 40,000 *akçes* to İbrahim, ‘the *kapudan*

1 BOA Tapu 674, p. 12.

2 ÖNB Mxt 594, p. 9.

3 Végh Ferenc, ‘A balatoni “hadiflotta” a török korban [The “fleet” of the Lake Balaton in the Turkish era]’, *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 129:1 (2016) 27–56.

4 Béla Darnay-Dornyay, ‘Keszthely török okiratai a Balatoni Múzeumban [Keszthely’s Turkish documents in the Balaton Museum]’, *Balatoni Múzeumi Füzetek* 4 (1942) 302–305: the two documents were translated by Lajos Fekete.

5 BOA MAD 3729, p. 28. ÖNB Mxt 618, p. 7. ÖNB Mxt 619, p. 9.

6 BOA MAD 16286, p. 23.



of the fortress of Kanija'.<sup>1</sup> It is probably due to the status of *zaim* that the *kapudan* of Kanija never appears in the pay rolls. Both in Varad and Uyvar the two *kapudans* appear as commanders of separate units placed under them: in 1661 in Varad it was Selim, in 1675 in Uyvar it was Hasan bin Hüsrev.<sup>2</sup>

The *kapudans* of the *vilayets* resemble their comrades who were discovered and identified by Nenad Moačanin with the high-ranking military commanders of a given region in the Bosnian border zones: "...it seems that, more in the living practice than in records, the title of *kapudan* was used, at least in the case of some *serhat ümera* in the 16 c., more as a designation for the governor's military-administrative deputy in the 'hottest' part of the border region, rather than a title for the commander of one unit of the main castle's garrison, preferably of the *azaps*. ... I would not dare to exclude completely possible influences of the Habsburg frontier institution *capitaneus* and *Hauptmann* as an additional motive, perhaps 'from the unconscious', but that could play only a secondary role. Therefore I suppose that those 'greater' *kapudans* were indeed a local invention, but not just a copy of the Habsburg institution."<sup>3</sup> If we look for local parallels in Hungay, they might be compared to the so-called Hungarian "captain-generals" (*generalis capitaneus*) who were the military superiors of various parts of the Kingdom (the office had already existed in medieval Hungary and the number of its incumbents had multiplied because of the wars with the Ottomans).<sup>4</sup>

The next group includes the *kapudans* who were appointed to posts in larger riverside fortresses, usually as the highest ranking officers of *azabs* serving on boats (in three places, Segedin, Tihon and Vaç, they headed the *martaloses*). Presumably, their task was to defend a given stretch of the river and the harbour attached to their fortress. This kind of *kapudan* appeared at the turn of the century; there were many of them, so I shall only list their posts with the year from which the data comes. In the *vilayet* of Buda: Tihon (1596), Baya, Tolna and Fedvar (all three in 1613), Segedin (1619) and Vaç (1629). In some cases it is worth taking note of their pay. The *kapudan* of Baya received 45 *akçes* a day, that of Tolna 40, and that of Fedvar 43, which made them the best paid officers in their garrison, far better off than the *dizdars*. The same places in the *vilayet* of Temeşvar were Temeşvar itself (1631), Beçey (1621, 1634), Lipova (1591, 1621), G'ula (1591, 1621) and Yanova (1591). In the *vilayet* of Eğri such a *kapudan* only served at Solnok (1596, 1606). In the small province of Varad and Uyvar they were not needed, but I was surprised to find only one in Kanija, in Komár (Komar, 1600),

1 Fekete, *Türkische Schriften*, 424.

2 BOA MAD 2563, p. 7. BOA Büyük kale 32195, p. 13.

3 Moačanin, 'Some observations', 243.

4 The correspondence *capitaneus* = *kapudan* can be observed in the civil sphere as well. The captains of the tax paying Jász population of *reaya* status were also called *kapudans* in the Ottoman sources. BOA Tapu 662, p. 3.

which was only briefly in Ottoman hands. One would expect to come across at least one in Barça, as well as in Estergon. I can only explain their apparent absence by supposing that as these two fortresses were places of outstanding importance in the defense of the Drava and the Danube their high-ranking *kapudans* were probably *zaims*.

The fourth and lowest rank appeared late, in the second half of the 17th century, so we only encounter them at Varad and Uyvar: in these places the term *kapudan* was also used to refer to common soldiers, usually *azabs*, who served on boats. In 1664 and in 1675 as well their unit was registered in the Uyvar pay account and list: 'the unit of the Uyvar *kapudans*' (*cemaat-i kapudanan-i Uyvar*),<sup>1</sup> which was the same as the unit of *azabs* serving under the *kapudan*.

Several conclusions can be drawn from this collection of data. The most important is that the waterways were not only defended by carefully established chains of fortresses along their shores, but also by fleets well provided with officers. Another is that many *kapudan* posts existed, ranging from the Danube commander who enjoyed the rank of *paşa* to the *azab* earning nine *akçes* a day. Finally, we observe that over the course of time the rank lost much of its prestige.

#### 4. Districts of Defence

In spite of the fact that Ottoman rule in Hungary was primarily a military occupation, Ottoman Hungary was not divided into districts similar to the captaincies of the Hungarian Kingdom, which had been set up following European patterns. Instead, its military staff was registered and maintained according to *sancaks*. The *mirlivas*' sphere of authority extended over both military and civilian affairs, and as a result all military personnel in their *sancaks* were supervised by them. This did not contradict the process by which smaller or greater defensive zones, often reaching across *sancak* borders, emerged within the Ottoman fortress system: this originated in the natural needs of defense. The emergence of these zones was determined by various factors: geographical features, the distribution and usefulness of occupied fortresses, the above-described defensive aims, and, above all, the direction to be taken by further territorial expansion, an ambition which was never abandoned.

In the first decades it would be difficult to define districts, but when Ottoman fortress building started on a larger scale, the defensive zones of groups of fortresses began to take shape. After the peace of Adrianople (1568), when the fortresses of Ottoman Hungary were put in order, and in the meantime in order to reduce the burden of the treasury, the number of soldiers in less dangerous

1 BOA Bab-i defteri, Baş muhasebe, Uyvar hazinesi kalemi 17081, p. 7. BOA Büyük kale 32195, p. 13.

places was reduced and the major defensive zones were clearly identifiable. After the territorial changes brought about by the long wars of the turn of the century, in the peaceful first half of the 17th century their existence is even more obvious, and they can be ranked according to importance. I cannot give precise numbers; the information for the period around 1570 is relatively reliable, but figures for the 17th century can only be estimates based on extrapolations: there are many items that are obviously missing and cannot be replaced. The sources are also somewhat misleading because they list only the defenders who were paid on the spot and considered as locals, not the troops sent from the capital and paid from there, as more often than not there are no data on them. It is to be hoped that the proportions are not too distorted by their absence, as they never appear.

Considering the number of fortresses and the number of soldiers serving in them, in the 16th century Buda enjoyed the strongest defense. Around 1570 the defensive ring consisted of 22 fortresses, in which, including Buda and Pest and rounding the numbers up slightly, 5,500 soldiers served (not counting the *yeniçeris* of Buda). Around the *vilayet* centre, mostly north of it, fortresses were close-packed, standing very near each other. Defensive forces of more than a thousand soldiers were stationed only in Buda and Pest. Of the four *sancak* centres, Novigrad, Siçen and Filek were given garrisons of 200–300, Hatvan of 500 men. By 1570 Hatvan's garrison had fallen by 200 men, Filek's by 50. Strategic reasoning filled the *palankas* situated on the frontier with soldiers: in Canfeda, which guarded a long stretch of border, almost 450 soldiers were stationed, in Canbek and Kızılhisar guarding the western edge of the defensive ring more than 150, in Diregel, guarding the river Ipoly, 200, and little Sobotka, at the northernmost point, was garrisoned by more than 100 defenders (the fortress started its career with 31 soldiers, which almost quadrupled).

As we have seen, in the long war the carefully established system around Buda largely collapsed. In 1629, including Buda and Pest, only 11 fortresses defended the district; one of them, Erçin, was new, and the treasury only paid about 3,600 local defenders. Only the soldiery of Vaç and Hatvan increased, the latter because a good part of the garrisons of the lost fortresses in Nógrád county were squeezed in there. In other places, in Buda and in Pest, the numbers decreased. The situation of Buda needs to be clarified: only the number of local forces fell, the number of units from Istanbul greatly increased (in 1629 1,943 *yeniçeris* served here). The special defense of the most important *vilayet* centres was solved by strengthening the units sent from the capital. As a result, of the soldiers in the district, who numbered about 5,500 including the Porte units, 4,000 were stationed in Buda and Pest. The importance of the surrounding area was significantly reduced, while the defense of Buda and Pest itself was rein-

forced. The importance of the district was restored with the retaking of Novi-grad, Sičen, Holloka, Buyak and Filek in 1663.

In the 1570s the line of fortresses on the border of south-west Transdanubia was still being formed, but it was already clear that a very strong district was being created. To begin with, it seemed that Sigetvar would get the role of the main fortress: its garrison was intended to consist of 825 local men and an unknown number of *yeniçeris*, and it was to be supported by three relatively strong auxiliary fortresses and the same number of weaker ones. However, the strength of four members of the group, Sigetvar, Boboçfa, Berzenç and Şegeş quickly evened out. The first three started with garrisons of 350 to 600 soldiers each, this then decreased uniformly to 300–400 men. Şegeş, on the other hand, which was located on an especially vulnerable, long stretch of border line, had its garrison greatly increased. In the 1570s altogether 2,500 local soldiers were stationed in the seven fortresses of this district: those mentioned above and Barça with 200 soldiers, Lak with 160 and Söçin, the only small one that can be considered an auxiliary fortress.

In 1600 the district received a huge reinforcement in the shape of Kanija. Although the general reduction of numbers during the decades of peace somewhat cut back the garrisons of the old fortresses, the military strength of the district to which Kanija had been added greatly increased: in 1629 it stood at about 4,000 soldiers (who were now reinforced not by the Sigetvar but the Kanija *yeniçeris* from the Porte, however, at this time we do not know their numbers). Sigetvar, Boboçfa and Berzenç had garrisons of more or less the same size, 360–400 men, while that of Şegeş numbered about 450. Although the whole district, headed by Kanija, was still behind Buda in terms of the number of its defenders, it received more attention from the military leadership. The reason is obvious: it was part of the defensive system stretching all the way from Bosnia which was set up opposite the hereditary lands. The whole *vilayet* of Buda, and then that of Buda and Kanija, were framed by the Hungarian Kingdom of the Habsburgs. However, it was only the section of the border line directly facing the Austrian provinces that was filled exclusively with great fortresses manned by large or medium-large garrisons. The defensive zone around Buda thinned out, while this southern defensive district grew stronger.

All this becomes more obvious if we compare it to the defensive zone of north-east Transdanubia. In 1570 five fortresses formed a line from the eastern corner of Lake Balaton to Estergon (behind them the palisades constructed in the vicinity of Buda): Ístolni Belgrad and the fortress complex of Estergon-Ciğerdelen and three auxiliary fortresses, Bak'an, Çoka and Gestöş, held by the Ottomans with brief interruptions. It was a regular, smaller fortress district; the two major fortresses had about 1,500 defenders each, the three small ones had

altogether 200 soldiers. The combined number of 3,200 men means that this border section was guarded by even more soldiers than the section in south-west Transdanubia. Following the great attempt of the 1590s to engulf northern Transdanubia and to occupy the approaches to Vienna, which came to nothing, this border section became one of the regular zones facing the Kingdom. In 1629 a little more than 2,000 soldiers served there, although in the meantime Polata, manned by two companies of soldiers, joined the line. In the two main fortresses there were fewer than 1,800 defenders altogether. The defence was not reinforced significantly by the *yeniçeris* of the Porte either; at the turn of 1617 and 1618, 88 of them were stationed in İstolni Belgrad, and 178 in Esterгон (for precise numbers and the location of the sources see the chapter on *yeniçeris*).

The defensive of Solnok is a regular, smaller one, in which the main fortress was supported by two auxiliary fortresses, Senmikloş and Çongrad. Further back, already in the *vilayet* of Temeşvar, it included the fortresses along the Körös. As a result of this extension to the south-east and the fact that the southern part of the *sancak* of Solnok already faced towards Transylvania and extended towards Varad, the situation of Solnok and its auxiliaries was not the same as it would have been if the *sancak* had only bordered the Kingdom. In 1552 the military leadership sent a gigantic garrison of 900 men to the strategically important, *sancak* centre Solnok. However, only half of them took up service. As the garrisons of two fortresses constructed later were taken from here, the number of defenders at Solnok was further reduced, that of the other two was limited. All this, in the end, did not cause any problems, as there was no need for a show of force towards Transylvania. In spite of the shortages, numbers were not reduced after 1568: there was nowhere to take anything away from. As a result of many factors a round number of 750 soldiers served altogether in the set of three fortresses. The long war of the turn of the century took a heavy toll on the zone; this, however, did not trigger the reflex of reinforcement. Before the official conclusion of the war, in 1606 (the year of the last known pay list of the *vilayet* of Eğri) there were at least a hundred men fewer stationed in the three fortresses than thirty-five years earlier. The military leadership no longer considered this point an important one.

The three further districts of the *vilayet* of Buda, those of the Danube, Tolna county and Bácska, were unlike any other districts; at best they resembled each other. Their shared feature was that their dense network of smaller fortresses was garrisoned by fewer—often far fewer—than one hundred men each. Individually, they were barely worth anything, they only represented any strength when combined. Only the district of Bácska had a real centre, Segedin. Even this was not particularly strong, and the other two districts consisted of places of more or less the same importance.

In 1570 from Baranvar to Hamzabey sarayı nine little fortresses defended the Danube. None of them had as many as a hundred soldiers in its garrison, not even the two *sancak* centres, Sekçöy and Seksar. In this year, the treasury paid wages to 560 defenders in the whole line. The overall structure did not change either, the only novelty of the 17th century was that the garrisons of Fedvar and Korkmaz grew to just over one hundred. In 1629 the line of defense already consisted of twelve fortresses, manned by about 700 soldiers: the average number per fortress decreased slightly as well, but the strength and structure of the whole system remained the same as before.

We find a slightly different formation in the group of fortresses in Tolna county, that is in the *sancak* of Şimontorna, which, located on the border of the southern and northern Transdanubian defensive zones, guarded the passages between the Balaton and the Danube. In the 16th century it consisted of six fortresses, and of these only the garrison of Şimontorna had just over 100 men. In the 17th century there were eight fortresses, the newcomers were Bogar (Hu. Bogárd) and Pinçehel (Pincehely), of which only the *sancak* centre could boast 150 men; the others had only token garrisons. In the final decades of the 16th century the combined garrisons can be estimated at about 330 men. A special feature of the district is that after the experience of the war its defense was reinforced not only with two new *palankas* but also with several squads of soldiers: in 1629 the total number of defenders of the *sancak* was about 400–500 (this is already a rounded up number; the obvious unreliability of the pay registers made corrections necessary). In spite of the slight increase there was no change in the structure of the fortress district and its combined strength between the two centuries: the Danube and the main road, as well as the Tolna passage, were defended by many small fortresses and palisades, mostly of equal size, whose numbers in the meantime even grew, but who only constituted a real military presence when their forces were combined. A special feature of the passage between south and north Transdanubia at the turn of the century and in the early 17th century was that its western side was reinforced by four new palisades. Bogar, Serdahel (or Yenipalanka), Pinçehel and Koni (Kónyi) were lined up in the shape of a sickle from Ístolni Belgrad to Ígal and Kopan; the group seems to have been planned in a regular shape, in the hope of reinforcing the passage (later this was given up as well: in the second half of the 17th century Bogar and Kopan do not appear among the defended places).

A similar arrangement seems to characterize the fortresses of Bácska, the *sancak* of Segedin, as well; here, however, it is often hard to be sure because in the usual sources some of the troops stationed in many fortresses, especially the cavalry, are missing from the records for several years (they were paid from local revenues), and the numbers do not indicate the total size of the garrisons.

What seems to be sure is that here around 1560–1570 seven, and in 1629 13 auxiliary fortresses were attached to Segedin as their main fortress. The intention of the military leadership to increase the number of defensive strongholds in districts with small fortresses is shown most clearly in this district, which seems to have been well-defended. In spite of the fact that at the beginning of the 17th century five new *palankas* were built in this *sancak*, the number of soldiers who kept the system going had been reduced significantly by 1629 as well. I cannot determine the precise number; what can be deduced from the sources is that in this *sancak* in the 1560s an approximate and rounded up number of 580 soldiers received pay from the Buda treasury, while by 1629 the number had fallen to 450.

In the *vilayet* of Temeşvar the defensive zones coincided with the groups of fortresses defending the rivers and surrounding Temeşvar, which I described above when discussing the defense of *vilayet* centres and waterways.

With the occupation of Eğri and Varad the Ottomans obtained two regular fortress districts. In the first one the main fortress Eğri was reinforced by Sarvaška (Hu. Szarvaskő), Şirok (Sirok) and Çerep (Cserép). In total and rounded up, in 1606 the district was defended by 1,400 local soldiers (and nearly 400 soldiers of the Porte); of these the three small fortresses held only 340 men. In the 1610s the number of *yeniçeris* serving in Eğri increased significantly; in 1613 and 1614 it was between 300 and 1025, then by 1660 it had fallen to about 100. At Varad and its four auxiliary fortresses, at Seng'ob (Hu. Szentjobb), Şolomki (Sólyomkő), Papmezö (Papmező) and Belenöş (Belényes) there were altogether about 970 local soldiers in 1661, at Varad 232 more *yeniçeris*; altogether about 1,200 defenders served, more than two thirds of them at the *vilayet* centre (In 1660–1669 the number of *yeniçeris* from the Porte at Varad varied between 620 and 820; for precise numbers see the chapter on *yeniçeris*.) The Ottomans took over two complete districts; the only thing they did was to add two new *palankas*, at Heveş and Belenöş.

At Uyvar we cannot talk about a district. Its only auxiliary fortress, Şuran, stood in the immediate vicinity of the main fortress; its tiny garrison can be considered a detachment of Uyvar's.

Summing up we can say that although in Ottoman Hungary's fortress system there were classic fortress districts consisting of a main fortress and a few auxiliary fortresses, these were mostly captured: the Ottomans did not make much effort to establish such formations themselves. They did, however, organise great defensive zones guarding borders which can be compared to the captaincies of Royal Hungary, whose importance changed as time went by according to whether they faced the Austrian hereditary lands or not. The internal Ottoman territories can be considered as an extensive defensive zone with small fortresses, whose waterways, fords, administrative centres, customs houses and

natural passes were filled by the military leadership with a dense network of small and even minute garrisons.

Let us return briefly to the main conclusion. In the thick pile of treasury source material, which contains the pay of the garrison soldiers of the *vilayet* of Buda between 1612 and 1614, the last pages are of special significance.<sup>1</sup> There is preserved a complete list of how many garrison soldiers' *berats* (letters of appointment) were renewed in the provinces of the empire at the last change of sultan. Neither the year nor the name of the new sultan appears in the totals, we can only guess at the date when it was drafted; later they added the soldiers of Vaç recaptured in the autumn of 1620 in the empty top corner of the Buda chapter. This suggests that it was connected to the accession to the throne of Mustapha I in 1617 or Osman II in 1618. The summary of the eastern part of the empire is only partial; the European part, however, seems complete. According to the accounts, in the European part of the empire the appointments of 31,934 garrison soldiers were renewed, in the Balkan Peninsula 14,530, in Ottoman Hungary the number was 17,404. Both the Balkan and the Hungarian soldiers can be further subdivided. Three-quarters of the latter, 10,302 men, served in the fortresses in Bosnia; in other Balkan territories, including the two districts of the Black Sea, Akkerman and Bender, there were 4,228. A great difference can also be seen between the western and eastern parts of Ottoman Hungary, which stretched over the territory between the Drava and the Sava. They calculated 11,277 soldiers for the two provinces of Transdanubia, the *vilayets* of Buda and Kanija, 6,127 soldiers for the two eastern ones, Eğri and Temeşvar (for Buda: 7,494, Kanija: 3,783, Eğri: 2,448, Temeşvar: 3,679. To put it another way: 13,725 men were stationed in the territories facing the Kingdom; facing the Principality of Transylvania there were 3,679).

The numbers found in the pay lists of 1619 often differ from these figures, but they do reflect the same basic truth. In the opinion of the Ottoman military leadership in the first decades of the 17th century the Habsburgs (and Western Europe behind them) remained the principal enemy, even though their conquest ceased to be a realistic prospect. The enemy were the Habsburgs, not as Hungarian kings but as the rulers of the Holy Roman Empire. It was against them, against the Austrian hereditary provinces and Vienna, that they crammed the Ottoman fortresses of Bosnia and south Transdanubia with soldiers; far more of them than were stationed in other territories of the Balkan Peninsula and Hungary.

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1 BOA MAD 4133, pp. 208–210.



### III The Garrison Troops

## 1. The Structure of the Garrisons; Local and Central Troops

The great fortresses of Ottoman Hungary, garrisoned by several thousand soldiers, and the *palankas* manned by only twenty or thirty have few features in common; more precisely, only one: they were all manned by the same military branches and units; only the larger ones had more of them, the smaller ones had fewer, sometimes only one. Much has been written about the units that made up garrisons, but I still consider it important to summarise once more the conclusions that can be drawn from all the available sources on Ottoman Hungary, partly so that the database can be used with greater confidence, and partly because the literature is not devoid of misunderstandings at certain points: misunderstandings that persevere.

I shall give an overview of the military branches, or to use the Ottoman Turkish terminology *cemaats*, in the order in which they usually appear in the pay lists. This order is not the result of chance: it reflects the unity of the troops, their role in the division of labour within the fortress, and their military value and prestige.

Larger fortresses were defended by 'local' soldiers in continuous local service, paid from the local treasury, as well as by units detached from the body of troops stationed in the capital, who were detailed for temporary service in the provinces. The fortress soldiers in the Hungarian provinces consisted mostly of local forces.

### *Müstahfizes, or merd-i kale, hisar eri*

All three terms—*müstahfizes*, *merd-i kale* and *hisar eri*—mean fortress soldiers, or defenders, and from this general meaning all three came to refer specifically to the first branch of garrisons. The infantry *müstahfizes* supplied the core of all garrisons. Together with the artillery—and in some really small places without even the artillery, and thus sometimes as the only branch—they had the task of defending the fortress in general. They did not go out on raids, and they lived within the walls.

In the literature the greatest uncertainty centres on this branch. The first question is whether the *müstahfizes* were the same as the *yeniçeris* who were settled in the provinces from the Porte; the second is whether the three different names refer to one or several military elements. Those works which identify them with the *yeniçeris* refer to İsmail H. Uzunçarşılı and Lajos Fekete. In Uzunçarşılı's book on the central formations the primary source is always the same short extract about *yeniçeris* despatched for provincial service from the capital.<sup>1</sup> The leading authority on the Ottoman army, in his description of provincial ser-

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1 İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti Teşkilatından Kapukulu Ocakları I*. Ankara, 1984, 325–330 (for more on those who were transferred as punishment, see 356–357).

vice, points out that over-aged, injured and sick *yeniçeris* were sent to do easier provincial fortress service as *hisar eri* or *merd-i kale*, and some met this fate as a punishment; he does not claim that the *yeniçeris* would be identical with *hisar eris*, or *müstahfizs*, nor that the *yeniçeris* detached from the central administration were incorporated into the local forces, although the text can be interpreted in this way too.<sup>1</sup> Lajos Fekete considered the *müstahfizs* to be without any doubt *yeniçeris*.<sup>2</sup> After these two prestigious authors there are some who identify the two military branches and there are some who do not, whereas some are uncertain.<sup>3</sup> A similar degree of uncertainty surrounds the question of whether the terms *müstahfiz*, *merd-i kale*, and *hisar eri* refer to the same branch.<sup>4</sup>

*Müstahfizs* were part of the 'local' provincial soldiery (*serhad kulu*, *yerli kul*), a branch of the fortress garrison who were paid in cash from the local treasury, then, increasingly, out of the income of collective *timars*. This latter means of payment makes it impossible for them to have been janissaries from the central armed forces (*kapu kulu*), for these, as long as they were members of the corps of *yeniçeris*, were not granted collective *timars*. But the two military elements can be differentiated on the basis of various other aspects. In the pay lists of the 16th century the *yeniçeris* stationed in a given fortress were not registered. They were, however, registered at the beginning of the 17th century, and from these cases it is obvious that in the fortresses of Buda and Eğri the

- 1 We can find a few demoted *yeniçeris* in the pay list of 1554: two among the *müstahfizs* of Esterгон, one among the Solnok *azabs*—so altogether three of the 3,412 soldiers registered with a personal annotation—next to whose name the scribe wrote 'previously a *yeniçeri* of the Sublime Porte': Berlin Ms. or. fol. 432, pp. 5 and 77. (The Esterгон men were mentioned in the year 1552 by Schwarz, *Osmanische Sultansurkunden*, 88.) We can consider as such those fortress soldiers too who in pay lists appear as *kul*, the sultan's servant, that is *yeniçeri* and who occasionally appear in registers, but there are very few of them. They were mostly incorporated in the ranks of *müstahfizs*, very occasionally into the cavalry.
- 2 Fekete, *Budapest a törökök korában*, 126–127. Idem, *Die Siyāqat-Schrift*, 96.
- 3 Hungarian writers in the field consider the *müstahfizs* and *yeniçeris* to be the same. Römer, referring to Fekete, accepted the identity, but emphasised the difference at the same time: *Osmanische Festungsbesatzungen*, 23. Schwarz emphasised the difference, but did not take sides obviously: *Osmanische Sultansurkunden*, 87–88. Bulgarian and Serbian Ottoman specialists have never considered the two military elements the same, more precisely the question never arises, for them the *müstahfizs* are the first unit of local defenders. For example, *Izvori za bulgarskata istorija XIII*, the *müstahfiz* estates of the *sancak* of Nikopol, 298–333. Olga Zirojević, *Tursko vojno uređenje u Srbii (1459–1683)*. Beograd, 1974. Velkov–Radushev, *Ottoman Garrisons*, 15, Strashimir Dimitrov's introduction. Hazim Šabanović unambiguously differentiates the *müstahfizs* from the *yeniçeris* (but mentions that some of them also became members of this body), considers them the same as the categories of *merd-i kale* and *hisar eri*, and as part of the provincial military forces: *Turski izvori za istoriju Beograda. I/1. Katastarski popisi Beograda i okoline 1476–1566*. Beograd, 1964, 626.
- 4 I shall only mention the two most recent authors who specialise in fortress soldiers: Schwarz, *Osmanische Sultansurkunden*, 91 identifies the *hisar eri* with *merd-i kale*, but differentiates them from the *müstahfizs*, with the remark that 'they are closely connected'. Römer, *Osmanische Festungsbesatzungen*, 23, considers the three terms as unambiguous synonyms.

*yeniçeris* and *müstahfizes* served together, at the same time, but in two quite distinct units.<sup>1</sup> There were *müstahfizes* in the smallest palisades, but *yeniçeris* were to be found only in major or maybe in medium-size *sancak* centres. Both military units had their own officers, who were never the same. The *müstahfizes* were paid and accounted by the local treasury (it is another question that as a result of the Buda treasury's deficit the money was supplemented from Istanbul), while the *yeniçeris*' pay was sent from the capital. They thought it important to emphasise this difference even in the way they named these troops: from the second half of the 17th century in larger garrisons, in Hungary there are only such data from Uyvar, where there were *yeniçeris* stationed who received their salary from the local treasury, thus they were called 'locals' as opposed to 'those from the Porte'. Between 1664 and 1667, and in 1675 in Uyvar besides 'the *yeniçeris*, gunsmiths and artillerymen of the Sublime Porte (*yeniçeriyân, cebeciyân, topçıyân-i dergah-i alî*) local *yeniçeris*, gunsmiths and artillerymen' (...-i *yerliyân*) served as well.<sup>2</sup> These 'locals' are not the same as the *müstahfizes* who were also registered in the lists and accounts with their own units.

The frequent exchange of the terms *müstahfız*, *merd-i kale* and *hisar eri* proves that they all refer to the same branch. I shall mention a few examples. The title of the Filek-chapter of the 1569 treasury pay accounts in the first half of the year runs: *cemaat-i merdan ve topçıyân*, in the second half: *müstahfızan ve topçıyân*.<sup>3</sup> It was the *icmal defters* which tended to call the *müstahfizes* 'merd', for example in 1560 the first unit with salary *timars* is that of the *müstahfizes* in the Segedin garrison (the title of their register is: *cemaat-i müstahfızan-i kale-i Segedin*), after that next to the name of every soldier was written 'the *merd* of the fortress of Segedin' (*merd-i kale-i Segedin*).<sup>4</sup> In 1549 the *müstahfizes* of Korkmaz already received their pay from *timars*; the pay list names only two of their senior officers, the captain and his deputy, then in the place of the register for the other soldiers we find: "*zîkr olan parkanda vaki olan hisar erleri timariledir*".<sup>5</sup> In 1556, a deputy *ağa* of the Filek *azabs* had the following noted next to him: "He was a *hisar eri* corporal in Siçen"; and indeed, previously the position of the second corporal of the *müstahfizes* was his.<sup>6</sup> There are plenty of examples which confirm that the three terms referred to the same branch.

Their task was the general defence of the fortress. The regulations, the

- 1 BOA MAD 4000, pp. 1–19: the list of the *yeniçeris* of Buda; pp. 24–35: the list of the *müstahfizes* of Buda from 1613. MAD 704, pp. 1–7: the list of the *yeniçeris* of Eğri; pp. 14–28: the list of the *müstahfizes* at Eğri from 1605.
- 2 BOA Bab-i defteri, Başmuhasebe, Uyvar hazinesi kalemi 17082, p. 8, Bab-i defteri, Büyük kale 32195, p. 4.
- 3 ÖNB Mxt 617, pp. 6, 16.
- 4 BOA Tapu 333, pp. 20–57.
- 5 ÖNB Mxt 562, p. 67.
- 6 ÖNB Mxt 578, pp. 2, 22.

*kanunname* of Süleyman I, described their duties: “Each fortress has a captain (*dizdar*), deputy captain (*kethüda*) and soldiers to defend the arsenal, cannons, guns and all military equipment, who patrol day and night on the bastions and walls of the fortress they were commanded to. Their permanent duty is the defence and guarding of the fortress. These soldiers are called *hisar eri*.”<sup>1</sup>

The troops of the *müstahfizes* were divided into squads called *bölük*, headed by a *bölükbaşı* or *serbölük*. Originally, in newly established garrisons, a squad consisted of ten men, or fewer if natural losses were not made good. Of the infantry units of fortress soldiers the *müstahfizes* were the most prestigious: they were better paid than the others and only Muslims could serve among them.<sup>2</sup> It is another question that most of them were Muslim converts from the Balkans (see the *müstahfizes* of İstolni Belgrad in the chapter on the origins of soldiers).

The two permanent senior officers of the branch were the captain of the fortress, the *dizdar*, and his deputy, the *kethüda* (in a larger complex of fortresses each part with a separate garrison, for example the fortress of Esterгон, its water tower, the town and the *palanka* of Ciğerdelen, would presumably have had its own *dizdar* and *kethüda*). The captain’s sphere of authority is somewhat uncertain. It seems that in general he was the senior officer of the fortress and the commander of the *müstahfizes* in one person; the quoted excerpt from Süleyman’s regulations, however, suggests that he was only the leader of the *müstahfizes*. Several sources suggest that the man in charge of the *müstahfizes* was the *kethüda*; in the *icmâls defteris*, the list of soldiers with salary *timars* was often registered in a way which referred to the captain of the fortress as *dizdar* (*dizdar-i kale/parkan*), while his deputy was called the *kethüda* of the *müstahfizes* (*kethüda-i müstahfizan/merdan*).<sup>3</sup> The captains of smaller fortresses were often referred to as *ağa*, similarly to commanders of other branches,<sup>4</sup> as if in such cases the garrison had no captain, but it also happened that he bore both ranks, or that the two were mixed up by the scribe.<sup>5</sup> As time passed, the general tendency was for there to be fewer and fewer *dizdars* and more *ağas*. In the first

1 Ahmed Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri ve Hukukî Tahlilleri. IV. Kitap: Kanuni Sultan Süleyman Devri Kanunnâmeleri. I. Kısım: Merkezi ve Umumi Kanunnâmeler*. İstanbul, 1992, 480–481.

2 More precisely; towards the end of the century, then in the 17th century Christians could become *müstahfizes* in some smaller fortresses. Earlier, however, I found one Christian from the Balkans: in 1557–1558 the last man of the 31<sup>st</sup> squad of the *müstahfizes* in Pest was a certain Yovan Milan. ÖNB 614, p. 37.

3 For example: BOA Tapu 505, 652, 638.

4 For example: in 1557–1558 in Çoka, Val, Ozora and Endrik the senior officer of the fortress bore the rank of *ağa*. ÖNB Mxt 614, pp. 172, 179, 182.

5 For example: in the list of 1557–1558 the captain of Sanda is Haydar ağa dizdar, in the next year ‘Haydar dizdar, the *ağa* of the above mentioned ones [*müstahfizes*]’. ÖNB Mxt 614, p. 107; Mxt 633, p. 73. In 1556–1557 the garrison of Solnok was headed by a *dizdar*, in the following year the same person is called an *ağa*. ÖNB Mxt 578, p. 66. Mxt 614, p. 127.

decades of the 17th century the two terms were used at random,<sup>1</sup> then in the pay lists which are the latest ones I know of, for example in the 1628 *defter* of the fortresses of the *vilayet* of Kanija, and the 1653 *defter* of the garrison of Kanija itself the leaders of the *müstahfizes* are *ağas*; similarly to the other commanders they were called 'the *ağa* of the troop' (*ağa-i çete*).<sup>2</sup>

Given the random way in which the titles of ranks were used and mixed up, what they were called is probably not too significant. It is more important, however, that the seniority of the captain is sometimes called into question by the relatively low pay he received, when the salary of the *ağa* of a more important unit overtook his on the scale of wages. The daily pay of the *dizdar* of Buda in 1543 was 100 *akçes*, the same as that of the *ağa* of the *gönüllüs*, who were unquestionably the most prestigious cavalry unit in the fortress. By 1569 the pay of the captain, then called *ağa*, fell to 60 *akçes*, while the commander of the *gönüllüs* enjoyed a *ziamet*.<sup>3</sup> In 1553, rather unusually, the scribe started listing the newly established garrison of Bespirim with the cavalry, whose first *ağa* received 30, the second 15 *akçes* a day, the *müstahfizes* were only listed afterwards, headed by the *dizdar* with 15 *akçes*.<sup>4</sup> The ranking and pay in Bespirim emphasised the superiority of the important cavalry. In 1556–1557 the *dizdar* of Senmikloş received 17 *akçes* a day, the *ağa* of the cavalry, the most numerous and important unit, received 20 *akçes*.<sup>5</sup> The captain's wages, often quite embarrassingly low and seemingly illogical,<sup>6</sup> were naturally affected by other factors: the hierarchy of fortresses—this was surely not a factor in Buda, as it was the most important place—years spent by the *dizdar* in service, the pay he had received in his previous post, and presumably many other considerations. The inconsistency of both terminology and the sums paid raises important questions: was the captain originally at the same level as the other commanders, or did he get downgraded to their level over time; did he remain the senior officer, and how much say did he have in decision-making? Unfortunately, even the large quantities of data for the 'classic' decades of the 16th century supply only a tiny amount of

1 For example: the captain of Fedvar is an *ağa* in 1610, in 1613 a *dizdar*, and in 1619 he was an *ağa* again; the situation is the same in İstolni Belgrad, at Polota, Çoka, Kopan, Şimontorna, Döbrekös, Pakşa, Tolna etc. BOA MAD 5623, 4000 and 7320. My impression is that the use of terminology depended more on the mood and set ways of the scribes than on a hierarchical order.

2 BOA MAD 7208; MAD 6188, p. 11.

3 ÖNB Mxt 566, pp. 1, 20. Mxt 642, pp. 1, 7.

4 ÖNB Mxt 643, pp. 51, 53, 56.

5 ÖNB Mxt 578, pp. 77, 81.

6 In 1557–1558 the captain of the garrison of Holloka, manned by 24 men, received 15 *akçes* a day, that of Buyak, manned with 30, got 18, the captain of Hatvan, with a garrison of 361 men, received 14. ÖNB Mxt 614, pp. 112–113, 137.

information about the sphere of authority of the *dizdars*; what does seem to be certain is that they played a role in the recruitment of new soldiers.

Even if there is no disturbing contradiction, and the *dizdar* seems to be beyond doubt the main commander of the fortress, this does not mean that he enjoyed unlimited freedom of decision (the concept was unknown within the Ottoman system anyway). The local individuals in charge of military matters, and in particular of fortress affairs, were the *beylerbeyis* and *sancakbeyis*. They proposed what needed to be done to the imperial council, which addressed to them its decrees to build, renovate, and equip fortresses, as well as decrees on musters, numbers of defenders and numerous other issues. In this sense they too were only executives, and the *dizdars* were subordinated to them too.

The captains were prisoners of their fortresses. In 1573 Stephan Gerlach, a member of Ungnad's delegation to Istanbul wrote the following: "The captain of Buda, just like that of Ístolni Belgrad, never can leave the fortress. If anyone finds him a gunshot away from it, he can kill him and take his place."<sup>1</sup> We tend to consider such contemporary accounts as greatly exaggerated, but only Gerlach's second sentence is an exaggeration: the restriction on *dizdars*' movements is not. In 1568 the imperial council sent a letter to Mehmed, *sancakbeyi* of Ístolni Belgrad. This was in answer to a report in which he had described how the *dizdar* of the fortress went out a few times to investigate the walls and to estimate what needed to be done. The decree said the *dizdar* might go outside the walls to investigate important tasks, but it was strictly forbidden for him to "to keep going out of the fortress on this pretext or that". Should he do this, the *sancakbeyi* was obliged to report him, and his post would be allocated to somebody else.<sup>2</sup>

In Buda they obviously tried to find replacement for the vacant positions of captains and deputy captains from within the province. The new *dizdar* was often promoted from among the garrison. For example, in Hatvan in 1549 he was the first corporal of the cavalry,<sup>3</sup> but he could be transferred from other fortresses; this is how the *kethüda* of Buda became a captain at Tata. It also happened that commanders of a unit of janissaries of the Porte who fell out of favour were made into *dizdars*.<sup>4</sup> The hypothesis, however, that all captains were chosen from among the *yenîçeris*, and as a result, their appointment was in the hands of the *yenîçeri ağası* resident in the capital, is mistaken.<sup>5</sup> I am only aware

1 Ungnád Dávid konstantinápolyi utazásai [David von Ungnad's journeys to Constantinople]. Translated, introductory study written by József László Kovács. Budapest, 1986, 109.

2 7 Numaralı mühimme defteri, No. 1825.

3 ÖNB Mxt 562, pp. 122, 124.

4 Pál Fodor, *A janicsárok törvényei (1606) I* [The regulations of the janissaries]. Budapest, 1989, 69.

5 Antal Velics-Ernő Kammerer, *Magyarországi török kincstári defterek I-II* [Turkish Treasury Defters in Hungary]. Budapest, 1886, 1890, I. XXXVI-XXXVII.

of one case when a *yeniçeri* was made into the captain of the fortress. In 1552 the *dizdar* of Buda was transferred to a higher position in Asia Minor. An imperial decree ordered the *yeniçeri ağası* of Istanbul to select a worthy person for the Buda post.<sup>1</sup> They also strove to find the corporals of *müstahfizes* within the fortress, and the *divan* was keen that the vacant positions of ordinary soldiers should be filled with their sons if possible.<sup>2</sup>

In major fortresses, after the two senior officers of the garrison, especially in the early decades, a third official was also registered: the scribe or *kâtib*. In 1543 in Buda there were three people designated in this way: one was assigned to the *müstahfizes*, one to the artillery—he may also have managed the auxiliary units and cavalry, and one was registered in the unit of the *azabs*; presumably, he worked for the *martoloses* too<sup>3</sup>—but it is also possible that the tasks were not divided according to units but according to the scribes' specific duties. In six years, there was only one scribe registered among the *azabs* in the pay list,<sup>4</sup> in 1557 the *kâtib* appears in the unit of the *gönüllüs*, with the annotation that 'he is the scribe of the above-mentioned [*gönüllüs*]'.<sup>5</sup> This note suggests that the major branches kept their own scribes, only they did not receive their pay in cash from the treasury, but in some other form. In 1554 the scribe of the garrison of Vişegrad was stationed in the lower fortress, but he was the "*kâtib* of the upper fortress *müstahfizes*, as well as the lower fortress *müstahfizes*, *azabs* and *martoloses*".<sup>6</sup> There are traces of division according to special duties: in 1557 the third man in the Solnok register was Bali Mehmed 'scribe and cashier' (*kâtib ve müteeddi*), at the same place in 1569 Ali Nasuh held the post of 'scribe of the warehouse' (*kâtib-i anbar*).<sup>7</sup>

The 17th century brought about a decline in the number and prestige of the *müstahfizes*. It is difficult to define this change clearly because, although it is true that there are many cases to prove it and only a few to disprove it, after the disappearance of the *icmal defteris* it is impossible to say whether the decline is only apparent and the disappearing *müstahfizes* made a living from collective *timars*. In the first decades of the century the villages devastated and destroyed by the war were unable to maintain the *sipahis*, let alone the fortress soldiers. Consequently some of the defenders who had previously lived off salary *timars* had to be paid in cash again. They can be found in pay lists; the problems come from those who remained *timar* holders, as there are no sources on them. The

1 Dávid-Fodor, *Az ország ügye*, No. 224.

2 6 Numaralı mühimme defteri (972/1564–1565) I–II. Ankara, 1995, No. 752. February 18, 1565.

3 ÖNB Mxt 566, pp. 1, 16, 33.

4 ÖNB Mxt 562, p. 21.

5 ÖNB Mxt 614, p. 15.

6 ÖNB Mxt 583, p. 186.

7 ÖNB Mxt 614, p. 127. Mxt 642, p. 200.



fortresses of the *sancak* of Solnok indicate that a mixed means of payment was also introduced. About half the soldiers who previously had *timars* were paid in cash, and the troops kept their earlier, no longer lucrative *timars* as well: they had to make their living out of the two incomes as well as they might. Reliable remuneration was primarily the officer's due, this is often obvious. The paid squads of *müstahfizes* or artillerymen consisting of only a few men outside the *sancak* of Solnok, for example at Bak'an, Val, Seksar, Batasek or Pakşa cannot be considered as complete units.

This technical difficulty, however, does not change the general impression that the days of the *müstahfizes* once the most prestigious infantry defenders of the fortresses, were over. In general, their numbers decreased, and at the same time the artillerymen and *azabs* became more numerous. The strength of some garrisons is as follows in the order of year, number of *müstahfizes/topçus/azabs* (location of sources can be found in the database). Temeşvar, 1554: 254/52/?, 1569: 153/41/?, 1591: ?/?/120, around 1621: 77/50/198, 1629: 113/70/214, 1633: 134/76/216. There were two little fortresses in which there were no *azabs* so only the *müstahfiz*/artillery proportion is instructive: Çoka, 1592: 35/4, 1596: 33/5, 1608: 28/22, 1612: 29/22, 1630: 28/19, and Donbo, 1565: 38/7, 1569: 38/7, 1607: 30/15, 1612: 31/15. The structural changes are seen even in the garrisons established in the 17th century. Kanija, 1615: 84/32/529, 1619: 84/34/542, 1623: 88/37/811, 1624: 88/86/832, 1628: 87/92/846, 1653: 87/89/826; here along with the artillerymen the number of gunsmiths (*cebecis*) between 1615 and 1626 increased from 11 and 24 as well. Lipova also shows the decrease of *müstahfizes* and the increase of *azabs*, the number of artillerymen, however, fell back here (we would expect quite the opposite to happen in this fortress, as after its recapture it was the only stronghold standing guard on the river Maros, which would have required a stronger defensive core): 1554: 131/31/?, 1567: 103/27/?, 1579: 103/17/?, 1591: ?/?/115, 1621: 87/18/350, 1628: 51/17/365.

There are plenty of counter-examples, for example the structure of the garrison of Peçuy and Seksar barely changed, or did so only temporarily, the latter, for example, in the following way: 1565: 56/?/31, 1570: 58/?/32, 1604 (war year): 93/30/149, 1607: 66/25/70, 1613: 65/24/72, 1615: 63/25/66, 1628: 55/19/54 (compared to the other units the artillerymen were numerous here as well). Still, with the knowledge of all Hungarian fortresses the hypothesis remains: the prestige of the *müstahfizes* suffered. However, we must not disregard the other explanation for the drop in numbers: it was not that their prestige suffered, but rather that the recovery of the villages after the war made it possible for some of the *müstahfizes* to return to their previous state, thus they do not appear in pay lists and accounts.

The change is difficult to explain. The reinforcement of the artillery was ne-

cessitated by the requirements of the age and the bitter experience of the war. It would be obvious to explain the increasing numbers of *azabs* by saying that their pay was lower than that of the *müstahfizes*, thus the reduction of the more expensive branch and the increased use of the cheaper branch relieved the treasury financially. This, however, was no longer true in the 17th century. In the great fortresses, in Buda, Estergon and Temeşvar, the pay of the *azabs* caught up with that of the more prestigious *müstahfizes*; in 1609 even in the small garrison of Val both groups earned 7 *akçes* a day. The only—questionable—explanation seems to be that after and during the war the *azab* units were filled with Christians from the Balkans (there were 42 such men in Lipova), who were not welcome among the *müstahfizes* even then.

### Auxiliary units

In smaller units the craftsmen, musicians, gate guards and warehousemen etc.—if there were any—were counted among the *müstahfizes*, in larger places, however, they formed their own units. They were registered in the pay lists after the major branch which they served: at the end of the register of *müstahfizes*, artillery or *azabs*. As most of the artillery units strengthened the general defence of the fortress, they were usually listed after the *müstahfizes*.

The auxiliaries were grouped according to their profession, and registered either as an independent unit, *cemaat*, or as the last squad of the major branch that they served. It sometimes happened that they were registered as an independent unit; however, they had no leader. In these cases presumably they were supervised by the commander of the main branch in whose service they were employed.

Of the craftsmen of the fortress, the armourers or *cebecis* were the most valued. We find traces of them only in bigger fortresses, which can be linked to the fact that originally they looked after the weapons of the *yeniçeris*—more generally the troops sent from the centre,<sup>1</sup> and *yeniçeris* of the Porte were only stationed at larger places. Their prestige is shown by the fact that their unit, consisting of only a few men, always had its own foremen, who often had a deputy. The armourers in Hungarian fortresses were always Muslims.

The craftsmen who most often appear in the garrisons are the carpenters or *neccars* and the blacksmiths or *haddads* (less frequently *ahengers*), who, instead of their borrowed Arabic name, were sometimes also referred to with the names of *dülger* and *demirci* respectively.<sup>2</sup> The two groups of artisans appear even in small places, where maybe only one or two of them were assigned to the *müstahfizes*. Many of them are Christians from the Balkans; the few Hungarian paid

1 Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları*, I. 2.

2 For example in Kalaça in 1543, ÖNB Mxt 550, p. 61.

soldiers in Ottoman fortresses who kept their faith and their names served most often among the carpenters and smiths; in 1545 in Ístolni Belgrad the unit of three carpenters and eight smiths were all Hungarians except for two Serbs.<sup>1</sup> It happened from time to time that representatives of other professions got into these two auxiliary units, which in themselves did not constitute an independent unit; in the troop of the carpenters of Ístolni Belgrad there served one gun carriage (and stock) maker (*kundakçı*) and a saddle maker (*saraç*), while among the smiths there were two cartwrights.

The cartwrights, or *arabacı* were registered after either the *müstahfizes*, or the artillery in the lists, in the latter case they were called gun carriage drivers or *arabacıyan-i top*. Sometimes in bigger places such as in Buda an additional auxiliary unit worked for them, the carpenters of gun carriage drivers (*neccaran-i arabacıyan-i top*). Christians were often employed to work as cartwrights.

Bomb-makers or *kumbaracı* were paired up with artillerymen and gunpowder makers, the *barutçus*, obviously the latter only worked in the two *vilayet* seats which had gunpowder mills, in Buda and Temesvár. After the *azabs* who served also aboard ship came the *kalafatçıs* in the lists,<sup>2</sup> who not only built and repaired ships but also assembled or dismantled pontoon bridges.<sup>3</sup> Sometimes they were also called carpenters, *neccars*, but as they appear together with *azabs*, they are presumably ship's carpenters. Among them there is an especially high proportion of Christians from the Balkans. At the most important ship-building yard of the Danube fleet, in Pest, the unit of 30 men included only Christians, who constituted the majority later on as well.<sup>4</sup>

A colourful part of the garrisons were the musicians, the *mehters*. Groups of musicians were only allocated to infantry units, mainly to the *müstahfizes*, and only in major fortresses. If occasionally one or two musicians were registered in the list after the *azabs* as well, it was indicated that they belonged to them by the title 'musicians of the banner' (*mehteran-i alem*).<sup>5</sup> In the military bands of Ottoman fortresses we find players of the double reed pipe (*zurnaî*), trumpeters (*nefirî, borucu*), drummers (*tabbal, davulcu*) and timpanists (*nakkareî*),<sup>6</sup> double

1 ÖNB Mxt 558, pp. 10, 12.

2 The *kalafatçı* was written in the same way as *kalkancı*, the shield maker; from the written form alone it is impossible to decide which one is referred to. In water-side fortresses the situation is obvious: here ship builders were needed. Luckily they do not often appear in fortresses which were not situated beside water.

3 Fekete, *Budapest a törökkorban*, 129, 228.

4 ÖNB Mxt 566, p. 68. Mxt 562, pp. 47–48.

5 Thus in 1549 and 1557–58 in Buda, ÖNB Mxt 562, p. 30. Mxt 614, p. 28.

6 Balázs Sudár-István Csörsz Rumen, "Trombita, rézdob, tárogató..." *A török hadizene és Magyarország* [Trumpet, copper drum, Turkish pipe...Turkish military music and Hungary]. Enying, 1996, 64–68, 117–122.; the *nakkare* is a double kettledrum. Balázs Sudár mentions the 'standard bearer' meaning of the expression *mehteran-i alem* (ibid., 33), after the *azabs* of Buda; however,—although they too had standard bearers—real musicians, a double reed piper and a

reed pipers and drummers being the most common. The bands were almost never complete;<sup>1</sup> the majority of musicians did not appear at the musters. Maybe they were much in demand, and high-ranking officers lured them into their entourage in order to increase the prestige of their courts. Military musicians were always Muslims, many of them converts. (In 17th-century pay lists, where civilian day labourers appear in greater numbers, the other, more general 'employee' meaning of *mehter* comes up here or there; for example at Temeşvar and Varad the employees of the treasury, the *mehteran-i hazine* were registered).

The composition of the *müteferrika* troops (who were not the local equivalent of the *müteferrikas* of the court) in major fortresses was interesting and varied. As the meaning of the word implies, a variety of service-men were always assigned to this unit: *cami* and *mescid* employees, mostly *müezzins*, gate guards (*bevvaḅ*), warehousemen (*anbarî*, occasionally *mahzenî*, who could also be prison warders), musicians, doctors (*hekim*), medical orderlies/surgeons (*cerrah*), weighers (*vezzan*) or craftsmen. As time went by the units of *müteferrikas* became smaller and then finally disappeared, to be resurrected under a new name at the beginning of the 17th century. At that time, the non-military paid employees of the fortresses were assigned to a mixed unit under the name of 'service-men' (*hademe*) and 'day labourers' (*vazifehoran*, *mürtezika*), sometimes together the term *müteferrika*, but there were also cases of senior officers being assigned to this unit as well. In 1628, four *ağas* (one was the supervisor of the warehouse), two deputy *ağas*, the scribe of the warehouse, a prayer-leader, a *müderis* and the architect of the fortress were assigned to this mixed unit at Sigetvar. At the same time, the guard of the *türbe* (*türbedar*), *vâiz*, an innkeeper (*hani*) who looked after pilgrims, a carpenter and an artilleryman were all assigned to the similar body of soldiers guarding the *türbe* of Sultan Süleyman.<sup>2</sup>

All of this shows that, besides soldiers and craftsmen, warehousemen, musicians and so on in their service, some servants of religion, culture and administration were also registered in pay lists. This might seem strange to a European; however, in a system where there was no independent ecclesiastical organisation, the employees of state-maintained religious and cultural institutions were also registered as day labourers, or 'paid soldiers'. Their pay was allocated in some cases from local revenues;<sup>3</sup> others, however, were paid together with the defenders of the fortresses, thus they were included among the soldiers.

By the beginning of the 17th century auxiliary units had disappeared from

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drummer were registered in the list.

1 In 1544, for example, in Novigrad a band that had been transferred from Pest was registered in the pay list, but all of its four members were missing. ÖNB Mxt 568, p. 100.

2 BOA MAD 7208, pp. 117, 131.

3 In the 1550s and 1560s, for example, the employees of the state *cami* of Vaç and Vişegrad were paid from the income of the Vaç *mukataa*. ÖNB Mxt 577, pp. 25, 32, 41. Mxt 593, p. 58.

smaller and medium-size fortresses; we find them only in the largest ones. Then the most widespread unit was that of the gunsmiths (Buda, Estergon, Eğri, Bobofça, Varad, Uyvar), who were joined by musicians (Eğri, G'ula, Kanija, Varad) and warehousemen (Peçuy and Kanija, but there must have been some in Uyvar, for example, which was the largest depot), gunpowder makers (Buda, Temeşvar), ship builders (Pest), cartwrights (Eğri), bomb makers and gun cartwrights (Buda).

Instead of the old auxiliary troops some new ones emerged in the new century. At Temeşvar and Lipova guards or *pasbans* appeared, who did not guard the fortress itself, but maintained order in the garrison; their units were small. At these two places and in Estergon the permanent figures of pay lists were the bridge builders or *köprüci*s, whose task was not to guard the bridges—this duty was mostly performed by the *müstahfizes*, less frequently by the *azabs* or cavalrymen—, but to maintain them. Finally in Segedin we find a new unit: the harbour workers, or *limancı*. Besides these new units the number of civilian day labourers was much higher than before in some places, for example in Temeşvar.

In the database I consider the auxiliary units as part of the garrison, but never the employees of state prayer houses (in the 17th century I consider as part of the individual troops their own, allocated prayer-leaders), just as I do not include the *çavuşes* and civilian day labourers who appear in increasing numbers in larger fortresses in the 17th century, among the defenders.

### Artillerymen: *topçus*, *topis*

Just as we must differentiate between *müstahfizes* and *yeniçeris*, we must also make a distinction between local and Porte artillerymen. Apart from some really small places there were *topçus* everywhere—in little palisades one or two men, in the bigger ones several dozen—, who served continuously in the fortress. Of 'the artillerymen of the Sublime Porte' only smaller units were detached for provincial service for shorter or longer periods, to Ottoman Hungary only in the decades of the war at the turn of century, and even then we meet them only in the largest fortresses, in Buda, Estergon and Eğri.<sup>1</sup>

The artillerymen, alongside the *müstahfizes*, were responsible for the general defence of the fortress. Since compared to the other branches their numbers were limited, and their profession needed expertise, in new garrisons it was

1 It is a misunderstanding that artillerymen were sent from the central fortresses to provincial ones, and were provisioned from there as well. It is true that above the names of many men on the list of the Porte *topçus*—as on that of the *yeniçeris*, which provincial fortress they were currently serving in was noted. However, it would have been impossible to send all the artillery for provincial fortresses from Istanbul, if only because the central artillery corps would have been inadequate for this. This in 1567–1568 consisted of 1,204 men, and in the following year in the fortresses of the *vilayet* of Buda alone the number of artillerymen neared 700.

most difficult to set up their unit. Smaller fortresses were left without artillery for years: in Ozora, which was taken in the mid 1540s, sources only indicate *topçus* in 1553, in Endrik only in 1565.

Their commander was usually called *ser*, or to begin with occasionally, later more often, *ağa*. Presumably the two do not indicate higher or lower ranks, as the rank of *ser* and *ağa* can be used interchangeably even in the case of the same post or individual. A deputy-commander, a *kethüda* was often appointed even to smaller units. The artillery squads were *bölüks*, their corporals were the *bölükbaşıs* or *serbölüks*. Even when they were set up, the size of squads varied. In smaller fortresses the whole squad consisted of only a handful of men, in bigger places, on the other hand, squads of more than ten men were formed, for example in Buda in 1543 there were two of 15 and one of 20 men. Originally, many Christian men from the Balkans served in the artillery,<sup>1</sup> later Muslims became dominant.

In the earliest pay lists in larger fortresses artillerymen appear within other branches as well. In the the *azab* troop of Estergon's first—planned—garrison the fourth and last squad of every unit (*riyaset*) had eleven men assigned to it, and the eleventh soldier was always an artilleryman, *topi*. Only a few of these actually took up service, but some remained. The same was planned for the second *ağalık* of the *martoloses* and from the sixth squad of the Pest *martoloses* too (see below under *azabs* and *martoloses*).

As we have seen, in the first decades of the 17th century the *topçu* units were reinforced in many fortresses, presumably as a reaction to the lessons learnt in the war. "The Ottoman army had its first bitter experiences during the Fifteen Years' War, precisely in Hungary. The firepower of the Hungarian and German artillery was far superior the Ottomans".<sup>2</sup> In May 1603 Lala Mehmed Pasha, the commander-in-chief of troops fighting in Hungary, wrote the following to the grand vizier: "As the majority of the accursed ones [= the enemy] are infantrymen or gunners, while the majority of the Islamic soldiers are cavalry, with few infantrymen among them, and there are barely any experts accustomed to firearms, during combat and the siege of the fortress they had to endure severe hardships."<sup>3</sup> Although this experience reflected rather the inexperience of the firearm-bearing infantrymen in the field, it also indicates that fort-

1 On the European and Balkan influences in the emergence and development of Ottoman artillery, see Gábor Ágoston, 'Ottoman Artillery and European Military Technology in the Fifteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', *Acta Orientalia* 47:1-2 (1994) 30-31.

2 Gábor Ágoston, 'Az európai hadügyi forradalom és az oszmánok [The European military revolution and the Ottomans]', *Történelmi Szemle* 37:4 (1995) 477.

3 Géza Dávid-Pál Fodor, 'Magyar vonatkozású török államiratok a tizenöt éves háború korából I-II [Turkish state documents with Hungarian references from the period of the Fifteen Years' War]', *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 30:3 (1983) 458.

resses were poorly equipped with cannons and guns. Unfortunately no fortress inventory has survived from the 17th century: the only survey from 1565 does not show copious stocks. However, before further investigations it is worth taking a look at Belgrade's arsenal.<sup>1</sup> The example is not quite fair, as Belgrade was, in all respects, the greatest depot in the North Balkans, but I do not know of any other arsenal that could be used as a parallel. In 1536 in Belgrade 255 cannons (210 of which were of small calibre), 230 *şakaloz* (arquebus) guns<sup>2</sup> and 203 guns were listed in the inventory (interestingly, there were still copious stocks of bows and arrows; 160 of the former, 82,216 of the latter). In the inventory of the arsenal of the fortresses of Ottoman Hungary drawn up on December 16, 1565<sup>3</sup>, in Buda—which, as the most northern *vilayet* seat of the empire and an outstanding military centre, was also a place of some importance—there were 40 cannons (two of them small), 160 arquebuses and 2,370 muskets (bows and arrows only appear in the inventory of a few smaller fortresses); in 1569 103 artillerymen served in the fortress. The same data for the other fortresses, in the same order (cannon / *şakalozes* / guns and the number of artillerymen) at a similar date are as follows: Estergon 22/60/650, in 1569 30 artillerymen; Istolni Belgrad 57 (of these 10 small) /200/380, in 1569 68 artillerymen; Peçuy 7/?/?, in 1569 30 artillerymen; Şikloş 42 (of these 6 old; at the same time 2,153 stone cannonballs were listed, to which no cannons belonged)/?/?, in 1565 20 artillerymen; Hatvan 14/30/55, in 1569 13 artillerymen; Siçen 7/60/50, in 1570 33 artillerymen; Holloka 1/5/10, in 1559-ben 3 artillerymen; Buyak 2/12/20 (and 28 'unserviceable' arquebuses), no artillerymen mentioned in the sources; Şimontorna 11/55/?, in 1569 7 artillerymen; Ozora 1/22/?, in 1580 3 artillerymen; Endrik 1/7/?, in 1580 5 artillerymen; Tomaşin 3/7/?, in 1565 4 artillerymen; Döbrekös 8/?/?, in 1565 7 artillerymen. Without doubt this arsenal needed to be reinforced and the number of artillerymen had to be increased.

### Cavalry: *farises*, *ulufeciyan-i süvari*, *beşlis*

The cavalry of the fortresses—the *farises* and the *gönüllüs*, the latter will be discussed in the next chapter—were no longer so much of an integral part of general defence: their duty was rather to keep away the hostile raiders, or to conduct raids of their own. Thus there were numerous small palisades, both in the protected inner areas of Ottoman Hungary or guarding rivers, in which no cav-

1 The inventory was published by Šabanović, *Turski izvori*, 283–284. Quoted by Gábor Ágoston, 'Párhuzamok és eltérések az oszmán és az európai tüzérség fejlődésében a 15–17. században [Parallels and differences in the development of Ottoman and European artillery between the 15th and 17th centuries]', *Történelmi Szemle* 34:3–4 (1992) 197.

2 Ágoston, *Guns for the Sultan*, 88. Idem, *Osmanlı'da Strateji*, 133–145.

3 ÖNB Mxt 599. Ágoston studied the cannons in Buda in the inventory, 'Párhuzamok és eltérések', 192.

alry were stationed. However, they constituted the vital part, the most important and most numerous units, in the border garrisons.

The earliest pay lists use two terms to refer to the cavalry, alternating the expressions *ulufeciyan-i süvari* and *faris*. The similarity between the two is obvious at once: the scribe in 1543 usually put a title page before the register of the cavalry, onto which he put the unit with the first name, then on the next page he wrote a new title, and this time he called the troops *farises*.<sup>1</sup> In Hungary a third term, *beşli* was hardly ever used in pay lists, but there is no doubt that it referred to the same corps. In 1541 the drafter of the list used *beşli* for the cavalrymen who had been transferred from the fortresses along the rivers Drava and Sava to Buda in the headings, but when he started a new page he wrote ‘continuation of the *ulufecis*’ at the top of the page.<sup>2</sup> Occasionally, the terms were alternated even at the end of the 1550s, the term *faris*, however, became first more wide-spread, then dominant. More precisely: the Ottoman sources on fortress soldiers used this exclusively, the Hungarian common language, however, took over the word *beşli* in the form *beşlia*.

The cavalry was divided into companies, led by the *ağas*. In the sources themselves the term ‘company’ does not appear, while *ağalık* (state and condition of being an *ağa*) sometimes does; the companies were registered on the basis of the number or name of the *ağas*, for example ‘the unit of cavalry belonging under the fourth *ağa* / Hasan *ağa*’. The *ağas* seem to be equal in rank—only their pay differed, but this could have depended on time spent in service and other factors—, and no commander-in-chief in charge of all cavalry was placed above them. In the largest fortresses, where several cavalry-*ağalıklar* were stationed, originally ten squads were assigned to each. Later, when the garrisons for new fortresses were put together from old ones, the size of squads might have decreased. Presumably the same reasons could explain the few cases where the cavalry company consisted of more than one hundred soldiers. In smaller fortresses, where fewer cavalrymen were stationed, the *ağalık* was made up of fewer than ten men to begin with. In the spring pay list of 1541 of fortresses in Serbia and Sirem and in the register of the soldiers transferred to Buda from there<sup>3</sup> the squads in every branch were still written down as *bölük*; the squads of cavalry, *azabs* and *martoloses* were to be called *oda* only later. The two terms were mixed for a while—in 1543–1544 for example the smallest units of the Esztergon cavalry were either called *bölük* or *oda*<sup>4</sup>—, for the cavalry, however, the name *oda* quickly became standard. The corporals were either *odabaşıs* or *serodas*.

1 For example in the case of the ten cavalry companies serving in İstolni Belgrad, ÖNB Mxt 550, pp. 15–34.

2 ÖNB Mxt 557, pp. 3–22.

3 ÖNB Mxt 557 and 567.

4 ÖNB Mxt 566, pp. 93–96. Mxt 568, pp. 11–20.



In the 16th century there were no deputies besides the *ağas*; the branches had standard-bearers, *alemdars* (less often *bayraktars*); these, however were not considered officers, they were placed in one of the squads for service. When after the turn of the century the officer corps of each branch grew significantly, the cavalry *ağas* sometimes had deputies as well: the *kethüdas* (for example in 1619 in Kanija), the standard bearers multiplied as well and were promoted to officer status, and the officer corps had a scribe and occasionally a prayer-leader added to it. This however was still a much less radical transformation than several other branches went through.

Apart from Buda, Eğri, Varad and Uyvar, where *gönüllüs* were also stationed, the most prestigious, best paid unit of every garrison is that of the *farises* – so at first sight it might seem odd that these were also the least undisciplined troops. They moved around a lot and together with the infantry *azabs* they had the highest incidence of absence. The phenomenon is easy to explain: they were keen to exchange their already good position for an even better one, smaller fortresses for bigger ones, fortress service for *timar*. The latter seems to have been their ultimate aim: they achieved it more easily than infantry soldiers because they had already completed the major investment of the acquisition of the horse and armour required for the cavalry. In 1556–1557 more than one tenth of the 201 Solnok cavalymen registered, 23 men, left the troop because they had acquired *timars* in the *sancak* of Solnok, which was then being organised, and became *sipahis*.

The investigation of their origin reveals that the cavalry came almost exclusively from the Balkans, mostly from Bosnia, Albania and northern Serbia. They were Muslims, many of them converts. In almost each *ağalık* there was a Christian; these were recruited as guides. Sometimes we meet Hungarians in these posts: in 1545 in Tomaşin four Hungarian guides served in the unit of *farises*; three, however, left the fortress.

### *Gönüllüs*

In the *vilayet* of Buda *gönüllüs* served only in Buda, and not even in all other *vilayet* centres: we do not meet them in Temeşvar or in Kanija. There were some, however, in Yanık, just to mention this short-lived *vilayet* centre (those that were left of them after the fall of the fortress were transferred to Şimontorna), as well as in Eğri, Varad and Uyvar. The fact that they appear so rarely makes us suspect that wherever they were present they belonged to the elite forces, the most prestigious, best paid cavalry unit. We have already seen that in 1543 their *ağa* was paid as much as the captain of the fortress of Buda, and later his pay greatly exceeded the captain's. Numerous members of the corps were protégées of high-ranking officers: in 1543 in the Buda unit one was the son of a *paşa* and

one the son of a *bey*, five were the ‘people of *paşas*’,<sup>1</sup> in 1549 two were protégées of *paşas* and five of *bey*s, next to several people the scribe thought it necessary to note down who was the brother of whom.<sup>2</sup> They were fairly mobile too—whoever could do so acquired a *timar* through his patron, in 1549 four people achieved this—, but absence here was always less than in other branches, because there was no shortage of applicants. They were all Muslims, but their ethnic composition was very varied. Among those who were of Balkan origin Bosnians and Serbs were the most numerous, but Turks from Asia Minor, Albanians, Greeks, Circassians, and even Croats and Hungarians who had converted from Western Christianity were happy to join them as well. Making use of their privileged position, many *gönüllüs* earned some extra income in commercial and mainly financial enterprises.

The military value of their branch must have been high (this was acknowledged by the treasury with unusually high wages); they took their share not only of fortress defence, but also in war. When Ali, *paşa* of Buda gave an account to the sultan of the Novigrad campaign (1552), besides the *sancakbeyis* marching with him he only mentioned two other units as partakers of the victories, the *yeniçeris* and *gönüllüs* of Buda.<sup>3</sup> However, to the military management they were as problematic as they were profitable. “As the *gönüllüs* committed many foul deeds”, the idea of their abolition came up soon after they were placed in the Buda garrison. On March 8, 1545, the imperial council, repeating a former decree, instructed the *beylerbeyi* of Buda not to fill the posts of soldiers who—having gained *timar*—left the unit. The decree reissued on January 16, 1552 clearly stated that as a result of their villainy, the *gönüllüs* were being gradually abolished, and replaced by *beşlis*. However, their unit was always saved by something: interests, power relations or the necessities of war. This latter was what made them yet again indispensable in 1552. Barely two months later, on March 8, 1552 the *divan* decreed that the unit of *gönüllüs*, previously determined at 300 men, was to be restored to that strength, as according to some reports their number had fallen below 200.<sup>4</sup> Thanks to some skilful lobbying, the 300-man strength of the Buda unit remained even in the peaceful decades of the century. Finally, another peaceful period brought about the long-delayed decision. In 1613 an imperial decree ordered the abolition of the Buda *gönüllü* unit, and declared that in that year they were no longer to receive pay.<sup>5</sup> The oppon-

1 ÖNB Mxt 566, pp. 20–31.

2 ÖNB Mxt 562, pp. 13–18.

3 Dávid–Fodor, *Az ország ügye*, No. 332.

4 Ibid., Nos. 10, 85. This time, the Porte’s information must have been wrong, in 1549 361 people were registered in the Buda corps, of whom 342 were present. By 1557, in accordance with the decree, the numbers were reduced to 302 men, of whom 283 were in actual service.

5 BOA MAD 1002, p. 6.

ents of the corps, however, only enjoyed a temporary victory. In 1615 the *gönüllüs* were still missing from Buda, in 1619, however, their unit, 311 strong, reappears yet again in the list of the garrison (see database, Buda 1612–1619). And the fact that units of *gönüllüs* were also sent into some *vilayet* centres established later (Yanık, Eğri, Varad and Uyvar) indicates that the military leadership could not—or maybe did not really wish to—get rid of this evidently aggressive and hardly controllable corps, which successfully defended its interests against all adversaries.

### *Azabs (rüesa ve azeban)*

Originally, this corps had nothing to do with fortresses. In the *beyliks* which became independent from the Anatolian Seljuq State—and among the Ottomans as well—the *azabs* were the early infantry auxiliaries in armies which consisted mostly of cavalry. In the maritime *beyliks* some of them served aboard ships, some as field troops. They were conscripted for the duration of the campaign from tax-paying Muslim subjects, and were granted exemption from taxation while they were in military service. The double service, maritime and land, continued under the Ottomans too. As a result of the Mediterranean expansion the importance of maritime service increased, the *azabs* not only constituted the fighting, paid crews of warships, but also performed all the auxiliary duties necessary for navigation: they defended the shores, and built and guarded harbours. Beside the *yeniçeris*, they were pushed into the background in land forces, but up to the mid 16th century tens of thousands of them were led into battle. They were employed as paid fortress soldiers in increasing numbers from as early as the 15th century onwards.<sup>1</sup> In the period under discussion *azabs* were primarily fortress defenders, an infantry unit in the garrison that was less appreciated and less well paid than the *müstahfizes*.

Their official name—under which they usually appear in pay lists—was *rüesa ve azeban*. This and the way they were organised are reminiscent of naval service. The word *reis* (in plural *rüesa*) means head, superior, captain of a water-borne vessel; among the *azabs* of fortresses it referred to the commander of a medium sized unit. In the garrisons the *azabs* were divided into *ağaliks*, led by *ağas* and their deputies, the *kethüdas*, and below them several *reises*, who commanded units consisting of three or four squads, the *riyaset*s or *cemaats*: a ‘crew’

1 İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti Teşkilâtına Medhal*. Ankara, 1984, 142, 146. Idem, ‘Azab’, in *İslâm Ansiklopedisi II*. İstanbul, 1986, 82–83. Gyula Káldy-Nagy, ‘A török állam hadseregének kialakulása I. Szulejmán korára [The development of the army of the Turkish state by the reign of Süleyman I]’, in Lajos Rúzsás–Ferenc Szakály (eds.), *Mohács. Tanulmányok a mohácsi csata 450. évfordulója alkalmából*. Budapest, 1986, 182–183. Pál Fodor, ‘Ottoman warfare, 1300–1453’, in Kate Fleet (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Turkey. Vol. I. Byzantium to Turkey, 1071–1453*. Cambridge, 2009, 211–212.

of three or four squads was exactly equivalent to the number necessary to man a river ship (naturally, sea-going vessels required larger crews). The fortress *azabs* were linked to their maritime peers not only by origin and tradition, but also by the fact that together with the *martoloses* they were regularly used to provide armed protection for water-borne transport, ships, harbours and cargoes. During the preparations for the 1552 Hungarian campaign, in order to ensure the transportation of foodstuffs needed by the army to Belgrade and to Buda, the imperial council detached *azabs* and *martoloses* even for the protection of the cargo to the lower and Hungarian, (and apparently safe) safe sections of the Danube, since the oarsmen could not be trusted with food and military equipment.<sup>1</sup> The *azabs* were associated with waterborne services by their Christian contemporaries as well. The account by an unknown author of the mutiny of the Buda garrison in the autumn of 1590 explained the rank of the *azab ağa* as the 'colonel of the soldiers of Turkish warships'.<sup>2</sup>

In places where waterborne service was important, the high officers of the *azabs*—in spite of the whole troop receiving lower pay than the *müstahfizes*—could receive higher pay than the *dizdar* of the fortress. In 1570 the captain of Sekçöy enjoyed a *timar* with an annual income of 3,325, and the *ağa* of the *azabs* one of 10,000 *akçes*, while his deputy's *timar* brought in 3,600 *akçes* a year. The annual income of the *dizdar* of Mohaç was set at 5,000, the *azab ağa*'s at 6,000 *akçes*.<sup>3</sup>

By the time the Ottomans were establishing their rule in Hungary, the structure of the branch of the garrison *azabs* had taken shape. In the earliest pay list, from 1543 and kept in Vienna, in some fortresses along the rivers Drava and Sava and in Serbia, as well as in Titel regular, orderly *azab* troops were registered. In Belgrade in the following way: the commanders were the *ağa* and the *kethüda*; with under them 13 *cemaats/riyaset*s; one of the *reises* of the first two units was the *ağa* himself, the other his deputy, the others were headed by the *reises*; in every *riyaset* 4 squads. In Titel the structure is very similar, except that the units are smaller in accordance with the size of the fortress: here the number of *riyaset*s were 4, (the first two *reises* were the *ağa* and the *kethüda* here too), three squads in each. At this point, the squads were still called *bölük*, the corporals were *bölükbaşı*.<sup>4</sup> Later *bölük* was sometimes changed to *oda*, and by the middle of the century the latter was the only term used. In the garrisons

1 Dávid-Fodor, *Az ország ügye*, No. 174 (on the inadequacy of oarsmen), No. 200 (on commanding the *azabs* and *martoloses*).

2 Emil Jurkovich, 'A budai török őrség lázadása 1590-ben [The rebellion of the Turkish garrison of Buda in 1590]', *Történelmi Tár* (1905) 151.

3 BOA Tapu 505, pp. 77–78, 80, 83.

4 ÖNB Mxt 567, the Belgrade ones on pp. 27–40, the Titel ones on pp. 55–58.

established in Hungary the structure of the *azab* units was mostly similar.<sup>1</sup> Their largest troop was stationed in Estergon, the base for the Danube fleet guarding the border: four *ağalıklar* with 10 *riyaset*s each, with three squads in each *riyaset*, so altogether 120 squads, to which 1,305 soldiers were assigned including the officer corps. In the last squad of each *riyaset* 12 (sometimes 11) men were placed; besides the normal complement of ten there was a standard bearer, an *alemdar*, and an artilleryman, a *topi*.<sup>2</sup> In medium sized *azab* units sometimes their two *ağalıklar* were not of equal importance, which was manifested in the pay of their officers and crew.

Among all the branches serving in the fortresses that of the *azabs* was the least disciplined, especially in newly set up garrisons. At the time of the first call-roll in Estergon, of the 1,305 planned *azabs* only 697 were in actual service, in another important river-side town, Solnok, where according to the original plans, they would have constituted one third of the garrison, of the 155 *azabs* on the list only 25 were present by the end of 1552.<sup>3</sup> Part of these and similar great deficits were due to rearrangements, but presence in the case of *azabs* was weak in general, even if they were left alone in their places. Their movement and constant changing of place was similar to the cavalry's, and although the military value and prestige of these two branches cannot be compared, the reason for their mobility was the same: the hope of promotion. The units of *azabs* were the first step for converted Balkan people striving for military careers and state pay; at the same time it was a springboard to better posts. Among them there are many new Muslims, mainly Serbian and Bosnian converts, but later the ratio of Christians also increased: every applicant was welcome in these units, which always suffered from a shortage of men. Those who left were trying to get into units with higher pay, bigger fortresses, better posts. By 1549 the complement of Estergon *azabs* had thinned down to 589 soldiers, more precisely this is how many were registered in the list. During the year 88 positions became or were already vacant, and they only managed to recruit 62 men: the numbers decreased further. Of those who left, 51% left the fortress, 21% managed to find a better position, the remainder are casualties of war. Of the 32 *reises* 11 were promoted, nine obtained *timars*, one *reis* became a cavalryman, and one became a *müstahfiz* corporal, which, for the time being, meant a financial loss for him; however, he was transferred into a more prestigious unit.<sup>4</sup>

As has been discussed in more detail in the chapter on river fleets and their commanders, in the course of the 17th century the waterborne service done by

1 There were exceptions, of course. In Ístolni Belgrad, for example, five squads made up a *riyaset*. ÖNB Mxt 550, pp. 36–43. Mxt 558, pp. 13–18.

2 ÖNB Mxt 566, pp. 97–120.

3 ÖNB MXT 643, pp. 40–42.

4 ÖNB Mxt 562, pp. 97–111.

the *azabs* appeared in their name as well: in important riverside locations their leaders were called *kapudan*; indeed, whole *azab* units were called this, too.

Although the fall in the number of *müstahfizes* and the increase in the number of *azabs* did not take place in all garrisons, the tendency can be described as typical. The changes in the proportion of the two branches, as I have mentioned, cannot be explained simply by saying that the treasury profited from the lower wages of the *azabs*, as these had caught up with the *müstahfizes*' pay in general by the 17th century. Maybe the increasing number of Balkan Christians among the *azabs* explains the changes in the relative proportions of the two branches, as the infidels were still not allowed among the *müstahfizes* of larger fortresses (several small fortresses went through this change as well). In 1608 16% of the *azabs* of İstolni Belgrad,<sup>1</sup> in 1619 10% of all *azabs* serving in the fortresses of the *vilayet* of Kanija,<sup>2</sup> and around 1621 more than 22% of all *azabs* registered in the fortresses of the *vilayet* of Temeşvar<sup>3</sup> were Christians.

Another change of the new century was that in many places, especially in larger fortresses, the officer corps of the *azabs* increased disproportionately. The normal ratio between office bearers and common soldiers usual in the 16th century had changed. This phenomenon is most obvious in *azab* units, but as to some extent it also happened to other ones; later I shall discuss this in a separate section.

### *Martoloses*

The boundaries of the term *martolos* are blurred, for several reasons. Besides the *martoloses* serving for pay in fortresses there existed a substantial class of military peasants with the same name—this was the earlier of the two groups—which in return for exemption from taxation performed border defence and law enforcement duties mainly in the Balkan Peninsula, but also in Ottoman Hungary;<sup>4</sup> the two elements are inclined to overlap slightly, they cannot be clearly distinguished. Similarly, it is difficult to draw the border between the *martoloses* and the *eflaks* doing military service.<sup>5</sup>

1 71 ÖNB Mxt 620, pp. 11–13.

2 ÖNB Mxt 631.

3 BOA MAD 3729.

4 These peasant *martoloses* were clearly defined by an imperial order from 1567 'unpaid black *martoloses*' (*ulufesiz kara martolos taifesi*). 7 Numaralı mühimme defteri, No. 192.

5 It is common knowledge that the southern Slavs and *eflaks* engaged in military activity did not only fight alongside the Ottomans, but also for the Habsburgs in the southern border areas. Interestingly, units called *martolos* appeared in Hungarian fortresses as well. In a letter dating from 1557 we learn that Ferenc Bebek put two hundred *martoloses* into the castle of Derencsény so that they would guard the road leading there from the fortress of Murány. András Komáromy, 'Gersei Petheő János levelei Nádasdy Tamáshoz, 1550–1562 [Letters of János Gersei Petheő to Tamás Nádasdy 1550–1562]', *Történelmi Tár* (1904) 248.

The kinds of military peasants exempt from taxation will be discussed in a separate chapter, where I will attempt to highlight the content of the terms peasant-*martolos*, *eflak* and *harami*. At this point only two facts need mentioning. The first is that part of the paid *martoloses* of Hungarian fortresses served in the rotating service system of the *eflaks*, so even if ethnically they were not *eflaks*, they had the same legal status. On the first day of 951 (March 25, 1544), 52 new men were recruited into the *martoloses* of Esterгон. Of these 24 were brothers of soldiers who were leaving service, 27 had patronymics different from the departing *martoloses*; they may or may not have been related; in one case the post of a soldier called an *eflak* was taken by another one also called *eflak*:<sup>1</sup> obviously here the *eflak* rotating service system was in operation, in which the soldiers changed places at the beginning of the year. In different garrisons there were cases of brothers replacing each other. When such a change-over took place the new soldier's guarantor was his corporal or captain. Doing military service in the *eflak* system was not very wide-spread: it seems to have been introduced in only a few places.

The second term of interest is *harami*, which in some border fortresses was a synonym for *martolos*. I feel that their content was not identical, but I cannot pinpoint the difference. In the 16th century the word *harami*, meaning robber, was also used in Ottoman sources,<sup>2</sup> (the south Slav languages and Hungarian borrowed the word and used it as *haramia*), the term, however, referred to a military population serving sometimes for pay, sometimes for exemption from peasant taxation. Unfortunately it rarely appears, and when it does it seems to be another name for *martoloses* and *eflaks* serving in border defence. Occasionally, the paid *martoloses* posted to fortress defence were called *haramis* and their commander *haramibaşı* or *ser-i haramiyan*, not only in the Balkans, but also in Hungary. In 1476 a *haramibaşı* led the *martoloses* of İzvornik (Zvornik),<sup>3</sup> just as in 1543 and 1544 the commander of the *martoloses* of Vaç is also the 'head of the above mentioned *haramis*', so here *martolos* and *harami* are synonyms.<sup>4</sup> The situation is the same in the following decades as well. The commanders of the *martoloses* were called heads of *haramis* in 1556 in Solnok, in 1557 in Diregel and in Siçen.<sup>5</sup> Conspicuously, it was always the *martoloses* of the border areas who were called *haramis*. Maybe the defence of the border was the extra feature

1 ÖNB Mxt 568, pp. 45–60.

2 For example, the leaders of the looting *hayduks* were called *harambaşıs*; later, at the end of the 17th century their members who had been granted pardon were incorporated into the law enforcement units of the *martoloses*. Milan Vasić, *Martolosi u jugoslovenskim zemljama pod turskom vladavinom*. Sarajevo 1967, 224.

3 Milan Vasić, 'Martolosi u periodu uspona osmanske države', *Godišnjak Istoriskog Društva Bosne i Hercegovine* 14 (1963) 29.

4 ÖNB Mxt 566, p. 150. Mxt 568, p. 68.

5 ÖNB Mxt 578, pp. 86, 75. Mxt 614, pp. 99, 112.

which differentiates the two terms.<sup>1</sup> I suspect that the paid *haramibaşıs* among the officers of fortresses on the borders were the paid commanders of military peasants fighting in return for tax reduction. The *harami* is a higher rank, but even being a common *harami* was not considered an unworthy post. In 1564 a decree by the sultan's council mentioned that many of the *yeniçeris* of Buda had asked for and been granted fortress soldier posts, among others as *haramibaşıs*.<sup>2</sup> In 1556 among the *farises* of Solnok there served a soldier called Mehmed, who—alone in the whole troop—was registered as a *harami*;<sup>3</sup> so as a well-paid soldier he reinforced the unit of *martoloses* on border defence duty.

Returning to the *martoloses* defending fortresses, who were appointed by the sultan and were paid for their services, a further uncertainty awaits clarification: were they cavalry or infantry? Earlier I was more inclined to consider them as cavalry units;<sup>4</sup> now, after examining more source material, I presume that they were infantry. This is supported by some data which indicate that cavalry *martoloses* were considered as a speciality. For example, in the spring of 1541 the largest unit in the Ösek garrison was the corps of *martoloses* consisting of 543 men. Their 39<sup>th</sup> squad was registered in the pay list as 'cavalry *martoloses*', who were known as 'tongue catchers' (*martolosan-i süvari, dilciler demekle meşhurdur*).<sup>5</sup> These ten men were not differentiated from the others only by being defined as cavalry, but also in that they were Muslims. Thus they were a special unit who were sent on horseback to capture 'tongues', or prisoners who could be interrogated. It seems probable, but not certain, that the other 533 *martoloses* were infantrymen. (Maybe this is not such an important question. It sometimes happened that in the bequest of a cavalryman there was no horse, while in an infantryman's there was. The Hungarian and Ottoman fortress soldiers spent their lives raiding, and going after loot turned everybody into a horseman.) What is certain is that during the campaigns the necessary cargoes of material and victuals were secured by the *martoloses* alongside the *azabs*.

The *martoloses* in a fortress were commanded by the *ağas*, in bigger fortresses several *ağaliks* belonged under them; sometimes in the smaller ones, however, the commanders were only due the title 'head', *ser*. The large *martolos* units were clearly, but not evenly divided into sections. In 1543 under the three

1 Some source material also indicates that the *haramibaşı* is not always the same as the commander of *martoloses*. In 1552 the imperial council sent a decree to the *bey* of Pojega on preventing of the embezzlement of the soldiers' pay. It lists among the officers wronging the soldiers the *azabs*, the *beşlis* and the *ağas* of the *martoloses*, as well as the *haramibaşıs*, so the latter two are not the same. Dávid-Fodor, *Az ország ügye*, No. 223.

2 *6 Numaralı mühimme defteri*, No. 482.

3 ÖNB Mxt 578, p.86.

4 Klára Hegyi, *Török berendezkedés Magyarországon* [Ottoman establishment in Hungary]. Budapest, 1995, 84.

5 ÖNB Mxt 567, p. 104.



*martolos ağas* of Estergon 5, 6 and 5 *sermiye* (occasionally they were called *yüzbaşı*) were assigned respectively, under whom again different numbers of squads, *odas*, from 4 to 13 were lined up. The total number of these in the three *ağaliks* was 115. The three *ağaliks* lasted into the end of the 1540s. However, as the size of the corps declined, so did the number of both *sermiyes* and squads. Officers of equal rank still commanded different numbers of squads and soldiers (in 1549 altogether 81 squads). In larger fortresses the phenomenon that we have seen in the case of the *azabs* appears: in 1543 from the 6<sup>th</sup> squad of the Pest *martoloses* onwards, and in Estergon the 2<sup>nd</sup> *ağalık* in every third *oda*, was assigned an eleventh man, an artilleryman.<sup>1</sup> In 1553, in the riverside Sekçöy, the example of smaller fortresses that we have taken, the four *martolos* squads were given one commander, a *ser*. In 1569 the four squads of Mohaç, on the other hand, were led by an *ağa* and *sermiye*. A large part of the disparity was caused by the transfer of soldiers, which was continuous until 1570; the officers took their acquired ranks with them.

To begin with, almost all soldiers in the *martolos* units were Balkan Christians. Usually the *ağas* were Muslims, the *sermiyes*, however, were mostly Christians. The Muslims who very occasionally joined up were not made into officers or under-officers, neither did those who converted into Islam as registered soldiers get promoted. In 1549 of the 273 *martoloses* of Pest 18 were Muslims, some converts and some from Muslim backgrounds. The two *ağas* belonged to the latter group, and three of the corporals were Muslims, while the *sermiyes* were all Christians. The 13 Muslims, on the other hand, were just common soldiers. Later on, until the end of the century, an increasing number of Muslims joined their ranks.

As a result of their low prestige and Christian religion we might presume that the *martoloses* were undisciplined and frequent migrants, but this was not the case. Naturally what was true of other troops of newly established garrisons was true for them as well: some never took up service, others left the fortress immediately. The decreasing number of *martoloses* in Estergon was presumably the result of this. After the garrisons settled as a group the *martoloses* became the most reliable branch. Precisely because they were Christians their options were very limited. With luck they could transfer into the artillery or the craftsmen's units; however, these required professional skills, and besides, they contained few men.

At the turn of the century and in the first half of the 17th century there were some garrisons which consisted only of *martoloses*. Some of them seem to have been temporary formations brought into being by the war and made redundant by peace. All the relevant locations are riverside; this and their temporary

1 ÖNB Mxt 566, pp. 77–82, 129–137.

nature clearly indicate that *martoloses* were often entrusted with the defence of waterways and fords, and the rotation of their paid soldier and privileged peasant status made it possible to employ them for short periods. In the *vilayet* of Buda, Koni, on the banks of the river Kapos, about which we only have data from the 1610s, became a place defended only by *martoloses*. From 1619 Pinçehel, also located on the Kapos and manned exclusively by *martoloses*, appears on the pay list. We also find such places in the *vilayet* of Temeşvar. Çonbol, located west of Temeşvar on the northern border of the endless marshes, was defended by a few squads of *martoloses* in the 1620s and 1630s. Around 1621 the garrison of Drenkova on the lower Danube consisted only of them, and according to the descriptions of Evliya Çelebi in the 1660s they guarded the river Maros opposite Lipova, at Radna.

### Changes within the ratio of local officers to common soldiers at the beginning of the 17th century

Among the units of local soldiers the size of the officer and under-officer corps increased significantly at the expense of the common soldiers at the beginning of the new century. Relatively little of this change can be accounted for by the growing number of senior officers. More and more deputy commanders were appointed besides commanders of units—*sermiyes* appeared even in small garrisons under the *ağas* of the *martoloses*, in bigger fortresses several of them served under one *ağa*, and the number of deputy *azab ağas* grew as well, and among the cavalry *kethüdas* appeared here and there—, more and more scribes were employed, the *alemdars*, otherwise known as *bayraktars*, who rose among the members of the officer corps. These previously served in smaller numbers and were assigned among common soldiers. Besides these a few new officers appeared as well, primarily the *çavuşes* of the branches, whom I suspect of being representatives of the central administration: superintendents of some sort; furthermore some larger cavalry units had their own prayer-leader (*dua-gus*).

The proliferation of senior officers, however, would not have caused such distortion. The greater part of the change was due to the war, which decimated fortress defenders everywhere. But it was as if death and the hardships of war had selected who to take with them: the corps of officers and under-officers was spared, the common soldiers were not. More seriously, posts with better pay were filled immediately, ordinary posts only slowly or not at all. The interests of all garrisons and defenders dictated that the treasury should send the largest possible amounts of pay to the fortresses, and this increased the number of officer- and under-officer posts as well. Empty squads gaped in many large fortresses; they were combined in the personnel registers, but the corporals of the empty squads were not demoted; although with higher wages, they counted as

part of the common soldiery. We might conclude from this that the commanders of fortresses and the higher authorities intentionally preserved the framework of squads in order to be able to replace the garrisons more easily after the war. In some cases this presumed aim was achieved, as in the 1610s and 1620s some attempt was made to start replacing missing soldiers, albeit without much momentum. The enlarged officer corps was preserved, presumably as a result of successful lobbying: the 16th century ratios of officers to under officers were not restored until 1630, and in some cases not until the middle of the century—as long as we still have pay lists.

Of the different branches the most variegated one was that of the *azabs* (ağas, deputies, *reises*, corporals, ordinary soldiers), so the distortion of ratios is best illustrated here, but it is also very noticeable among the *müstahfizes*, and it is easy to see among the other branches as well. Below I shall illustrate this with

*Table 3*  
*The ratio of officers to under-officers in Buda, Pest, the Esterгон group of fortresses and at Canbek at three points in time*

Fortresses and branches	1549   %	1607   %	1619   %
<b>Buda</b>			
Müstahfız	11.5	26.7	?
Faris	15.9	35.5	24.4
Azab	18.8	22 <sup>1</sup>	26.6
<b>Pest</b>			
Müstahfız	12	47.6	36
Martolos	17.9	23.5	19.9
<b>The Esterгон group</b>			
Azab	26.8	39.6	31.8
<b>Canbek</b>			
Müstahfız	16.1	43.7	35
Topçu	16.7	20	42.9
Farises	13.3	26.3	11.5
Azabs	17.5	50	60
Martolos	18	35.7	41.2
<b>Total sum of garrison</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>35.9</b>	<b>26.1</b>

the examples of some fortresses whose defenders were only paid in cash in the course of both centuries (places in which soldiers paid with collective *timars* served as well in the 17th century are unsuitable for such investigations as the relevant sources are incomplete).

The situation was similar in new garrisons as well, although their numbers were closer to those of the 16th century. As an example, I shall list the data of Kanija: in 1619 20.2% of *müstahfizes*, 23.5% of the artillery, 17.5% of the *farises*,

1 The proportion is so low because the scribe did not register the corporals from the 5th *riyaset* onwards.

26.2% of *azabs*, and 28% of the *martoloses* had the title of either an officer or under-officer.<sup>1</sup>

Besides the distortion of ratios as a result of war losses, the practice of buying positions which emerged at the turn of the century also presumably contributed to the growth of the officer/under-officer corps. Throughout the Ottoman Empire this practice not only played a crucial role in gaining high offices, but also became the usual way of acquiring insignificant positions bringing a daily income of one or two *akçes*. The latter practice was made worthwhile by the fact that candidates became part of the state re-distribution system, acquiring certain rights and exemptions, and most of all they could get closer to potentially lucrative opportunities for tax farming.<sup>2</sup> The common people of Ottoman Hungary took these modest, but still profitable opportunities: as fortress soldiers, especially as officers, they earned extra income from the profits on raids and the flourishing business of taking captives and trading them, and from financial enterprises which were easier for them to access as they were part of the system.

According to the pay lists, at the beginning of the century besides officers and under-officers the number of day-labourer civilians increased greatly as well. We can trace this in the *vilayet* of Temeşvar, especially in Temeşvar itself, where the scribes kept a precise account of this sector. As an amusing example I can mention Abdulkadir, whose name was added later to the pay list, which was probably drafted around 1621. He was a school master (*halife-i mekteb*) with a daily state salary of 7 *akçes* at Drenkova on the lower Danube. Drenkova was a place where not only the inhabitants but all the soldiers of the little garrison as well were Balkan Christians. In the school, if there was one in Drenkova at all, he is unlikely to have had anybody to teach, so Abdulkadir could spend all his time, for example, smuggling on the Danube.

### The *yeniçeris* (janissaries) of the Porte

In the 16th century, in order to reinforce the defence of larger fortresses in the border provinces of the empire, smaller or larger units were transferred, as mentioned above, from the *yeniçeris* in the capital; in the course of the 17th century the number of those who were stationed in the country increased, and some were allocated to fortresses located in the inner territories as well. According to their regulations, provincial service lasted for three years,<sup>3</sup> after which new soldiers replaced them; thus they were called *nöbetçi*. The transferred *yeniçeris* did not appear in the 16th century in the pay lists of local forces. They were re-

1 The pay lists on the basis of which the calculations were made: in the *vilayet* of Buda, ÖNB Mxt 562 (1549), BOA MAD 5623 (1607), MAD 7320 (1619); in that of Kanija, ÖNB Mxt 631 (1619).

2 Fodor, *Vállalkozásra kényszerítve*, 116–124.

3 Fodor, *A janicsárok törvényei*, 42.

gistered separately and their pay, due every quarter,<sup>1</sup> was brought from the capital to the provincial treasury separately from the other funds.<sup>2</sup> They conducted all their business in the capital; so much so that among the material which survived in Buda there was not a single source dealing with them (unless pure chance dictated that it was precisely their documents that were all destroyed). In good years we know their complete number in the *vilayet*, but not when they were stationed in which fortress, or in what numbers. From the turn of the century the amount of source material relevant to them increases.

Of the fortresses conquered first, the garrisons of the four biggest were reinforced with *yeniçeris*. According to the accounts of the central treasury, in 1547 914 of them were stationed in Buda, 472 in Estergon, 650 in Ístolni Belgrad, and 246 in Peçuy; together with the four commanders there were altogether 2,286.<sup>3</sup> So many soldiers could have manned the garrison of a colossal fortress. Their numerous presence was made necessary by the vulnerability and rudimentary nature of the fortress system of the new province. In the following decades the Porte soldiers were not withdrawn from the four fortresses. In Buda, most source material concerning them that survives dates back to the 1560s,<sup>4</sup> especially the years following the mutiny in 1564, which was mainly blamed on them.<sup>5</sup> In the register of the houses in Estergon dating probably from the beginning of the 1570s at various points houses—and barracks—inhabited by janissaries appear, and a few properties whose owners belonged to this body were registered as well.<sup>6</sup> In a 1559 account of the Buda treasury the money spent on the repair of houses of *yeniçeris* serving in Ístolni Belgrad was accounted for.<sup>7</sup> In autumn of 1556 and spring of 1557 the captain of Szigetvár, then still in Hunga-

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1 Ibid., 45–46, 89.

2 The money came to Buda heavily secured, which had to be organised by the officials along the road. Dávid–Fodor, *Az ország ügye*, No. 259. 6 *Numaralı mühimme defteri*, No. 221. 7 *Numaralı mühimme defteri*, Nos. 327, 1895.

3 Barkan, '954–955 Bütçesi', 270–271. The treasury account dedicates a whole entry to the commanders (*ser-i piyadegan-i dergah-i ali*); it does not supply their number, but as it lists the same four fortresses, and for each it calculates 1,000 *akçes*; I presume there was one commander per fortress.

4 For example in the *mühimme defteris*: 5 *Numaralı mühimme defteri*, Nos. 382, 1410. 6 *Numaralı mühimme defteri*, Nos. 482, 1187. 7 *Numaralı mühimme defteri*, Nos. 285, 327, 574, 932, 1232, 1846, 1865.

5 Fekete, *Budapest a törökkorban*, 136. The mutiny was noted in the Kingdom as well, and its news was spread. An imperial spy working in Buda reported that the Buda garrison started an uprising as they had not received any pay for 17 months; the soldiers of Hatvan and Filek also joined the mutiny. Henrik Marczali, 'Regesták a külföldi levéltárakból [Regestras from foreign archives]', *Történelmi Tár* (1878) 474.

6 Albrecht Krafft, *Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften der K.K. Orientalistischen Akademie zu Wien*. Wien, 1842, 290.

7 Lajos Fekete–Gyula Káldy-Nagy, *Rechnungsbücher türkischer Finanzstellen in Buda (Ofen) 1550–1580*. Türkischer Text. Budapest, 1962, 553.

rian hands, informed the royal military leadership that an unprecedented number of *yeniçeris* were gathering in and around Peçuy. The letter does not mention whether the number of Peçuy soldiers was increased or rather units stationed in several fortresses were combined for some sort of military manoeuvre.<sup>1</sup>

We know of a further six fortresses located in the *vilayet* of Buda where *yeniçeris*, maybe only a few, were settled around the middle of the 16th century. On August 16, 1552, the imperial council issued a decree to the *beylerbeyi* of Buda ordering him to arrange for appropriate housing for the 50 people who had just been transferred from among the *yeniçeris* of Ístolni Belgrad to the newly taken Bespirim.<sup>2</sup> At the end of 1557 money was paid from the Buda treasury for repairs carried out for *yeniçeris* living in Segedin, to pay for carpenters' services and building materials.<sup>3</sup> In 1558 a similar item appeared in the income and expenses of Solnok: planks and nails were purchased for the houses of *yeniçeris*.<sup>4</sup> They were still around in 1570, as on the recommendation of the *beylerbeyi* of Buda seven of them, who had shown heroism in combat against the enemy forces attacking the *palanka* of Senmikloş, were rewarded with *timar*.<sup>5</sup> Two entries in the account book of the treasury of Buda, on December 5, 1558 and June 6, 1560 suggest that some *yeniçeris* were kept in Tata too, to whom provisions were distributed in return for money.<sup>6</sup> The next place is Seksar. In 1560, on the recommendation of the *bey* of Mohaç, the imperial council ordered the largest house of the murdered *sancakbeyi* of Seksar to be turned into a barracks for the *yeniçeris* commanded to defend the fortress, who so far had lived in the town.<sup>7</sup> Finally Sigetvar too was assigned a unit of troops from the Porte. We know nothing about its size, but we can be sure that it existed: the sultan's decree dated October 10, 1567 ordered the *bey* of Semendire to escort with appropriate forces the pay of the *yeniçeris* of Buda, Estergon, Ístolni Belgrad and Sigetvar, which was already on its way.<sup>8</sup>

1 Ferenc Szakály, 'Egy végvári kapitány hétköznapijai. (Horváth Márk szigeti kapitány levelezése Nádasdy Tamás nádorral és szervitoraival, 1556–1561) [The everyday life of a border fortress captain. (The correspondance of Márk Horváth, captain of Szigetvár with Palatine Tamás Nádasdy and his servitors, 1556–1561)]', in *Somogy Megye Múltjából. Levéltári Évkönyv* 18 (1987) 27–28. and regesta No. 32. In the 1579 tax register in the list of gardens, meadows, vineyards etc. around Peçuy the properties of four *yeniçeris* also appear (BOA Tapu 585, pp. 9, 11), this however, does not necessarily mean that they performed active military service in the fortress. A year earlier a *yeniçeri* appeared among the timariots of both Segedin and Titel (BOA Tapu 570, pp. 12, 46).

2 Dávid-Fodor, *Az ország ügye*, Nos. 317, 593.

3 ÖNB Mxt 581, p. 43.

4 ÖNB Mxt 574, p. 47.

5 BOA MAD 17928, p. 111.

6 Fekete-Káldy-Nagy, *Rechnungsbücher*, 584, 654–655.

7 3 *Numaralı mühimme defteri*, No. 964.

8 7 *Numaralı mühimme defteri*, No. 327.

In the course of the emergence of Ottoman Hungary, with each of its territories defensible in itself and with the fortresses evenly distributed, the number of *yeniçeris* stationed in the *vilayet* of Buda was continuously reduced; according to the report of the *paşa* of Buda, in 1568 there were only 1,116 of them.<sup>1</sup> In all likelihood even this number is an exaggeration, as from 1569 for two decades the number of *yeniçeris* posted to the *vilayet* is known, which, with the exception of one year, was around 800–900 men: fewer than a thousand, and was decreasing continuously. Their lists and combined payment figures do not distinguish between soldiers according to their posts, so we do not know to which fortresses they were sent. I found neither the units of Solnok and Tata, nor the unit of Sek-sar (the Ottomans lost Bespirim in 1566); maybe the 800–900 *yeniçeris* were only enough for the four big fortresses which appear in 1547 and Sigetvar (at least half of them must have served in Buda).

Table 4  
The number of *yeniçeris* stationed in the *vilayet* of Buda<sup>2</sup>

Year	Yeniçeri	Year	Yeniçeri
1569–1570	945	1580–1581	885
1570–1571	927	1585–1586	826
1571–1572	901	1588	800
1572–1573	948	1589	800
1573–1574	968	1589–1590	
1574–1575	1037	1st quarter	806
1575–1576	929	2nd quarter	806
1577–1578		3rd quarter	804
1st quarter	844	4th quarter	809
2nd quarter	837	1590–1591	
3rd quarter	817	1st quarter	811
4th quarter	816	2nd quarter	812
1578	816	3rd quarter	812
1578–1579	817		

These 800–1000 soldiers are called sometimes the *yeniçeris* of the Buda *vilayet* or the Buda fortress in the sources (*yeniçeriyân-i dergâh-i alî-i vilâyet-i Budun* or *yeniçeriyân-i dergâh-i alî der kale-i Budun*). In 1586, 826 *yeniçeris* were stationed in the *vilayet*, 80% of these, 660 men, in Buda.<sup>3</sup>

As the source material on the *vilayet* of Temeşvar is poor, we know less about the *yeniçeris* here than about those sent to Buda. There must have been some in the *vilayet* centre, if only because of the rank of the place. I found no data concerning their numbers at any point in time, and their existence is re-

1 Ibid., No. 1846.

2 The data between 1569–1578: Ágoston, 'A hódítás ára', 315 and notes 16–23 belonging to the table. Data of the following years: BOA MAD 498, 6441, 7431, 7190.

3 BOA MAD 156.

ferred to only in the sultan's decree of November 23, 1568, in which the *defterdar* of Temeşvar was ordered to account for the remaining sum of the pay of the *yeniçeris* who served there.<sup>1</sup> The text does not use the word *yeniçeri*, but *kul* (*anda olan kul tayfesi*) which, when it refers to garrisons, always means some sort of soldiers, mainly *yeniçeris* of the Porte; this is only reinforced by the fact that their pay was brought separately from the Porte to Temeşvar. G'ula, the main fortress of the Körös area, captured in 1566, also received some *yeniçeris*, whose misdeeds the imperial council had to deal with in just two years.<sup>2</sup> They were still there in 1573, when the *paşa* of Buda complained that *yeniçeris* on their way to their post, G'ula, were attacked by Hungarian soldiers from the fortresses of Eger, Tokaj and Szatmár.<sup>3</sup> In 1579 we come across 12 *yeniçeris* among the Muslim inhabitants of G'ula, and six among the shop owners, three of whom also appeared among the inhabitants.<sup>4</sup> Unfortunately we have no data on the number of *yeniçeris* sent to the *vilayet* of Temeşvar in any year of the 16th century. Knowing the other *vilayets*, however, my—very tentative—opinion is that there must have been some five hundred-odd men there.

Around the turn of the century and in the 17th century we have more reliable numbers, which can be extracted either from treasury accounts, or from the register of *yeniçeris* serving in individual fortresses. During the Fifteen Years' War, the numbers of all kinds of central troops, including the *yeniçeris*, increased in the fortresses of Ottoman Hungary. After peace was restored their numbers fell again, but in general were still higher in the 17th century than before.

Caroline Finkel calculated the numbers of janissaries fighting in the sultan's army on the Hungarian and Wallachian fronts in 1596–1597, and in the *vilayets* of Ottoman Hungary.<sup>5</sup> Her data are summarized in the following table.

*Table 5*  
*Yeniçeris stationed in the four Hungarian vilayets in 1596–1597*

Vilayet	25 Aug.– 21 Nov. 1596	22 Nov.– 17 Febr. 1597	18 Febr.– 17 May 1597	18 May– 13 August 1597
Buda	2,676	2,475	2,403	2,298
Yanık	370	293	286	288
Temeşvar	1,414	1,307	1,264	?
Eğri	3,121	?		
<b>Total</b>	<b>7,581</b>	<b>?</b>		

1 7 Numaralı mühimme defteri, No. 2530.

2 Ibid., No. 1053.

3 Takáts–Eckhart–Szekfü, *A budai basák magyar nyelvű levelezése*, 58.

4 Gyula Káldy-Nagy, *A gyulai szandzsák 1567. és 1579. évi összeírása* [The 1567 and 1579 survey registers of the sancak of Gyula]. Békéscsaba, 1982, 48, 50.

5 Finkel, *The Administration of Warfare*, 77.



We know the number of *yeniçeris* in all six *vilayet* centres and also in four important fortresses in several years in the course of the 17th century. The data are contradictory in the extreme. For example, the numbers in Buda fluctuate between 159 and 3,311, in Eğri between 125 and 372, in Kanija between 135 and 1,838, and in Uyvar between 205 and 1,430. Such great differences cannot be explained by real changes of the units' numbers, which we can form an idea of from the 16th century Buda list of data. The answer is supplied by the register of the total number of the Uyvar garrison, which in 1667 lists two units of *yeniçeris*, 1,430 from the Porte and 205 'local' *yeniçeris* (the origin of the source materials can be found in the database). It was the men of the Porte who correspond to the 16th century practice: they were selected from the central corps, served for a defined period of time in a provincial fortress, and were then replaced by new men. The latter became 'local', registered on a common list together with the other branches, and their pay was accounted for together with the others. In Uyvar there were many more soldiers of the Porte, while in Buda and Kanija the ratio is reversed. In 1613, for example, in Buda 1,273 local janissaries were registered, while the number of other soldiers from Istanbul in 1630 was 255.

In the 17th century, *yeniçeris* served in all six provincial centres, and in 1669–1670 also in the four great fortresses: in Estergon and Ístolni Belgrad, as well as in the newly recaptured Novigrad and Yanova. Sources tell us about either the local soldiers or those from the capital city in the military centres, very rarely about both. The figures are as follows (the location of sources can be found in the database; here I supply only those that do not appear there):

Buda 1613: 1,276 local, 1615: 1,190 local, 1619: 1,068 Porte (sic!), 1628–29: 1,943 local (in these years the number of *yeniçeris* of the Porte are unknown), 1630: 2,003 local and 255 Porte, 1662: 3,311 local and Porte together (the number is unreliable, as it only shows how many *yeniçeris* the Buda treasury used in its calculations), 1663: 432 of the Porte,<sup>1</sup> 1669–70: 159 of the Porte.<sup>2</sup>

Temeşvar 1619: 82 of the Porte, 1630: 156 of the Porte.

Eğri 1606–1607: 372 local(?), 1620: 426 of the Porte, 1630: 147 of the Porte, 1663: 125 of the Porte, 1669–70: 100 of the Porte.

Kanija 1603–05: 1,838, 1,785, 1,781, 1,587, 1,437 (local(?) and) of the Porte, 1620: 219 of the Porte, 1630: 175 of the Porte, 1663: 135 of the Porte, 1669–70: 190 of the Porte.

Varad 1661: 232 of the Porte, 1669–70: 622 of the Porte, 1672: 495 of the Porte.

Uyvar 1667: 1,430 of the Porte and 205 local, 1669–70: 962 of the Porte, 1670–71: 892 of the Porte.<sup>3</sup>

1 BOA MAD 6909, including also Estergon, Kanija and Eğri.

2 The location of sources on all fortresses in this time Barkan, '1079–1080 Bütçesi', 263.

3 BOA MAD 16662.

Estergon 1620: 255 of the Porte, 1630: 265 of the Porte, 1663: 149 of the Porte, 1669–70: 127 of the Porte.

İstolni Belgrad 1620: 594 of the Porte, 1630: 87 of the Porte, 1669–70: 92 of the Porte. Novigrad 1669–70: 47 of the Porte.

Yanova 1669–70: 222 of the Porte.

In the course of the 17th century, in three shorter or longer periods we have data on all the *yenîçeris*, who, in the first half of the century, reinforced the defense of six, and after 1660 nine, fortresses. The first such period is 1022–1023, that is the two years between February 21, 1613 and January 30, 1615, when they were stationed in six places (Buda, Estergon, İstolni Belgrad, Temeşvar, Eğri, Kanija).<sup>1</sup>

Between the first two quarters of the year 1022 the whole garrison was replaced (this is why in the *recec* quarter there are two items of numerical data), which in four fortresses brought about a significant increase; in Budun and Eğri the increase happened a year later. The final result was an increase of 1,000 in the number of *yenîçeris* stationed in Ottoman Hungary. This was not prompted by local events, but presumably by the change in the person of the prince of Transylvania in the previous year. In October 1613 the new prince, Gábor Bethlen, was escorted from Istanbul to Transylvania by an Ottoman army several thousand strong, part of which, according to an exaggerated contemporary report 6,000 men, did not return to the capital; I presume they were used to bring the continuously decreasing units of the Porte up to strength. At the turn of 1614–15, however, the number of *yenîçeris* fell by a 1,000 men, which was a more radical reduction than natural wastage would explain. I do not know the reason for this.

*Table 6*  
*Yenîçeris in the fortresses of Ottoman Hungary in 1613–1615*

Quarter year	Buda	Estergon	İstolni Belgrad	Temeşvar	Eğri	Kanija	Total
1022 (= February 21, 1613 – February 10, 1614)							
Masar	625	389	198	195	354	413	2,174
Recec	727 / 712	331 / 326	136 / 207	150 / 302	287 / 512	348 / 421	1,979/2,480
Reşen	695	319	206	294	478	421	2,413
Lezez	693	318	206	305	479	422	2,423
1023 (= February 11, 1614 – January 30, 1615)							
Masar	424 / 620	315	202	299	563 / 474	419	2,222/2,329
Recec	1,117	315	202	299	1,024	419	3,376
Reşen	1,091*	311*	197*	295*	1,025*	412*	3,331*
Lezez	814*	241*	100*	158*	841*	169*	2,323*

The numbers divided by a slash indicate the figures before and after the increase, the ones marked with an asterisk are my totals—in these two quarters the scribe did not register the number of soldiers.

<sup>1</sup> BOA MAD 116.

The next short period covers only half a year (*lezez* 1026–*masar* 1027 = October 02, 1617–March 27, 1618), by which time the number of soldiers in the garrison had fallen significantly again, by over a thousand men.<sup>1</sup>

I am not aware of other units from the Porte; thus, unfortunately, I am unable to answer the central question: what lay behind the withdrawal of the *yenîçeris*: the fact that the number of soldiers in other units rose or that a stable peace was established? What can be seen, however, is that natural losses were not made up.

Table 7

*Yenîçeris in the fortresses of Ottoman Hungary in 1617–1618*

Quarter year	Buda	Esterгон	İstolni Belgrad	Temeşvar	Eğri	Kanija	Total
Lezez	199	188	96	129	384	153	1,149
Masar	186	178	88	120	340	147	1,058

The third list was kept for five years (mid-1077–1080 = December 28, 1666 to May 09, 1671), and the *yenîçeris* of many fortifications, from the fortress of Van to Uyvar in Hungary, can be found in it.<sup>2</sup> It reflects the great change which had taken place in Hungary a few years earlier. In the east, Yanova was recaptured by the Ottomans in 1658, in 1660 they took Varad, while in the west they captured Uyvar in 1663. The two latter strongholds became their most important border fortresses; this is where most of the *yenîçeris* were stationed. Kanija, Eğri, and even Buda were far behind. Many pages of the source are missing (the table based on it is also full of gaps), but the fact that Temeşvar does not appear at all is most probably caused by something else, namely that Temeşvar, safely located in the eastern part of Ottoman Hungary, which had expanded at the expense of the Principality of Transylvania, was already safe without troops from the Porte.

Tables 8

*Yenîçeris in the fortresses of Ottoman Hungary in 1666–1671*

Fortress	1077 Dec. 28, 1666– June 22, 1667		1078 June 23, 1667–June 10, 1668				1079 June 11, 1668–May 31, 1669			
	Reşen	Lezez	Masar	Recec	Reşen	Lezez	Masar	Recec	Reşen	Lezez
Buda	156	156	162	162						
Esterгон	124	124	124	124	125	125	125	125	109	
İstolni Belgrad	93	93	93	93	92	92	92	92		
Eğri	107	107	107	107						
Varad		812	626/812	626/817	817	817	817	622	622	622
Yanova	244	244	233	233	229	229	232	232	232	222
Kanija			191	191	191	191			190	190
Uyvar		1,194	1,194	1,189	1,189	1,183		969	969	969

1 BOA MAD 4968.

2 BOA MAD 5996.

# I. THE STRUCTURE OF THE GARRISONS; LOCAL AND CENTRAL TROOPS

Fortress	1080 June 01, 1669–May 20, 1670				1081 May 21, 1670–May 09. 1671			
	Masar	Recec	Reşen	Lezez	Masar	Recec	Reşen	Lezez
Buda	159							
Estergon	127	127	122	122	122	122		
İstolni Belgrad			86	86	86	86		
Novigrad	47				40	40		
Eğri	100	100			97	97		
Varad	?							
Yanova	222							
Kanija	190	190					175	175
Uyvar	962	962			930	930	892	

Ağas were put in command of the *yeniçeris* stationed in *vilayet* centres; the highest ranking of these were called the *yeniçeri ağası* by Hungarian and Ottoman sources. On the one hand he commanded all the units belonging under Buda, and those which belonged to the other fortresses as well. The 1562 survey register of the *sancak* of Buda calls the timariots of the farmstead of Bod the ‘*ağa of the yeniçeris of the vilayet of Buda*’ (*ağa-i yeniçeriyân-i vilayet-i Budun*).<sup>1</sup> On the other hand the *ağa* of Buda seems to have exercised some sort of authority over those who served in other *vilayets*: in 1568 the imperial council ordered him, and not the Temeşvar authorities to bring the ill-disciplined *yeniçeris* of G’ula under control.<sup>2</sup> The organization under the provincial ağas followed the Porte structure: they were registered according to the 101 larger central units, *cemaat*, and the sub-units, the *bölüks* (in this case, the latter did not mean a fixed squad but a variable number of men). The *cemaats* and *bölüks* sent to Buda were locally renumbered,<sup>3</sup> while in Kanija, for example, they were registered under their original numbers.<sup>4</sup>

The pay of the *yeniçeris* bordered on the absurd, as becomes obvious if we compare it with the wages of the local fortress soldiers. The list of the Kanija *yeniçeris* is always headed by the 200–280 men of the 66<sup>th</sup> *cemaat*, which was transferred here. Their *ağa* held the post of *yeniçeri ağası*. In the quarter from March to July 1603, the 283 soldiers of the *cemaat* received the following daily wages: the *ağa* 26 *akçes*, his deputy the *kethüda* 11 (these in the case of high officers of local troops are medium wages); of the ordinary *yeniçeris* 13 got 9, 31 8, 27 7, 10 6, 15 5, 57 4 and 128 3 *akçes*; around this time the *azabs* were paid as much as 7 *akçes* a day, and disregarding some small fortresses packed with Christians, there were no *martoloses* serving for less than 3 *akçes* a day. In the next quarter one *akçe* was added to the pay of the two senior officers and that of

1 Káldy-Nagy, *Kanuni Devri Budin Tahrir Defteri*, 57.

2 7 *Numaralı mühimme defteri*, No. 1053.

3 For example BOA MAD 6441 (1585–86), MAD 4000, pp. 1–19.

4 BOA MAD 3731 (1603–1605).

common *yeniçeris* who had received between 7–9 *akçes*, the wages of those with 3–6 *akçes* were uniformly increased to 7 *akçes*; with this the unit caught up with the financial status of the *azabs*. In 1605 those who served in Eğri fared somewhat better. Their *ağa* fought for 80 *akçes* a day, their *kethüda* for 52, their scribe for 30 *akçes*, the leaders of *cemaats* and *bölüks* 13–28, the second men of these 12, the ordinary soldiers for the pay of 8 *akçes*, but among the latter wages of 3–7 *akçes* a day could be found as well.<sup>1</sup>

This financial situation may have contributed to the fact that in the second half of the 16th century the legendary discipline of this unit, who in theory despised money and were fighting in the sultan's personal service and for the prestige of the unit, as well as for loot, was beginning to crumble, especially in the units sent to the provinces. They often caused problems for the military leadership in Hungary as well. Apart from their occasional mutinies (following the uprising in 1564, the Porte contemplated the gradual liquidation of the Buda unit<sup>2</sup>), the problem with them was that once they escaped the confinement of the barracks in the capital, they also said good-bye to the regulations of military life and comradeship. In 1560, on the recommendation of the *sancakbeyi* the sultan assigned barracks to the Seksar *yeniçeris* because up to that point they had lived scattered around the town and offended the inhabitants.<sup>3</sup> In 1565 the sultan's *divan* had to investigate not only the mutiny and misdemeanors of the *yeniçeris* of Buda, but also the breach of discipline whereby in the grazing period they moved out of the fortress, leaving only fifty of their comrades behind, and lived in tents for three or four months in the fields of Buda and Pest, which meant that they were useless in case of danger.<sup>4</sup> As I have mentioned, in 1568 the *ağa* of Buda was entrusted with the task of disciplining the *yeniçeris* of G'ula, who used to leave the fortress on commercial and other business, live off villages which belonged to the sultan and other owners, take the peasants' food, wagons, horses and fodder, and have themselves carried for many days, down as far as Belgrade.<sup>5</sup>

Many left the corps: some simply deserted, others got themselves a better paid position as a fortress soldier or a *timariot*. The number of soldiers remaining in service was continuously falling. Even in time of war, in the quarter between May 19 and August 15 1605, of the 1,500 *yeniçeris* serving in Kaniža 72 left the corps. 27 were expelled because they did not take part in the campaign (*be*

1 BOA Tapu 704, pp. 1–8.

2 6 Numaralı mühimme defteri, No. 1187.

3 3 Numaralı mühimme defteri, No. 964.

4 5 Numaralı mühimme defteri, Nos. 382 and 386.

5 7 Numaralı mühimme defteri, No. 1053.

*sefer neamed*), 30 deserted (*fırar kerde*), five obtained *timars*, five died, three committed crimes, one disappeared and one was in captivity.<sup>1</sup>

### Other troops of the Porte

Apart from the *yeniçeris*, some soldiers from the court who were not in Hungary as part of an army but were kept there by continuous service appeared in the 16th century also. In the 1547 accounts of income and expenditure in Buda we find traces of two units of paid cavalymen of the Porte (*ulufeciyan-i yemin ve yesar*). The source makes no mention of their number; however, the small sums allocated (5,310 and 23,010 *akçes*) could only have been enough for the annual remuneration of a few men.<sup>2</sup> In 1559 in Buda pay was allocated to two artillerymen of the Sublime Porte (*topçuyan-i dergah-i ali*) as well,<sup>3</sup> and in the 1591 Temeşvar treasury accounts the wages of 12 *silahdars* and 7 court cavalymen (*sipahi*) were registered.<sup>4</sup> In the 16th century few traces can be found of Porte soldiers except for *yeniçeris*.

Their presence was reinforced during the Fifteen Years' War, when they can be found in large numbers not only in campaigning armies but in large fortresses too. Smaller units were left in the *vilayet* centres even after the war.

During the war, we meet them in the largest numbers in Yanık, which was captured for a brief period; in the summer of 1597 they numbered around 4,000 (*ulufeciyan, gureba*). In 1599–1600, most of them were reinforced the defences of Buda. Besides the 519 *yeniçeris*, 212 Porte artillerymen, 381 *cebecis*, 69 cartwrights, 838 court cavalymen receiving pay, (soldiers of the six cavalry regiments, or *altı bölük halkı*) and 873 men who were recruited from among the sons of paid court soldiers (*veledan-i kul*). Without counting the *yeniçeris* this makes 2,373 (including them, 2,892) court soldiers of high military value, more in itself than the number of men defending the fortress prior to the war (the location of these and the following data can be found in the database). In 1596–1597 a further, smaller unit was also stationed in Buda: a Porte cavalry troop consisting of Circassians (of unknown number, but surely more than the listed 14 men), as well as 43 *reises*, who were the officers of the state ships transferred here (*rüesa-i kadirgaha-i miri der muhafaza-i Budun*).

These were the units from the capital city whose soldiers reinforced the fortresses of Ottoman Hungary for a time. The artillerymen and the cartwrights do not need further explanation, but among local fortress defenders we also find armourers, *cebecis*, and as soldiers of the Porte sent to do provincial service they

1 BOA MAD 3731, pp. 121–145.

2 ÖNB Mxt 590, p. 70.

3 Fekete-Káldy-Nagy, *Rechnungsbücher*, 569.

4 BOA MAD 15696, p. 2.

do need some explanation. Obviously, they always had the task of maintaining the weapons of central troops, especially those of the *yeniçeris*, but the fact that during the war they constituted the most numerous and widespread branch sent from Istanbul to Hungary indicates that they also took part in the fighting. At the turn of the century the number of *cebecis* sent to Buda, İstolni Belgrad, Yanık, Papa, Canbek and Val alone was between 1,200 and 1,300; we do not know the number of such soldiers in Esterгон and Korkmaz. This proves that they were engaged in actual combat, as the 500–600 (according to other opinions 700) men serving as armourers in the capital could hardly have produced so many men.<sup>1</sup> Sending them to the Hungarian front often led to their reclassification as fighting soldiers, thus the *cebecis* and the *veledan-i kul* transferred to Yanık were promoted to *ulufecis* or *gureba*.

The cavalry regiments bearing the common name *altı bölük halkı* consisted of the paid court *sipahis*, the *silahdars*, the *gureba-i yemin ve yesar* and the *ulufeciyan-i yemin ve yesar*. The 1599–1600 treasury accounts listed members of all six units only in Buda; some of their troops, however, appear in several places. The *veledan-i kul*, the sons of soldiers of the Porte who were brought up to be court soldiers in their turn, constituted a separate corps with their own *ağa*. At the turn of the century their unit was the largest of the central units transferred to Buda, but they were present in the youngest member of the Esterгон fortress group, the *palanka* raised at Saint Thomas' Hill, as well as in Korkmaz. In 1596 a large unit of 42 *müteferrikas* was stationed in Eğri, but the source does not mention what their tasks were.

Disregarding the *yeniçeris*, in the war years of the turn of the century, central troops were stationed in the following locations apart from Buda:

- in Yanık in 1597 about 4,000 *ulufecis* and *gureba*,
- in Papa in 1596 186 *cebecis*, an unknown number of *silahdars* and *veledan-i kul*,
- in İstolni Belgrad in 1600–1601 119 *cebecis*,
- in Şimontorna in 1599–1600 a few *veledan-i kul* sent from Buda,
- in Eğri in 1596–98 142 artillerymen and 42 *müteferrikas*,
- there are no data for Temeşvar.

Following the conclusion of the peace treaty in 1606 a few smaller central units remained besides the *yeniçeris* in the largest fortresses, presumably as war had decimated the local defenders. It seems that their service in these places did not last long; they disappeared after a couple of years, although the reason for their disappearance might also be that they were no longer included in the pay lists of local forces, and we do not have the relevant treasury accounts. In 1607 in Buda 885 soldiers of the Porte were still registered (415 *sipahis*, *silahdars* and 'others',

1 Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları*, II. 4.

355 *cebecis*, 88 artillerymen and 27 cartwrights), in Estergon 22 *cebecis*, 47 artillerymen, 81 *veledan-i kul* and an unknown number of *sipahis*. Soldiers from Istanbul must have been present in the two youngest *vilayet* centres; there are no data from Varad; in 1667 209 *cebecis* and 60 artillerymen served in Uyvar. In 1662 in Seng'ob a few *segbans* reinforced the defenders.<sup>1</sup>

If, finally, we add up both the *yeniçeris* and the other soldiers of the Porte, we can observe a phenomenon that was widespread in the 17th century in Hungary: the proportion of soldiers transferred from the capital increased among the defenders of the largest and militarily most important centres, in some places they constituted an unquestionable majority. In Buda in 1599–1600, local soldiers constituted only 22.6% of the defenders, against the 77.4% from Istanbul. The slow consolidation following the conclusion of peace improved the situation somewhat: from 1609 up to the 1670s in Buda the *yeniçeris* (we have no sources for other central units) constituted 60% of the garrison, against 40% of local forces. (In the sources from 1660–1670 there are no new numbers, as they were copied from one aggregate to another without changes. The only thing we can deduce is that the treasury still calculated the sums to be paid using the 60:40 ratio.) The situation in Uyvar was similar: in 1667 61.5% of the defenders were troops of the Porte, 38.5% were local forces. In Eğri in 1606–1607 one quarter of the defenders were *yeniçeris* sent from Istanbul, in Varad in 1661 28.2%: in these two places their contribution was significant, but they did not outnumber the locals. All these were not characteristic of Temeşvar and Kanija. Around 1621 10% of the defenders of Temeşvar were *yeniçeris*, in 1630 the proportion was 13.3%, while in 1628–1629 in Kanija they represented only 9.1%. (All these sources can be found in the database.)

## 2. Types of Garrisons

The fact that there were great differences not only between the numbers of soldiers in the greatest fortresses and minor guard-posts, but also in their constitution, in the number of branches, and the presence or absence of auxiliary units as well, does not require much explanation. The status of giant fortresses was indicated by several characteristics, including the presence of *yeniçeris*, local units often exceeding a thousand men, the fact that various parts of the fortress—the fortified towns, bridges, individual towers and so on—had their own defenders, in Buda and Temeşvar the separate garrison and labourers of the gunpowder mills, in Pest the workers in the shipyards, as well as the wide variety of 'intellectual' workers. Among the latter, some professions are rarely represented; the architects of the largest places (*mimars*), the engineer in charge of the Estergon water system (*suyolcu*), the clock-maker of Peçuy (*saati*), or the keeper of a

1 BOA MAD 6382, p. 8.



hostelry (*hani*) for pilgrims visiting the *türbe* of Süleyman near Sigetvar. The best examples of small garrisons which did not include all the different branches were the fortresses of the *sancak* of Şimontorna: in 1570 in Ozora, Döbrekös and Hidvig there were only a few *müstahfizes* and artillerymen, in Endrik these were joined by *azabs*, in Tomaşin by *martoloses*, but not all branches were stationed even in the *sancak* centre, as here there were no *martoloses*. In this relatively well-defended *sancak* situated in the inner parts of the province the treasury saved on cavalry, the most expensive branch. In the 16th century they were only stationed in Şimontorna. However, when the Fifteen Years' War proved that even this territory was vulnerable Endrik and Hidvig were given cavalry, while Ozora got *azabs* and *martoloses*.

The location of fortresses led to significant differences. If the given garrison was on the border, or defended a waterway, its garrison was set up according to the requirements of the place: greater importance was given to the cavalry who went on raids into enemy country and the *martoloses* used to defend the border as well, while beside waterways it was the *azabs* and yet again the *martoloses*.

Bespirim, an acquisition of the *paşa* of Buda that was captured in 1552, had to be filled with soldiers before the arrival of the imperial army, which could only be done by rearranging the already existing garrisons. This was always more difficult than filling up new fortresses from an army arriving to conduct a campaign, as the ideal had to be sacrificed for what was actually available. However, a garrison sufficient for border defence was successfully established in Bespirim, although at the price of weakening İstolni Belgrad. Only three branches were stationed in the fortress. General defence was also made to be strong: a whole company of *müstahfizes* was stationed there, with a quarter of a company of artillery, which, in a garrison of 300 men was more than usual. The core of the garrison consisted of the protagonists of border fortress warfare: two troops of cavalry. In the barely fifteen years of the Ottoman occupation of Bespirim the number of cavalymen varied widely and decreased slightly overall, but they were never less than 55% of the total garrison. The same situation in Tata: although all five branches were stationed here, the cavalry was by far the most numerous.

Both fortresses stood guard alone over their section of the border, Bespirim with the extra threat of Palota, still in Hungarian hands, behind it. On border sections densely packed with fortresses a kind of division of labour emerged: cavalry became the main military branch in large fortresses (usually *sancak* centres) as well, while in smaller ones they skimmed on the cavalry, and border defence became the duty of the *martoloses*. Around 1570, in the northern defensive line of border fortresses, in Filek and Novigrad the number of cavalry approached, in Vaç and Siçen surpassed, in Sobotka and Hatvan greatly exceeded that of all other military branches. In small fortresses emphasis was laid on gen-

eral defence. In Holloka and Buyak only *müstahfizes* and artillery stood guard, beside these two units in Diregel a greater number and in Şalgo a smaller number of *martoloses* were responsible for border defence. In the *palanka* of Canfeda, solitary defender of a long stretch of border, 51% of fortress defenders were cavalry at the end of 1569.

Owing to the poverty of the source material for the *vilayet* of Temeşvar, the result of the calculations is much more dubious. Still, it is interesting: as the border fortresses located here are all on river banks, when planning their garrisons the defence of both the border and the waterway had to be considered. In 1591 the proportion of cavalry was about 45% in G'ula, in Yanova 49%, while the *azabs* and *martoloses* guarding the river constituted 28% of the defensive forces in the first location and about 36% in the second. Five years after its recapture in 1616, in Lipova the most numerous branch was that of the cavalry, still they only constituted 32.4% of the defence, while the *azabs* and *martoloses* together amounted to more than half of it. In the small easternmost border fortress of the *sancak* of Temeşvar, Façet, on the other hand, which was located on the banks of a small non-navigable stream, in 1591 91 cavalrymen served alongside the approximately 50 defenders of other branches. And although in the 17th century the cavalry troop was reduced to one third of its original size, they still remained the single most populous unit. Two more examples from later on: apart from Şolomki, both in the fortresses of the *vilayet* of Varad and in Uyvar the cavalry formed the largest units.

In waterside garrisons located further from the border, the *azabs* and *martoloses* were in the majority where there was a naval base and a shipyard, reinforced by harbour workers and ship's carpenters. The largest such place in the whole Ottoman period was Estergon. Of the 3,341 soldiers who were sent to the fortress in 1543 74% were *azabs* and *martoloses*. This transfer worked out especially badly, and most people were missing from precisely these two branches, so the ratios were distorted even then, and as a result of later transfers they fluctuated continuously. In spite of this, around 1570, in the group of fortresses (to which Ciğerdelen had been added in the meantime), the proportion of *azabs* and *martoloses* was still 55%. To begin with, only these two branches were stationed in Barça, taken in 1567; later they still constituted 63% of the fully completed garrison. The situation was similar in other smaller waterside places; for example, in Kalaça two thirds of the soldiers, and in Mohaç three quarters were *azabs* and *martoloses*. This was so along the full length of the Danube. In all the important garrisons of the lower Danube these two units constituted more than half of the defenders.

There were several fortresses, sometimes whole fortress districts, where the tasks were multiple, so the structure of their soldiery lay somewhere in between

the above two extremes. Such were, for example, Bobořa and Berzenç, which were, until the capture of Kanija, especially important border fortresses facing the Austrian hereditary provinces. Furthermore, they had to guard the river Drava, so their garrison was formed to suit all purposes. In 1569 25% of the soldiery of Bobořa was constituted of *müstahfizes* and artillery, 33% of cavalry, and 42% of *azabs* and *martoloses*. In Berzenç every major branch (taking the *müstahfizes* and artillery as one), contributed one quarter of the garrison.

Planned in 1552, the garrison of Solnok, whose location was similar in that it guarded water and border at the same time, was divided precisely into three parts: one part was represented by *müstahfizes* and artillery, one by the cavalry and one by the *azabs* and *martoloses*. Here the establishment of the garrison was even less successful than in Estergon, the ratios were immediately distorted. The confusion was made worse by the fact that the two *palankas* of the *sancak*, Senmikloř and Çongrad, both constructed later, were also supplied with soldiers from the garrison of Solnok. Thus in reality this genuinely waterside trio was anything but typical: in Çongrad, for example, there were no *azabs* at all. By the first half of the 1590s in Solnok the *müstahfizes* and artillerymen supplying general defence had become the main force, in the other two fortresses it was the cavalry. If we look into the two twin fortresses, Solnok and Senmikloř, which were strongly linked together, we come to the understandable conclusion that five sixths of their soldiers belonged to the troops entrusted with the spreading of Ottoman taxation: to the *müstahfizes* who by then lived off *timars*, to the artillery and the *azabs*, and to the raiding *farises*. To the east, the *sancak* faced Transylvania, so it did not require any specific border defence, nor much by way of naval forces; what was needed here was soldiery who, apart from adequate border defence, could primarily increase the range of Ottoman taxation in the direction of Varad.

The last type of garrisons, which resembled no other, were the previously mentioned tiny establishments with only one unit, usually *martoloses*, providing defence (Koni, Pinçehel, Çonbol, Drenkova, Radna). They were all established at the turn of the century or in the 17th century, and they were all located in the wide southern zone of Ottoman Hungary that was saturated with areas of settlement of Balkan peoples. Later there will be a separate chapter on the Balkan military peasant organisations, which had become well-established in this zone, as a sign that the different forms of regular and irregular military activity which existed to the south, together with the south Slav and *eflak* population, had appeared in Hungary as well. In these small places solely defended by *martoloses* I surmise the appearance of the Balkan town, the *kasaba*. We can consider this form of settlement as a small town, or rather a large village, which in its region became predominant, turned into a local centre, was a station on the military

route or a food depot, had mining activity nearby and so on, so occasionally, but not necessarily, a few soldiers were stationed there to defend it. Ottoman sources referred to Balkan centres only with relative consistency using three terms: fortress (*kale*), Western-type towns (using the Hungarian word *varoš*) and the *kasaba*; it sometimes happened that even Belgrade or Sarajevo was called a *kasaba*. I came across this term in Hungary only once: in 1621 it was used to refer to the town of Lipova (*kasaba-i varoš-i Lipova*).<sup>1</sup>

At the beginning of the 18th century, after the peace treaty of Karlovitz which stipulated the destruction of many fortresses, in the Ottoman sources of Temesköz, still held by the Ottomans, two Balkan categories appeared. The first was a town defended by soldiers, such as Virşiç, Lipova, Çanad, Bečkerek and Şebeş: earlier they were all considered fortresses. The other was *menzil*, a guard post and depot placed on a military road, such were Alibunar, Marjina, Mehadia and Denta: of the latter three it is known that they had functioned earlier as fortresses.<sup>2</sup> By this time the *vilayet* of Temeşvar had been reduced to the edges of the Balkan Peninsula. It is true, though, that even in the 16th century this south-east part of Hungary was most reminiscent of the Balkans.

### 3. The Total Number of Garrison Troops in Ottoman Hungary

It is not easy to estimate the number of all garrison soldiers in Ottoman Hungary, or even in a single *vilayet*, especially if we want to do the calculations for different points in time.

As we have seen, the fortress soldiers were registered in different *defters*. In order to come up with a result that we can accept with a clear conscience, we would need all possible sources from the whole Ottoman territory at the same time or at least in neighbouring years. In the 16th century there are three dates when this condition is met, if not fully, at least approximately, for the fortresses of the *vilayet* of Buda: the years around 1545, 1570, and the years around 1590. The earliest year when we can estimate the soldiery of Temeşvar is 1591. The sources from the 17th century are even more often suspicious. One insoluble problem is caused by the fact that the garrisons of many fortresses located in the south always seem to be incomplete, and there is no hope of filling the gaps now.

#### The fortress soldiery of the *vilayet* of Buda in 1544–1545

The source material for this year is of high quality: from June 1544 for three quarter-years the pay accounts of the Buda treasury survived;<sup>3</sup> we have at our

1 BOA MAD 3729, p. 4.

2 Pál Fodor, 'A temesvári vilájet a török hódoltságban [The *vilayet* of Temesvár in Ottoman Hungary]', in István Lengvári (ed.), *In memoriam Barta Gábor. Tanulmányok Barta Gábor emlékére*. Pécs, 1996, 206.

3 ÖNB Mxt 590, p. 11. The source contains numbers from the quarter prior and from the two

disposal the same data for several quarters of the following year too, though it is incomplete,<sup>1</sup> as well as the detailed pay lists of numerous fortresses between 1543–1545. There are problems, however, partly because these years brought the first great waves of transfers (for example, the fortresses in the county of Tolna had to be filled up from the already existing ones); as a result, the number of troops that can be calculated on the basis of the pay lists is probably higher than it was in reality. This is because the lists were drafted in different years, and the possibility that transferred men may have been counted twice cannot be ignored. Another puzzle is that pay lists, especially in this chaotic early decade, include fewer soldiers than those in actual service, as because of the major fluctuations in the size of garrisons there were large numbers of new soldiers who were still waiting for their letter of appointment and so had not yet received any pay. A further complication is that by 1545 the entire personnel of Titel and Şikloş had disappeared from every kind of source, as well as a few units in various other fortresses, for example the cavalry in Pest (if there was any at all), and Baç. These missing units were already being paid from local revenues.

According to the accounts of the treasury of Buda in the three quarter-years starting in June 1544 the following numbers of soldiers received pay:

951 *recec* = June 22, 1544–September 17: 12,141 men

951 *reşen* = September 18–December 15: 12,570 men

951 *lezez* = December 16–March 14, 1545: 12,715 men.

In the accounts of the later months of 1545 the scribe failed to enter a total, which forces us to make uncertain adjustments. The result of this calculation is the total of 11,259 in the quarter between December 6, 1545 and March 3, 1546; this, however is unreliable even after our adjustments (the account itself indicates suspiciously low numbers in Buda, Pest, Estergon and Vaç). We also end up with questionable final results if we add up the sums of the pay lists of the 29 fortresses of the end of 1545: the final result is 12,975 soldiers (this includes the earlier data for Titel and Şikloş). This number, highest of all, is probably trustworthy because it includes part of the soldiers who were present but not yet entitled to pay. On the other hand, what makes it questionable is that in some fortresses I had to pair up numbers from 1543 (in Titel from 1541!) with the numbers of the majority from one or two years later.

In spite of the uncertainties we can conclude that around 1545 in the approximately thirty fortresses of the new and not yet fully formed Ottoman province the total number of local soldiers must have been 13,000, and if we include the soldiers present but not yet paid and the unknown number of cavalry serving in

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quarters following the three quarter years quoted above as well. However, these are impossibly low numbers that cannot be evaluated: 5068, 5900 and 519 men.

1 ÖNB Mxt 581, p. 48.

Pest, Baç and who knows how many other places, it was probably higher. In 1547 this force was complemented by 2,282 janissaries of the Porte in the four great fortresses, and with them the fortress defenders of the *vilayet* of Buda can be estimated at 15–16,000.

### Transfers and the appearance of soldiers with salary *timars*

Maintaining the local military force caused the treasury of Buda great difficulty for one or two decades, following the territorial growth of the province, in spite of the introduction of taxation. In the mid 1540s, when the financial and tax apparatus were still only exploring the territory, the sum needed to cover the pay of the soldiers had to be sent to Buda from Istanbul. The next chapter on the maintenance of the soldiery will discuss this situation; here I will only give in advance the earliest data. According to the summarised accounts of the year 960 (= December 18, 1552–December 6, 1553), 22,073,785 *akçes* were sent from the central treasury to supplement the inadequate, painfully slow income of the Buda treasury. This was used to cover the 17,655,266 *akçes* needed to pay wages, (all but 105,000 *akçes* of which were destined for the garrisons) and other expenses.<sup>1</sup>

Although at this time the treasury of the capital was not yet struggling with a deficit, it was in its basic interests to keep the expenses of its new province under control. One possible way of achieving this was to prevent the number of fortress soldiers in the *vilayet* from growing: to man new fortresses from the old ones by regrouping them. This attempt was later repeated here and there. On February 28, 1568 the imperial council issued a decree to the *beylerbeyi* of Buda: “Earlier in the fortresses of the *vilayet* of Buda 9,000 soldiers served, but now because of the [soldiers] of Sigetvar, Boboçfa and other fortresses their number has risen to 12,500. It needs to be cut back to the previous 9,000 men.”<sup>2</sup> In order to achieve this, the decree recommended that vacant posts in garrisons should not be filled, and men who were not present a month prior to the call-roll should be erased. Thus the number of soldiers would decrease gradually. The number nine thousand—unless it is imaginary—is credible only for the beginning, at the turn of 1541–1542, when besides Pest and Buda there were only a few garrisons along the Danube. It was never possible to return to this number, which presumably only existed in the treasury’s dreams; however, it seems that the Porte strove to force the local authorities to work with the given number of troops. When in 1559 he gave permission for the construction of the *palanka* of Mohaç, it also decreed that the “required *müstahfiz*es be appointed from the positions allocated

1 ÖNB Mxt 590, p. 70.

2 7 *Numaralı mühimme defteri*, No. 934. The source is quoted in detail in: Römer, *Osmanische Festungsbesatzungen*, 33.

to that territory/or from the posts vacant there (*ol cevanibda düşen gedüklerden*)”.<sup>1</sup>

This in the first decade resulted in continuous regrouping, several transfers of whole units and squads, a process which later sometimes accelerated, sometimes slowed down, according to how many new fortresses were taken or constructed in a given period. Naturally, this method was not the answer to all the problems. The pay lists indicate that the garrisons of great fortresses captured by the imperial army, such as Solnok or Sigetvar, were partly manned by troops from the army. Places taken by the local forces, and the newly constructed *palankas*, on the other hand, were indeed garrisoned by local soldiers. The database gives information on where every new garrison was transferred from, if this was included in the source. When such references were not given, I attempted several times to trace the soldiers of new garrisons back to the nearby registers, but I rarely succeeded. The conclusion that can be drawn from this experience and the specific annotations to pay lists is that soldiers were also sent to far-away places. For example, the defenders of Canfeda were transferred from Sigetvar by the sultan’s decree.<sup>2</sup>

Another way of economising on the treasury’s expenses, which became widespread later, appeared as early as the end of the 1540s. This meant that they started remunerating the infantry branches of the fortresses, first only the *müstahfizes*, then the artillery and the *azabs* too, not in cash, but with the income from collective *timars*.<sup>3</sup> Around 1520, in the north Balkan territories to the south of Hungary, this had already become general practice, which made the *müstahfizes* primarily into *timariots*. The *müstahfiz* units of the *sancak* of Nikopol were remunerated from *timars* as early as the mid 15th century.<sup>4</sup> In the financial year of 1527–1528, of the 24,107 fortress soldiers in the *vilayet* of Rumili, which covered most of the Balkan Peninsula, 6,620 *müstahfizes* were soldiers with salary *timar*.<sup>5</sup> In the spring of 1541 the *müstahfizes* of the fortresses of Sirem, and the artillerymen of several others, were remunerated in this way as well.<sup>6</sup>

According to the known sources, in Hungary it was first in the fortresses of the *sancak* of Segedin that the pay of whole units was withdrawn and they were

1 3 Numaralı mühimme defteri, No. 342.

2 7 Numaralı mühimme defteri, No. 223.

3 Some fortress soldiers, especially officers, were allowed to hold *timars* in their own right from the beginning. Thus in 1546 in the *sancak* of Buda 7, in that of Estergon 11, of Hatvan 3 and of Novigrad 5 officers lived from *timars*. BOA Tapu 1044. This was often the case later as well. We can talk about soldiers with salary *timar* if whole branches were taken out of the cash-paid corps, and were maintained from *timars*.

4 Izvori za bulgarskata istorija XIII, 298–333.

5 Ömer Lütfi Barkan, ‘H. 933–934 Tarihli Bütçe Cetveli ve Ekleri’, *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 15:1-4 (1953–1954), 282.

6 ÖNB Mxt 567.

given *timars* instead. In February 1552, Hungarian troops took the town of Segedin (though not the fortress), which caused great panic. An imperial order drafted on May 28, 1552 following the attempts to restore order after this incident strove to fill up the decimated garrison of the fortress. By this time the *müstahfizes* would have been soldiers with salary *timar* for two and a half years, had they received their due wages. Accepting the recommendation of the local and Semendire *sancakbeyis*, the imperial council decreed that the *paşa* of Buda must reinstate the 147 *müstahfizes* among soldiers paid by the local treasury, and that their *timar* was to be transferred back into the imperial lands.<sup>1</sup> We have no information as to whether the decree was carried out; in 1561 the *müstahfizes* were still, or again, soldiers with salary *timar* along with the artillery and gunsmiths of the fortress. By this time not only they, but their comrades from Sobotka, Tömörkin, Baç and Zombor, as well as the *müstahfizes* and artillerymen of Kalaça and Baya were all receiving their remuneration from collective *timars*.<sup>2</sup>

This new means of payment also appeared early on in south-east Transdanubia. In the undated *icmal defteri* of the *sancaks* of Şimontorna and Kopan, possibly drafted at the turn of 1551–1552, the soldiers with salary *timar* of Tomaşin, Döbrekös, and Kopan, while outside the districts Korkmaz and Seksar were registered.<sup>3</sup> It is apparent from the pay list of 1553 that the *müstahfizes* of Peçuy and Göröşgal were paid out of *timar* revenues as well,<sup>4</sup> the contemporary *icmal defteri* of the *sancak*, however, have not survived.

It seems that the *müstahfizes* and artillery troops of the fortresses of the Temeşvar *vilayet* were made into *timariot* soldiers immediately after the garrisons were established and the tax surveying of the new province were completed, and they preserved this status up to the end of the 16th century. The 1554, 1567–1569 and 1579 *icmals* of the *livas* of Temeşvar, Modava, Lipova and Yanova<sup>5</sup> register the *müstahfizes* and artillerymen of Temeşvar, Virşiç, Façet, Felnak, Bokça, Çakova, Modava, Lipova, Şolmoş, Vizias, Vilagoş, Varadya, Yanova and Totinç with their collective *timars*.

### The fortress soldiers of the *vilayet* of Buda after the great territorial expansion of the 1550s

With the fortresses conquered and constructed in the 1550s the number of strongholds in the *vilayet* of Buda almost doubled. Garrisons were needed in the

1 Dávid–Fodor, *Az ország ügye*, No. 239.

2 BOA Tapu 333, pp. 20–117.

3 BOA Tapu 1030, 16–33, 53–55. Géza Dávid, *Osmalı Macaristan'ında Toplum, Ekonomi ve Yönetim. 16. Yüzyılda Simontornya Sancağı*. İstanbul, 1999, 13.

4 ÖNB Mxt 643, pp. 11–20, 27–29.

5 In the above chronological order the *defters* of the *sancaks* of Temeşvar and Modava: BOA Tapu 298, 552 and 674; the *sancaks* of Lipova and Yanova: Tapu 356, 101 and 679. The equivalent *defters* of the *livas* of Çanad and G'ula have not survived.



new places. Continuous raids also characterised the decade. The correspondence of Hungarian contemporaries is full of these, and the endless annotations in Ottoman pay lists bear witness as well to the casualties: the deceased, captured and missing soldiers, all of whom needed to be replaced.

The account books of the Buda treasury registered for three years how many soldiers received pay in the fortresses of the *vilayet*. In the year 964 (= November 4, 1556–October 23, 1557) the number of soldiers who were paid was 10,402, in 965 (= October 24, 1557–October 13, 1558) 10,328, in 966 (= October 14, 1558–October 2, 1559) it was 10,353.<sup>1</sup> One of the richest pay lists of the *vilayet* survives from the middle year.<sup>2</sup> Besides its richness, it has the particular advantage that we have the registers of troops stationed in many, if not all, fortresses from the following year as well. With the help of these the uncertainties of 1557–1558 can be significantly reduced. In the 51 fortresses included in the pay list a total of 10,977 soldiers appears; on the basis of the two kinds of sources the number of new soldiers who were not yet due wages was nearly 700. (This means 6%, which corresponds to the numbers described above in the Table 2.) The troops defending Şikloş, Titel, Baç and Zombor and the *timariot* soldiers of 14 fortresses are completely absent from the list, and accordingly from the treasury accounts, moreover the *liva* garrisons of Segedin seem to be incomplete in general. On the basis of the data for earlier or later years, allowing for a fair degree of uncertainty, the number of missing men can be estimated at around 2,000. Considering this, the local fortress soldiers of the *vilayet* of Buda in the second half of the 1550s numbered about 13,000 as well. If anyone at the Porte was aiming for the one-time figure of 9,000 men, it cannot have been more than a modest wish. However, the attempt to prevent the number of soldiers paid in cash from rising was successful.

Unfortunately I do not know of any sources for the number of the soldiers in the *vilayet* of Temeşvar or the *yeniçeris* arriving from the court around this time.

### Reorganisations after 1568; the salary *timar* becomes the norm

The imperial campaign in 1566 which concluded the decades of ‘siege wars’ in Hungary and the peace of Adrianople two years later created a new, previously unknown situation: they had to adjust to peace-time conditions and organise themselves accordingly. In 1566 Sigetvar and the other nearby fortresses that had been captured were given substantial garrisons; in 1567, as the peace negotiations continued, Barça and Canfeda were hurriedly constructed, but after this the emphasis was on setting the fortresses in order.

1 Fekete–Káldy-Nagy, *Rechnungsbücher*, 425–426, 570, 674. Either in the first year or in some partial data or addition the scribe made a minor mistake; the sum of individual items is 10,400.

2 ÖNB MxT 614.

The sultan's decree of 1568, which has been mentioned several times, and which tried to limit the number of fortress soldier paid in cash in the *vilayet* of Buda to 9,000 men, was an early attempt to make order. The treasury of Istanbul had good reasons to worry: the newly occupied and constructed fortresses increased the number of soldiers to be maintained by the treasury of Buda to at least two and a half thousand (we can only guess at the increase in the *vilayet* of Temeşvar). The interests of the treasury, however, required something which was impossible in military terms: a reduction of 5–6,000 fortress soldiers would have greatly weakened the defence of the occupied territory, something the military leadership could not have countenanced even in peace time. The idea that the military establishment should be allowed to decrease through natural wastage does not say much the military fore-sightedness of the *divan*, as this would have resulted in the weakening of the defence of those border fortresses whose garrisons had been most heavily decimated by raids.

In direct contradiction to the decree, between 1565 and 1569 in the majority of the fortresses of the *vilayet* of Buda the number of soldiers maintained from the provincial treasury increased steadily.<sup>1</sup> Reducing the number of men was not an option in the largest fortresses; if anything, garrisons weakened by decades of warfare were reinforced. In Buda, Pest, Estergon, İstolni Belgrad, Hatvan and Solnok the defenders were reinforced by a total of 700 men, but many smaller fortresses received new drafts too. Naturally, there were several fortresses, most of them in better defended areas well away from the borders, from which whole units were removed, primarily cavalry and *martoloses*. Some places located closer to the borders, on the other hand, were reinforced with whole units. The cavalry were removed from Mohaç and Baranvar, for example, and some of them were sent to Canbek and Fedvar; obviously this arrangement was intended to redistribute the existing troops more sensibly.

In the second half of 1569, 12,485 soldiers in the *vilayet* received pay from the treasury of Buda<sup>2</sup> (these twelve and a half thousand men are mentioned in the imperial decree); in the pay list of the same year, we find a total of 12,662 paid defenders in service in the 61 fortresses of the *vilayet*<sup>3</sup> (in this case, as the list for the following year is missing, fewer soldiers can be declared 'present but still unpaid' for certain: the insignificant difference between the two sources is caused by this). To these, we must add the total of 1,350 *timariot* soldiers that can be found in the records, although there must have been more than this: no data have survived on some fortresses in these years. We still do not know about the garrison of Titel, or some fortresses belonging to Segedin, or the cavalry (if

1 ÖNB Mxt 612 and 617: both are pay accounts.

2 ÖNB Mxt 617.

3 ÖNB Mxt 642.

there was any) of Pest. According to this, the total number of local fortress soldiers in the Buda *vilayet* already approached 15,000 in 1569. However, there were fewer *yeniçeris* supporting them. From this year on, for a good two decades we know the number of janissaries from the Porte assigned to the fortresses of the *vilayet* of Buda: in 1569–1570 there were altogether 945 of them, and they were paid from the local treasury.<sup>1</sup> If we include them, the military population of the province of Buda can be estimated at 16,000 soldiers.

The source material that survived from the *vilayet* of Temeşvar, which is very incomplete, and contains only *timariot* soldiers, still does not allow us to make even the most cautious estimates for this period. With this we have to wait until 1591.

On February 20, 1570, the imperial council tried to find a new way to relieve the troubles of the Buda treasury with a new decree sent to the *paşa* of Buda. This measure was made possible by the fact that in this year new detailed survey registers were made in the majority of the *sancaks*, and at such times new or increased sources of income were always found which could be separated for the treasury (*ifraz*).<sup>2</sup> In order to keep the pay of the *hisar eris*, that is the *müstahfiz*es (presumably this was meant in a broader sense, including all infantry soldiers) serving in the fortresses of the *vilayet*, in the treasury, the sultan ordered that *timars* be allocated for the soldiers in the vicinity of the fortresses from the separated revenue sources of the *sancaks*.<sup>3</sup> Thus the decree referred to the whole *vilayet*, and following the completion of the registration it was executed in most *livas*.

The spread of salary *timar* did not mean that all infantry troops in all the fortresses ceased to be paid in cash. All the garrisons of the giant fortresses located in the *vilayet* of Buda (Buda-Pest, Estergon-Ciğerdelen, İstolni Belgrad) and of some smaller fortifications (Val, Canbek, Kızılhisar) received their pay in cash in 1573 and later, as well as the complete garrisons of the fortresses taken and constructed later. It also happened that the *azabs* of garrisons in which salary *timars* had already been introduced continued to be remunerated in cash.

This change certainly relieved the pressure on the treasury of Buda. In 1573 a muster was held in all the fortresses in the *vilayet*. The result was a mixed pay list, the first part of which is the register of the soldiers still paid in cash in 24 fortresses, while the second part is a short section with the sum total of soldiers in the *sancaks* of İstolni Belgrad, Şimontorna, Kopan, Peçuy and Mohaç.<sup>4</sup> In the

1 Ágoston, *A magyarországi török végvárak fenntartásának*, 327: note 16.

2 Káldy-Nagy, *Magyarországi török adóösszeírások*, 45: note 148.

3 These most important sentences of the decree were published in the above-quoted footnote of Káldy-Nagy and in Dávid, *Simontornya Sancağı*, 96.

4 ÖNB Mxt 626. The aggregate section of the list mentions the *sancak* of Sigetvar, however, its soldiers could not have been present in the given numbers, as they were already listed in the register.

fortresses of the *livas* of Buda, Estergon, Novigrad, Siçen, Filek, Hatvan, Solnok, Segedin and Sigetvar 7,011 soldiers were paid, while in the fortresses listed in the aggregate 3,088 men. Altogether this meant 10,099 paid fortress defenders. In 1573–1574, the treasury account of Buda registered 9,875 fortress defenders paid in cash in the *vilayet* (the minor differences result from those who, although they were in service, had not yet received wages as they were waiting for their letter of appointment). According to the 1569–1581 accounts, the total number of fortress soldiers paid in cash was between 9,600 and 10,000 (in 1578 it was just above ten thousand).<sup>1</sup> With the spread of military *timars* the treasury approached the figure of 9,000 soldiers that it considered ideal, and whom it had to maintain financially.

In the 1570s too, the *timariot* defenders can be reliably calculated. Most of them can be counted from the *icmal defteris* of 1570 (from some *sancaks* sources only survive from earlier or later years). Extrapolated conclusions are justified not only by necessity, but also by experience, which shows that the number of *timariot* soldiers—as it was determined by income—changed little; according to some *icmals* which are covered with later annotations about changes, the authorities took great care to replace missing defenders with new ones. Putting all the data together we can calculate a total of about 3,200 soldiers with salary *timars* in the 1570s. The fact that sources date back to different times causes fewer problems than the fact that for some fortresses we have no source material whatever.

In 1573 the certain 10,099 soldiers and the estimated 3,200 soldiers with salary *timars* add up to a round number of 13,300 fortress soldiers for the whole *vilayet* of Buda. To these we should add the unknown numbers of soldiers who were not registered and those who had long been paid from local resources. With them the total number must have exceeded 14,000, and was probably closer to 15,000. They were reinforced by the *yeniçeris*, whose numbers fluctuated annually between 800 and 1,000.

Thus making salary *timar* into general practice was only a financial, technical change: it did not affect total numbers, but only reduced the burden on the treasury, and in this sense it was an important part of the process of setting things in order. At the same time garrisons were also put to rights. The restoration of discipline, the reduction of mobility and the swifter filling of vacant posts is already visible from the list of 1569, and the pay list of 1573 shows a completely transformed state of affairs. Wherever we look, units are orderly and there are barely any incomplete squads. Most fortresses are fully garrisoned, as in the place of the decreasing number of soldiers leaving their posts new men were immediately recruited, and obvious care was taken of replacement everywhere.

1 Ágoston, 'A magyarországi török végvárak ellátásának', 315. Idem, 'A hódítás ára', 360–361.

### The *vilayets* of Buda and Temeşvar before the outbreak of the Long War

The sources for 1591 are such as to enable us to make cautious guesses, this time covering the whole territory of Ottoman Hungary. We have at our disposal a sum total of the soldiery paid by the Buda treasury,<sup>1</sup> and finally a pay list with registers from the *vilayet* of Temeşvar.<sup>2</sup> The shortcoming of both lists is that they only contain soldiers paid in cash. As very few *icmal defteris* survive from this period, the 1591 data on paid soldiers have to be added to the number of *timariot* soldiers from the 1570s. I am encouraged to do this by the previously mentioned experience, which shows that the number of the latter is more or less unchanged. We know the *timariot* soldiers in the five fortresses of the *sancaks* of Peçuy and Sigetvar from 1570 and 1592<sup>3</sup> (unfortunately the most numerous garrison of Şegeş is not among them): first they counted 1,117, later 1,021 men (by fortress: Peçuy 237/188, Berzenç 204/176, Boboŕça 255/243, Sigetvar 345/331, Ka-poşvar 76/83). The reduction by 96 men—which is 8.6% of the 1570 number—is by no means negligible, but neither is it greater than the obvious uncertainty concerning paid soldiers. And it does not change the situation: in the majority of garrisons we can only calculate with the *timariot* numbers of the 1570s, as there are no data for later years.

The number of paid fortress defenders of the *vilayet* of Buda is determined as 9,988 soldiers by a treasury account, which is 111 less than the combined total for 1573. Adding in with the soldiers with salary *timars*, we arrive again at 13,000 to 13,200 soldiers, and with the missing garrisons the total is again about 14,000 men. The number of *yeniçeris* of the Porte stationed in the *vilayet* decreased: in this year it amounted to 812 men. Adding it all together, there is a slight decrease in numbers in comparison to the 1570s, but for a two-decade period of peace we would expect something more; the negligible decrease clearly indicates that the permanent war did not permit any relaxation of military might.

The data for the *vilayet* of Temeşvar are yet again incomplete, but at least they finally exist; they need to be doctored, albeit reluctantly. We can put the pay list of 1591 beside the *icmal defteris* of 1579, however, for the two *livas* of Çanad and G'ula these are missing. Some fortresses along the Danube; Pañcova, Köfin, Haram and Irşova do not appear in any sources. Around 1620 these were defended by 457 soldiers; maybe in this period fewer men served in them, but even so there must have been a few hundred there. Taking into consideration all real and supposed numbers, we can estimate the local fortress soldiery of the

1 BOA MAD 3762, the aggregate total according to branches is to be found on page 3 of the source; the period to which it refers is the second half of H. 999, or the six months between April 25, 1591 and October 18; in the case of some fortresses the period is longer.

2 Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem (Budapest), Egyetemi Könyvtár, Kézirattár, Orient 8.

3 BOA Tapu 480 and 652, and Tapu 503 and 638.

*vilayet* at around 4,000–4,500.<sup>1</sup> I do not know of any source material on transferred *yeniçeris*.

By combining all certain and uncertain figures, the total number of the local soldiers in the two *vilayets* can be estimated at around 18–19,000 prior the outbreak of the war. 812 *yeniçeris* were sent from the Porte to the *vilayet* of Buda, the number sent to the *vilayet* of Temeşvar is unknown. Including them a grand total of about 20,000 men served in the whole of the fortress system.

I quickly gave up trying to count the fortress soldiery of the years of war: the nature of the sources makes it impossible. The majority of data is found in treasury accounts, and from these whole garrisons can rarely be put together.

### The fortress soldiery of the 1610s and 1620s

In the two or three decades following the war the investigation is rendered more difficult by new, sometimes insoluble problems. The least of these is that the *vilayets* of Eğri and Kanija, established in 1596 and 1600, received territories at the expense of the Buda *vilayet*: to Eğri they attached the *sancaks* of Hatvan and Solnok, (and in theory that of Segedin, though this was still registered as part of the *vilayet* of Buda by military sources, so I will continue to consider it as such), to the Kanija *vilayet* the *sancaks* of Peçuy and Sigetvar.

The fact that owing to the lack of *icmals* it is impossible even to guess at how many fortress soldiers continued to live off the income of collective *timars* causes serious problems. This much seems certain: the towns and villages that had suffered in the war could sustain significantly fewer people than in the 1580s. This is indicated by the fact that among the defenders of a few fortresses, for example Buda, a new, previously unknown military element was registered: the unit of *sipahis* who were temporarily paid in cash. Another proof of this is the introduction of the mixed way of remuneration, which can be seen most clearly in the case of the fortresses of the *sancak* of Solnok: units with salary *timars* were left with their barely profitable villages, and in order to save them from starvation each squad was allocated the equivalent of a few men's wages. In other fortresses the officers of units with *timars* turned back into paid soldiers, while the common people in the garrison were left to their own devices and had to make ends meet as best as they could.

Apart from the *vilayet* of Eğri, we can calculate the defenders of all the other fortresses from around the same time. The pay lists of Buda and Kanija survive from 1619, of Temeşvar from around 1620 (of a few garrisons from the end of the 1620s); these can be used together well. On the other hand, the last year for which we have information about the conditions of the fortresses belonging to

1 The budget of the treasury of Temeşvar for 1591–1593 calculates with a low number, 2,637 soldiers; these were only fortress defenders paid from the local treasury. BOA MAD 15696, p. 2.

Eğri is 1607, while most data about the transferred *yeniçeris* survive from 1617–1618 and 1630;<sup>1</sup> lacking any better options we have to make do with these.

Considering the number of soldiers with salary *timars*, each *vilayet* needs a different kind of numerical adjustment, or more precisely: I have experimented with something else in each case. In the *vilayet* of Eğri only the *liva* defenders of Solnok need to be corrected, and this can probably be done quite well. In the *vilayet* of Temeşvar and Kanija, every fortress needs individual decisions, but the final result may not be too far from the truth. The greatest difficulties are caused by the fortresses belonging under Buda, and I have used my own arbitrary methods to sort them out. As earlier, now again I have concluded that in the 1570s and 1580s, when we can determine the ratios with considerable confidence, in garrisons whose infantry troops were paid with salary *timars*, about 60% of defenders were paid in cash, while 40% lived off *timar* incomes.<sup>2</sup> I reckon that in 1620 the soldiers remaining in the latter category constituted about 20% of the total. The final results, which are rather dubious, are summarised in Table 9.

Table 9

*The defenders of four vilayets around 1620, not counting the yeniçeris*

Vilayet	Approximate number of fortress soldiers
Buda (1619–1620)	7,450
Temeşvar (around 1620) <sup>3</sup>	3,700
Eğri (1607)	2,750
Kanija (1619)	4,200
<b>Total</b>	<b>18,100</b>

The sum total mentioned above, which gives the number in each *vilayet* of the fortress soldiers whose letter of appointment was renewed on the occasion of the ‘majestic accession to the throne’ (*cûlus-i hümayun*) seems to support the final result. This short piece of source material is undated, and was attached to the end of a treasury account from 1613.<sup>4</sup> It is possible that the numbers included in it did originally refer to this year; however, next to the numerical data for the *vilayet* of Buda, Vaç, recaptured in 1620, was inserted with 484 soldiers. It fixes the total number of defenders of the four *vilayets* at 17,404 men, and the difference between the two final results is roughly equal to the additional num-

1 The pay list of the *vilayet* of Buda BOA MAD 7320, of Temeşvar MAD 3729, of Eğri BOA Tapu 704, of Kanija ÖNB Mxt 631, the list of *yeniçeris* serving in Hungary in 1617–1618 BOA MAD 4968, in 1630 MAD 7089.

2 Hegyi, *Török berendezkedés*, 94–95.

3 The budget of 1613 calculated with 8,108 men paid in cash and daily wages in the *vilayet* of Buda, and in the *vilayet* of Temeşvar 2,996, which presumably includes the increased number of civilians on daily wages, but probably not the *yeniçeris*. BOA MAD 1002, pp. 1, 35.

4 BOA MAD 4133, p. 208.

ber that I calculated to make up for the unknown soldiers with salary *timars*. Behind this happy match there are differences of varying degrees in each *vilayet*: in Kanija the difference is significant. The results of the summing up for each province are as follows: Buda 7,494, Temeşvar 3,679, Eğri 2,448 and Kanija 3,783 fortress soldiers paid in cash. In spite of the rough match between the final figures, the calculations are unreliable.

*Yeniçeris* of the Porte are known from two dates. At the turn of 1617 and 1618, in *lezez* 1026 1,149, in *masar* 1027 1,058 of them were stationed in six Hungarian fortresses. By 1630, their number had significantly increased, include the soldiers of the Porte sent to the four *vilayets*, as well as the 'locals' stationed in Buda. It is possible that 'local' janissaries were to be found in the other three *vilayet* centres too (certainly there were some of them in Eğri ten years earlier, which was immediately after the capture of the fortress, still in wartime), but their numbers are unknown. What is known is that in 1630 2,003 local *yeniçeris* were stationed in Buda, 607 more in the *vilayet*, 478 *yeniçeris* from Istanbul served in three other *vilayets* and the total number was 3,088 (presumably this is not all of them).<sup>1</sup> Including them, we can assume that there were at least 20,000–21,000 local soldiers and men of the Porte in all the fortresses of Ottoman Hungary around 1620–1630.

### The second half of the 17th century

It is hardly worth investigating this period, as the data are incomplete, widely separated in time, and usually unreliable. Nonetheless I shall still make an attempt, because in the general dearth of sources that characterises the 17th century even uncertain findings are better than none.

The combined total for the *vilayet* of Buda survives from 1662, and that of the fortresses belonging to Kanija from 1650 (the location of the sources can be found in the database). Their shortcoming is that they do not contain the results of real call-rolls, but are numbers copied from year to year or even from decade to decade; the only thing they indicate is how many soldiers' pay the provincial treasuries included in their calculations. (The numbers are probably not completely imaginary: they indicate reductions during the years of peace and the increasing ratio of Porte troops, and correspond in many places to the reports of Evliya Çelebi). The data for the *vilayet* of Varad from 1661 and of Uyvar from 1667 are real. Nothing is known about the situation of the fortresses in the provinces of Temeşvar and Eğri, I must make do with the already known numbers of these two *vilayets* from around 1620 and 1607(!).

On the basis of the chaotic data we come up with a total of 17,450 local soldiers in the six *vilayets*, which is not far off the result calculated for 40–50 years

1 The lists of *yeniçeris* in 1617–1618: BOA MAD 4968, in 1630: MAD 7089.



earlier; if this is correct then it supports our interpretation of the annotations added to the register of the defenders of Uyvar: new fortresses were garrisoned with soldiers from the other fortresses; the men who defended them did not increase the total number of fortress soldiers. The distribution of the 17,450 men in the different *vilayets* is as follows: we can calculate about 4,600 local soldiers in Buda, (the old) 3,700 in Temeşvar, (the even older) 2,750 in Eğri, 4,100 in Kanija, 1,200 in Varad,<sup>1</sup> and 1,100 in Uyvar.

Compared to the local soldiery, the number of 'local' and central *yeniçeris* increased significantly, and their sets of data are more credible, even if not completely free from contradictions. Their lists date back to between 1662 and 1671.<sup>2</sup> In the sources, the following numbers of *yeniçeris* can be calculated for each *vilayet*: in the *vilayet* of Buda around 3,300 local and Porte *yeniçeris*, in the Temeşvar *vilayet* around 230, in the Eğri *vilayet* around 140, in the Kanija *vilayet* around 190, in the Varad *vilayet* 820, and finally in the Uyvar *vilayet* around 1,630 Porte and local *yeniçeris*. This makes altogether around 6500 *yeniçeris*: this is twice as many as could be found in the sources fifty years earlier.

The roughly 17,500 fortress defenders and the 6,500 *yeniçeris* add up to 24,000 fortress soldiers. It is difficult to decide if this number, which is higher than ever before, is realistic. Considering the fact that the increase is due to the large numbers of *yeniçeris* it may be credible after all, as their growing number and their diffusion through the provinces can be seen in all parts of the empire.

### Other military personnel in the fortresses

The number of fortress soldiers in Ottoman fortresses that can be calculated for different points in time is far smaller than contemporary spies reported. A combined total drafted in 1577 for the great Viennese War Council assumed 47,049 soldiers in the whole of Ottoman Hungary,<sup>3</sup> 35,043 of whom served in the fortresses of the Buda *vilayet*, more than twice the total number of 16,000 that emerges from Ottoman sources for the 1570s.

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- 1 The treasury account of Varad calculated 1,656 and 1,688 soldiers in the two quarter years after 1660, then 1,199 and 1,202 soldiers in the following quarter years in the *vilayet*. BOA MAD 6382, p. 8. These latter numbers are confirmed by the only pay list; this is why I calculate on the basis of 1,200.
  - 2 According to the data series published by Barkan, in 1669–70 2,521 *yeniçeris* of the Porte (those who turned 'native' were not included) served in Hungarian fortresses. Barkan, '1079–1080 Bütçesi', 263. The list of *yeniçeris* of Porte 1667–1671: BOA MAD 5996. Budgets of the *vilayet* of Buda in 1662 and 1677: BOA Başmuhasebe, Budun hazinesi kalemi 16727–16729.
  - 3 Lajos Merényi, 'A török végek őrhada 1577-ben [The garrisons at the Turkish frontier in 1577]', *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 7 (1894) 259–262.

Let us now disregard the view that the people who summarised the intelligence reports might very well have exaggerated the numbers so that the overwhelming number of enemy troops would encourage the Viennese Aulic War Council to make greater efforts. More important than this hypothesis is that the spies, especially those who were familiar with the localities, included all the armed men who belonged to the military forces, and of whom they were aware. Not only were they right from their own point of view, but their procedures were true to life, as in the fortresses besides the countable, registered garrison soldiers several other types of soldier were present. The *sipahis*—with whom I do not intend to deal—could not have lived in the villages, continuously harried by Hungarian troops; they must have taken up residence in the fortresses as well (the 1577 compilation listed 1,500 men in the column ‘*sipahis* and others’ in Buda). The few Ottoman centres—G’ula, Lipova, Baç etc.—whose occasional Muslim inhabitants were registered in the Ottoman tax *defters*—were full of *sipahis*. In G’ula in 1567 17 *sipahis*, two *zaims* and a *miralay* (troop leader of the *timariots*) were registered, in 1579 21 *sipahis*, three *zaims* and a *serasker*.<sup>1</sup> In the very same years in Lipova there were 29 *sipahis*, 6 *zaims* and a *miralay*, as well as 21 *sipahis*, 3 *zaims* and a *serasker*.<sup>2</sup> It is natural that numerous *timariots* settled in these two *sancak* centres; it is, however, surprising that the small (although intellectually and economically thriving) Baç also attracted them. Around 1570 15 *sipahis* lived here, in 1578 24 *sipahis* and three *zaims*. What is more, their leaders, the *miralay* and the *serasker*, did not choose Segedin, the *sancak* centre, but Baç as their dwelling place.<sup>3</sup>

The personal escort of *beylerbeyis* and *sancakbeyis*—of even their leaders—consisted of men who were not registered as members of garrisons, but who nonetheless certainly served as soldiers (this element was called by the 1577 compilation ‘the household of the *beys*’, and estimated at around 200 men in Buda, which is probably a serious underestimate). As a result of the aging of the *timar* system and the decrease in the military value of *sipahis*, these elite, mainly *beylerbeyi* retinues were becoming more important and numerous. “After the disappearance of small and medium *timar* holders the [*beylerbeyis*] were still able to maintain sizeable and mobile retinues from extra income allocated to them, which, together with the other communal tasks, made them indispensable

1 Káldy-Nagy, *A gyulai szandzsák*, 42–44, 47–51.

2 Pál Fodor, ‘Lippa és Radna városok a 16. századi török adóösszeírásokban [The towns of Lippa and Radna in the 16th-century Turkish survey registers]’, *Történelmi Szemle* 39:3–4 (1997) 322–325, 327–330. The drafter in both G’ula and Lipova—presumably the same person—used the term *cümdi* instead of *sipahi*.

3 Tibor Halasi-Kun, ‘Sixteenth-Century Turkish Settlements in Southern Hungary’, *Belleten* 38 (1964) 24–28. Klára Hegyi, ‘Bács: A Balkan-Turkish Town in Hungary’, *Acta Orientalia* 54:4 (2001) 471–483.

for the Ottoman army.”<sup>1</sup> The household retinue belonging to the provincial elite reinforced the soldiery of the *vilayet* and *sancak* centres.

Finally, in all respectable Ottoman centres a large body of men loitered, waiting for vacant positions, *timars*, patrons or just a raid that would bring in some booty. Presumably some of them became replacements for registered fortress soldiers, and they were the *cebelis*, whom the *sipahis* had to recruit in times of campaigns. This mass of soldiers queuing up for jobs can only rarely be pinned down,<sup>2</sup> as it is characterised precisely by its unregistered nature. Its members only appeared in state administration if they underwent a transformation: temporarily or permanently became part of the military, and were registered as paid soldiers. We can assume that they formed a substantial group.

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1 Fodor, *Vállalkozásra kényszerítve*, 305.

2 Pál Fodor, ‘Önkéntesek a 16. századi oszmán hadseregben. Az 1575. évi erdélyi hadjárat tanulságai [Volunteers in the Ottoman army in the 16th century. The lessons of the Transylvanian campaign in 1575]’, *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 109:2 (1996) 55–81.



# **IV The Costs Borne by the Treasuries, the Income, and Living Conditions of the Soldiers**

## 1. Payments to Soldiers Made by the Buda and Temeşvar Treasuries in the 16th Century

As we have seen, the income of the Buda treasury did not even come close to meeting the cost of maintaining the dense network of fortresses that were established on the north-western frontier of the empire in the direction of the westward advance, of which payments to soldiers accounted for the greater part. Accounts of the budget of the Buda *vilayet*, which also covered the territory between the rivers Drava and Sava (the *sancak* of Pojega only until 1580) and northern Serbia, in which the contribution of the Balkan tax payers to the Hungarian military expenses is clearly distinguishable, are only available from the 17th century. However, it can be presumed that territories south of the Drava helped with the expenses as early as the first decades of Ottoman rule in Hungary (it is certain, for example, that the income of the early *beylerbeyis* of Buda came, to begin with completely, then to a diminishing degree, from their *hases* south of the Drava and the lower Danube<sup>1</sup>). Nonetheless, keeping the Buda treasury in equilibrium needed more than this or the local income: further funds had to be sent from Istanbul.

The payments made to soldiers are known from various years in the three decades prior to 1570, and in some years the sums transferred from the capital are also indicated.

*Table 10*  
*Sums paid to soldiers by the vilayet of Buda and subsidies paid by the central treasury*

Year	Payments to soldiers Akçe	Subsidies from Istanbul Akçe
March 25, 1544 – March 14, 1545	25,227,240 <sup>2</sup>	?
Dec. 18, 1552 – Dec. 6, 1553	17,655,266	22,073,785 <sup>3</sup>
Nov. 4, 1556 – Oct. 23, 1557	23,209,876	?
Oct. 24, 1557 – Oct. 13, 1558	23,062,862	16,916,945
Oct. 14, 1558 – Oct. 2, 1559	23,236,931	18,200,000 <sup>4</sup>
Dec. 20, 1568 – Dec. 9, 1569	27,927,424 <sup>5</sup>	10,231,000 <sup>6</sup>

- 1 Géza Dávid, 'Incomes and Possessions of the Beglerbegis of Buda in the Sixteenth Century', in Gilles Veinstein (ed.), *Soliman le Magnifique et son temps. Süleymân the Magnificent and His Time*. Paris, 1992, 385–390.
- 2 ÖNB Mxt 590, p. 11.: this sum is the payment to soldiers made in the first four quarter years—one whole year—of the six quarters appearing in the source.
- 3 ÖNB Mxt 590, p. 70.
- 4 The data for the three years between 1556 and 1559 Fekete-Káldy-Nagy, *Rechnungsbücher*, 425–426, 570, 674.
- 5 ÖNB Mxt 617, pp. 12, 22. The soldiers were paid in the second half of the year 976 and the first half of 977 (December 20, 1568–December 9, 1569).
- 6 Ágoston, 'A magyarországi török végvárok fenntartásának', 321. The year of transfer is 977 (June 16, 1569–June 4, 1570).

From the data in the table the figures for two years pose problems. In the first quarter of the year between March 25, 1544 and March 14, 1545 the scribe took into account less than half of the number of soldiers, and as a result the payments made to soldiers are a fraction of the whole. One has strong doubts about payments made in 1552–1553 as well. Although it is true that from 1545 on there are early cases of soldiers with salary *timars*, the beneficiaries of which were no longer included among soldiers paid in cash, the modest sum saved by this could not surpass, or even balance, the expenditure connected to the growing number of fortresses. The low figure for payments to soldiers is in sharp contrast to the fact that the subsidies from Istanbul are the highest in this year; this, however, can be explained. At that time, not only did soldiers have to be paid, but the expenses of the 1552 war had to be met as well. The problems raised here do not bring into question the fact that the sum paid to the *vilayet*'s fortress soldiers was about 23–28 million *akçes* in the known years, which the Buda treasury could only meet with substantial subsidies from Istanbul.

These numbers have been known for decades. The set of data compiled by Gábor Ágoston from the accounts of the Buda treasury from the 1570s is more recent.<sup>1</sup> The data series and the economic/financial changes which are described in order to explain them can be summarized as follows. The territorial expansion of the Ottoman part of the country, the spread of taxation, the increasing revenues from cattle exports, and not least the financial measures of the two *paşas* of Buda—Sokollu Mustafa and his successor, the former imperial *defterdar* Kara Üveys—increased the revenues of the Buda treasury, which in the second half of the decade, between 1575 and 1578, no longer needed the support of Istanbul. By now it was receiving significant sums from Temeşvar, and its balance had turned from negative to positive.

The consolidation, however, was short-lived. The first signs of a new change for the worse, of the balance being upset, was noted by Joachim von Sinzendorf, the Habsburg emperor's emissary to Istanbul, as early as 1580, and reported to his master: according to his informer at the Porte the new *paşa* of Buda had asked yet again for the support of the central treasury.<sup>2</sup> Before the outbreak of

1 Gábor Ágoston, 'A hódítás ára', 351–383. Idem, 'The Costs of the Ottoman Fortress-System in Hungary in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in Géza Dávid–Pál Fodor (eds.), *Ottomans, Hungarians, and Habsburgs in Central Europe. The Military Confines in the Era of Ottoman Conquest*. Leiden–Boston–Köln, 2000, 210–222. The changes in the balance sheets of the Buda treasury were already pointed out by Finkel, *The Administration of Warfare*, 290–291. On the measures resulting in consolidation, see Klára Hegyi, 'Adatok Szokollu Musztafa és Kara Üveysz budai pasák konszolidációs kísérletéhez [Data on the attempts at consolidation made by Sokollu Mustafa and Kara Üveys, pashas of Buda]', *Történelmi Szemle* 54:2 (2012) 187–217.

2 Pálffy Géza, 'A magyarországi török és királyi végvárrendszer fenntartásának kérdéséhez [On the question of the maintenance of the Turkish and Royal fortress systems in Hungary]', *Keletkutatás* Spring (1995) 63–65.

the Fifteen Years' War, I know how much the Buda treasury paid to the soldiers in only one year. The calculation of the total which was sent from Buda to the capital<sup>1</sup> was dated for the half year between April 25 and October 18, 1591, and in the majority of fortresses it did indeed account for payment for six months, however, in some it covered nine months, in still others thirteen. From these data I calculated the total sum paid to soldiers in one year as 25,340,287 *akçes*, though as a result of all the necessary multiplications and divisions, we cannot consider this figure as being accurate down to the last *akçe*. We can, however, accept the figure of 25 million, and draw the conclusion that the growing number of soldiers with salary *timars* did not really ease the burden on the Buda treasury, except in the sense that without the salary *timars* this burden would have risen to over 30 million. Unfortunately the source does not include a section on income, so we do not know how much of the costs were paid out of local revenues and how much by external subsidies.

The financial indicators of the Temeşvar *vilayet* in the 16th century were significantly better than those of Buda, although from time to time they fluctuated as well. These changes were studied and published by Pál Fodor. Still in 1567, "40,000 gold coins (2,400,000 *akçes*) were transferred to Temeşvar to cover the pay of the *vilayet*'s soldiers [...] Knowing this, it is almost unbelievable that from 1569 onwards the treasury of Temeşvar was increasingly profitable, and from the end of the 1590s it subsidised the treasury of Buda with significant sums year after year: between 1569 and 1578 with 75,866 gold coins [rounded up, this comes to 4.5 million *akçes*—K.H.]. [...] The economic boom of the *vilayet* of Temeşvar is evidenced also by the fact that having sent financial support to Buda, the *defterdars* were still able to build up reserves and pay significant sums into the central treasury. In a sultanic decree dated October 14, 1588 it is claimed that since 1574 the local savings were 2,000,000 *akçes*, while the payments towards the central treasury amounted to an annual 50,000 *kuruşes* (3,500,000 *akçes*). [...] In 1591, when the treasury of Buda was on the point of total collapse, yet again Temeşvar did exceedingly well."<sup>2</sup>

This excellent result was registered in the accounts of the treasury of the *vilayet* for the thirteen months between December 17, 1591 and January 4, 1593.<sup>3</sup> The total assets of the provincial treasury were 10,812,449 *akçes*, which, besides thirteen months' income amounting to 10,669,653 *akçes*, included 142,796 *akçes* surplus carried over from the previous year. The greater part of this income came from basically agricultural production: 5,877,752 *akçes* from the *mukataas*,

1 BOA MAD 3762.

2 Fodor, 'A temesvári vilájet', 200. (In the text the sum of 400,000 gold pieces appears due to a typographic error.)

3 BOA MAD 15696, pp.1–2.



financial units composed of various state revenues, 2,680,706 *akçes* from *cizye*, 967,939 from sheep tax, 1,143,256 *akçes* from numerous smaller sources. The 2,637 soldiers serving in the fortresses of the *vilayet*, paid in cash, were due 6,271,931 *akçes* annually. By the time the wages of day labourers and their material needs had been covered, expenditure had risen to 7,520,020 *akçes*. The income of the *vilayet* was enough for 1,868,614 *akçes* to be paid into the central treasury, while 830,730 were sent to the Buda treasury to help with the soldiers' wages. Finally there was a contribution of 350,000 to fit out the ships of the sultan's fleet: they were able to spend altogether 3,049,244 *akçes* on these external items. And after all this, a surplus of 243,085 (according to the mistaken calculations of the scribe 260,520) *akçes* was carried over to the following year.

Before taking a look at the disastrous wartime budgets of the turn of the century, it is worth listing the major, comprehensive measures which yielded rather modest profits as well as the distinctly petty ones which aimed at austerity.

We would be justified in believing that the general method of making wider use of salary *timars* in the hope of easing the financial burdens on the treasury was only a false solution. After all, in the end transferring incomes to fortress soldiers as *timars* meant subtracting them from state revenues: what the treasury saved on the one side was given away on the other. The people in charge of income management in Buda, however, made sure this would not be the case here.

Granting *timars* to soldiers was, above all, made possible by the great increase in the amount of tax paid to 'landlords' between 1560–1580 (naturally this did not include the *cizye* due to the state). In the *sancak* of Šimontorna between 1565 and 1580 the average amount of tax levied on one settlement increased from 5,078 *akçes* to 6,960; for an average tax-paying household it rose from 236 to 364 *akçes*.<sup>1</sup> This represented a major increase in the tax burden, which, besides changes in the population and production, might have been caused by the fact that the treasury kept little of the revenues of the *sancak*, while it intended to use them to maintain a large number of soldiers. The men who prepared the survey register presumably inflated the revenues that could be expected in the hope that they could pay more people from them. The majority of the income of the Buda *sancak*, however, was appropriated by the treasury and the high-ranking officers of Buda; even in 1580 only 224 salary *timar* holders received a share of altogether 4%.<sup>2</sup> I believe that this may have been the reason why taxes did not rise by so much here, although they did start in 1562 from a higher sum. In the largest district of the *sancak*, the Pest *nahiye*, there were 132 settlements which

1 Dávid, *Simontornya Sancağı*, 130–131.

2 In more detail: Hegyi, *Török berendezkedés*, 64.

were inhabited both in 1562 and 1580. The total 'landlord's tax increased between the two dates from 1,100,849 *akçes* to 1,380,109; the tax on a household paying tithe increased from 295 to 328 *akçes*.<sup>1</sup>

The best example to illustrate how the treasury set unreal taxes to cater for the fortress soldiers who had been assigned *timars* is the Jászság, is the area located in the northern part of the territory between the Danube and the Tisza. At the time of the first Ottoman *sancak* registration, the treasury treated the town of Jászberény and the twelve Jazygian villages located in the territory as a single unit. In the *mufasssal defteri* only the population of the settlements was registered in the customary manner, their crops and taxes were not. Instead, the collective rights of the Jazygians, which they had enjoyed since the Middle Ages, were recognised: "The *varoş* of Yazberin with 12 villages did not pay earlier, in the time of kings, either tithe or *cizye*; as they used to pay an annual 600 *floris*, calculating the value of the *flori* at 50 *akçes*, as well as 2,500 *kile* of wheat and 2,500 *kile* of barley, according to old customs, so this is how it has been registered in the new *defter* of the sultan." Changing the collective tax that had been due to the Hungarian kings, the first Ottoman survey register levied a lump sum of 67,500 *akçes* in tax on the Jazygians,<sup>2</sup> which presumably was not taken at all seriously in Buda.

This great fairness probably stemmed from an order by the imperial council to alleviate the general terror that followed the appearance of the first Ottoman registrars.<sup>3</sup> In the following assessment of 1559 and the redistribution of *timars* based on this<sup>4</sup> the Jazygian settlements already appear with individually levied taxes to be paid to the *timariot*, the sum of which is three times the original 67,500: 219,802 *akçes*. This was only the beginning of the process; by 1570 the combined tax on the thirteen Jazygian settlements amounted to 313,662,<sup>5</sup> and in another decade it rose to 390,614 *akçes*. This latter sum can be calculated from the 1580 *icmal defteri*<sup>6</sup> of the *sancak* of Hatvan, which also indicates that by this time, of the whole Jászság the treasury had kept only Jászberény (the tax of 180,000 *akçes* it had to pay on its own was almost three times as much as the sum that all the Jazygians had to pay in 1546). All the villages had been distributed as *timars*. Among the beneficiaries several fortress soldiers had already appeared; the taxes of five Jazygian villages partially or wholly maintained them.

1 Gyula Káldy-Nagy, *A budai szandzsák 1546–1590. évi összeírásai. Demográfiai és gazdaságtörténeti adatok*. [The survey registers of the sancak of Buda between 1546 and 1590. Demographic and economic historical data]. Budapest, 1985, the settlements of the *nahiye* of Pest.

2 Fekete, *A hatvani szandzsák*, 79.

3 Sahillioğlu, *E-12321 Numaralı Mühimme*, No. 347. Dávid–Fodor, *Az ország ügye*, No. 87.

4 BOA Tapu 315 and 318.

5 Bayerle, *A hatvani szandzsák adóösszeírása*, 76–96.

6 BOA Tapu 662.

The treasury only profited from the drastically increased taxes. While their revenues barely decreased, the hard work of the Jazygians maintained numerous senior officers and soldiers, who were responsible for extorting the often sky-high levies from the villages. Jászladány was a good example of this: its due contribution of 4,223 *akçes* in 1559 was already 17,100 *akçes* in 1580. This had probably little to do with how much the village produced, but was, on the other hand, the exact equivalent to the sum due to a *müstahfiz* or an artillery unit of ten. At this time it was granted to one of the *müstahfiz* units of Canfeda.<sup>1</sup>

The way in which the treasury allocated collective *timars* to infantry units in fortresses was another way of making profit. Based on their daily pay, the annual remuneration of soldiers was calculated using the so-called ‘two-thirds’ (*sûlsan*) system: they were due two-thirds of their daily pay multiplied by one thousand (in other words for every 3 *akçes* a day they received 2,000 *akçes* from the shared estates). Thus if a man used to be paid 6 *akçes* a day, his annual income now became 4,000 *akçes*, if 9 *akçes*, then he was entitled 6,000 *akçes* a year – at least in theory. The *sûlsan* system was mainly used in the case of soldiers who, as a result of some great military achievement—or useful connections—obtained *timars* in their own right, and were promoted from fortress defenders to *timar* holders.<sup>2</sup> Among the garrison soldiery it was mainly senior officers who were granted this fortunate position, and by no means all of them. The corporals and ordinary soldiers, on the other hand, had to make do with far less income than was prescribed by the rules of *sûlsan*: most often they were granted as a squad, as one unit, the tax income of as many villages and farmsteads as covered their more modest wages.

The captain of the inner fortress of Sigetvar received a daily wage of 30 *akçes* the day before the new calculation was introduced; under the *sûlsan* system this was replaced by a *ziamet* with the annual income of 20,000 *akçes*. The daily pay of 23 *akçes* due to the captain of the outer fortress, on the other hand, was exchanged for a *timar* bringing in 8,000 *akçes* instead of the prescribed 15,180. Considering only the figures, the corporals and ordinary soldiers had the worst deal. The corporals of the *müstahfizes* with 8 *akçes* a day and their ordinary soldiers with 7 *akçes* should have been granted shares in *timars* yielding respectively 5,333 and 4,666 *akçes* annually. Instead, (apart from a few individual exceptions) the corporals were given the right to collect 1,700 *akçes*’ worth of tax, the ordinary soldiers 1,600 *akçes*. These figures were general among the *müstahfizes* and artillery of important, better paid garrisons, while the corporals of *azabs* were allocated an income of 1,500, and ordinary soldiers 1,400 *akçes*

1 BOA Tapu 662, p. 66.

2 Letters of appointments, *berats*, drafted for such cases were published by Schwarz, *Osmanische Sultansurkunden*, 215–221.

(naturally, inconsistencies occurred as well). In garrisons located further south which were paid less originally, lower incomes were common. For example, the *müstahfizes* of Segedin or Sekçöy were allocated the same income as the *azabs*, which was 1,500 for corporals and 1,400 *akçes* for ordinary soldiers. Only one branch stands out from this general rule: artillerymen were often granted salaries that were 1,000 *akçes* higher than those of *müstahfizes*. (It is to be noted, however, that even relatively low payments were higher in Hungary than in the Balkans.) Thus income categories differed somewhat, but what they all had in common was that unless remuneration was calculated according to the *sûlsan* system the soldiers' income was far less than it used to be when they were paid in cash. The method not only meant that the treasury's direct savings increased, but it also suited a more general concept. With the passing of time the Ottoman state relied increasingly on the *sipahis* and fortress soldiers instead of tax collectors and tax farmers to collect taxes, which meant a license to rob freely.

Another seemingly small, but later significant trick employed by the treasury was—as was the practice with the ordinary *sipahis*—to include the nominal revenue from settlements in royal Hungary in the salaries of fortress soldiers serving on the borders. This meant that, for example, nine tenths of the 17,100 *akçes* due to a *müstahfiz* squad came from reliably tax-paying villages well inside the *sancak*, while the rest was supposed to come from the not-yet tax-paying settlements that were still in royal territory. In the above-quoted *timar defteri* of the *sancak* of Hatvan from 1580, among the *timars* of fortress soldiers, villages in the vicinity of Hungarian fortresses also appear with a nominal income of 100–300 *akçes*. This only saved the treasury 1,750 *akçes* in the *sancak* of Hatvan, the annual pay of a single *müstahfiz*. So far the idea seems insignificant, even if we know that it was applied in all the border *sancaks*. Its importance lay not in the smaller or greater sums that could be saved, but in the fact that together with the *sipahis* the fortress soldiers were also let loose upon royal villages: they could round up their few hundred *akçes* by looting, then with their continuous pillaging force the villagers to pay regular tax.

The treasury made some profit—by no means negligible—by reducing payments to soldiers; at first slowly, then noticeably, and finally, in the 1560s, very obviously. The daily wages of the earliest garrisons do not show significant differences yet; in the fortresses, however, payments were not always equal either between the various branches, or even within them. So for example the corporals of the *müstahfizes* and artillerymen earned 7 or 8 *akçes* a day, ordinary soldiers 6 or 7 in the following distribution: in the first decade the majority, but at least half, of the soldiers were in the better paid category, but by the time the 1557–1559 pay lists were drawn up they were a minority, and in many places they had disappeared. Maybe this was done by always recruiting new men at a

lower salary. In a few large fortresses, such as Buda and Estergon, this practice continued, but in the majority of garrisons, this modest method was replaced by a direct reduction of wages. In İstolni Belgrad the defenders started off with wages as high as those in Buda, but by 1569 the initial pay of *faris*, *azab* and *martolos* units was lower by one *akçe* a day. Between 1558 and 1561 the daily wages of troops in all three fortresses in the *sancak* of Solnok fell by one *akçe*. In Kalaça only the payment of the *martoloses* can be studied. From 1569 their corporals had to make do with 5 *akçes* a day instead of the original 6, their ordinary soldiers with 4 *akçes* instead of the original 5, and the same happened to the *martoloses* of numerous other fortresses. Considering the fortresses that were captured in 1566, we find that soldiers who were transferred into fortresses located on the south-western Transdanubian border—to Sigetvar, Bobofça, Berzenç —, took their earlier, relatively good wages with them, but the soldiers who did their service in Lak and Bak'an, located further back, had to be satisfied with wages which by 1569 had been reduced by one *akçe*. (The payments made in this period can be found in the database.)

Reducing wages was profitable for the treasury in two ways. The first does not need to be explained: a few thousand *akçes*, one per day per soldier, remained in the cashbox. The other way is indirect and was due to the fact that the annual remuneration of fortress soldiers paid with collective *timars* was calculated on the basis of what their daily pay had been. Lower wages meant lower income, so the treasury was able to maintain more men from the increased taxes levied on fewer villages.

## 2. Condition of Provincial Treasuries in the Wartime Years at the Turn of the 17th Century

The one and a half decades of the Fifteen Years' War led to the collapse of the central and provincial treasuries. Caroline Finkel, who has already been cited several times, made an enormous contribution to the collection and analysis of the wartime budgets drafted for the increased number of *vilayets* in Ottoman Hungary. To complement her work, I shall describe the financial crisis through five wartime budgets of the Buda *vilayet*. The value of the five consecutive budgets is that they demonstrate the seemingly impossible: how the critical state of the completely destitute Buda treasury could become even more disastrous.

In order to understand the issue and evaluate the data from the accounts, we must briefly look through and group the important items that appear in the records.

During the 16th century the main source of revenue of the Buda treasury were the *mukataas*—and the income from these grew continuously as a result of

improvements in the tax apparatus, the termination of wars, the restoration of productivity in Ottoman Hungary, the increase in cattle exports and so on. In 1558–1559 the *mukataas* brought 3,437,910 *akçes* into the treasury, in the following year 4,469,170,<sup>1</sup> and this includes all sorts of items from taxes on produce to customs duties, from market dues to other forms of duties. The *cizye*, the tax paid by non-Muslims, also constituted a significant sum. These two major sources of income were ensured by the existence of tax payers and their products; most money came from these.

The other large group of revenues was composed of four items. What was known as *beytülmal* came from the sale of unclaimed properties (e.g. bequests), while the so-called *mabeyn* income was registered as such because the income from *timars* and the daily wages for posts that were temporarily unclaimed between the time the posts fell vacant and when they were refilled remained in the treasury. I put the *tezkere* and *berat* duties into this group as well; they were collected as fees for letters of appointment to *timars* and wage-paid posts. At first sight these items do not have much in common; they share, however, the feature that the majority of income stemming from them was paid in by ordinary *sipahis* and fortress soldiers.

This direction of monetary movement is even more obvious in the case of the next group, into which I put state sales of foodstuffs. These items show the prices and quantities of meat, corn, flour, occasionally bread and so on sold by the treasury to the garrisons as victuals for the soldiers.

Finally in almost all budgets we find a few items which do not really count as income, but are part of the treasury's stable reserve: surplus from the previous year, redemption of advance payment and debt or the profit stemming from the varying and favourable (for the treasury) exchange rates of different currencies.

The most exciting question when we examine accounts, and an unambiguous indicator of the state of the treasury, is which of these items dominates or produces the most income. In the peaceful and still bearable decades of the 16th century taxes levied on production brought in the highest—and increasing—profits: the income from *mukataas* and the *cizye* was far more than any other revenues. This is just the opposite in wartime budgets, which reflect the catastrophic situation of the tax-paying population and of production.

I shall stay with the 16th century for the time it takes to look at one table, in order to be able to make comparisons later. The treasury accounts of Buda<sup>2</sup> summarised here were drafted for the year 1553, when the surveyors had not yet

1 For the concept and content of the *mukataa* and the income of the two years, see Fekete–Káldy-Nagy, *Rechnungsbücher*, 756–761.

2 ÖNB Mxt 590, p. 70.

found all the fishponds, farmsteads and mills that could pay duties, the poor were not yet taxed, and there were few cattle that could be exported to the west and the revenues stemming from this source were small, and on top of all this a war was being fought in the country. This, then, was an early budget, still it was very different from those drawn up at turn of the century. The table based on it indicates how the income of the Buda treasury were divided up among the above income items.

*Table 11*  
*Revenue sources of the Buda treasury in 1553*

Revenue type	Akçe	%
Mukataas	3,288,755	37.5
Cizye	1,857,192	21.2
Beytülmal, mabeyn, tezkere- and berat fees	758,903	8.7
Victuals sold to fortress soldiers	703,246	8.0
Sale and rent of government-owned property	136,397	1.6
Treasury surplus, profits on exchange, repayments	2,017,206	23.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>8,761,699</b>	<b>100.0</b>

What percentage of the fee for letters of appointment the soldiers had to pay remains a mystery, but it is certain that it was the greater part. They also paid for their victuals (the defenders of Buda alone paid 617,710 *akçes* for their daily food). We can presume that these two items represent 15–16% of the total income of the treasury; the other sources were real state revenues, the majority of which, about 60%, came from taxes levied on the population, production and trade.

The above accounts naturally include payments to soldiers and the subsidies received from the central treasury (which were shown in the first table in this chapter). Here, however, I shall not mention them because we cannot be certain about the amount that was paid to soldiers, and presumably state subsidies not only financed payments to soldiers but the unpaid costs of the 1552 campaign as well, and these would result in misleading ratios. I did not include the costs of the campaign in the combined totals of the wartime budgets that follow. The first two show the budgets of the Buda *vilayet*, the other three, however, use an unusual method, showing the revenues of the whole *vilayet*, but the expenditures only of the Buda *sancak* (although fortresses that are located elsewhere are sometimes mentioned; I will indicate these in each case). I divide the combined totals of the accounts into three parts: 1. main categories of revenue, 2. within this the details of the revenue sources of the treasury of Buda, 3. payments made to soldiers (the total sums paid are always higher than this, as a smaller part was spent on the daily wages of civilians).

The first combined totals refer to the accounts of the income and expenditure of the Buda treasury covering *8 months and 10 days* between November 9, 1599 and July 12, 1600.<sup>1</sup> The data are summarised in Table 12.

*Table 12*  
*Revenues and expenditure of the treasury of Buda, 1599–1600*

Main categories of revenue	Akçe	%
Support from the campaign treasury	9,305,640	78.7
Revenues of the Buda treasury	2,522,385	21.3
<b>Total income in cash</b>	<b>11,828,025</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Revenue sources of the Buda treasury		
Mukataa	418,031	16.6
Cizye	125,320	5.0
Beytülmal, tezkere and berat fees	393,705	15.6
Victuals sold to fortress soldiers	886,065	35.1
Sale or rent of government-owned property and copper	18,124	0.7
Treasury surplus, repayments	681,140	27.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,522,385</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Payments to soldiers		
Local soldiers of Buda, Esterгон and other fortresses	6,165,771	
Enlisted troops in palankas belonging under Buda	1,123,502	
Yeniçeris serving in Buda	1,465,244	
Other troops from the Porte serving in Buda and Pest	2,379,488	
<b>Total payments to fortress soldiers</b>	<b>11,134,005</b>	

The most important lesson to be drawn from these figures is that the war-torn province was only able to cover 21.3% of its overall costs, and only 22.7% of the payments to soldiers, who were heavily reinforced by troops from Istanbul. This was the treasury's problem. The other, more tragic conclusion is that the population and production of the *vilayet* of Buda had been devastated to such an extent that their taxes appearing in the *mukataas* and *cizye* accounted for no more than 21.6% of the total local revenue—this was the tragedy of the province and the population. It is also striking that the treasury recouped 8% of the soldiers' salaries in payments for victuals and 3.5% in fees paid for their letters of appointment. These two items borne by the soldiers together mean that exactly half of the revenues (35.1 + 15.6%) received by Buda were actually paid into the treasury by the men serving in the fortresses.

The next account book covers *17 months and 10 days* between February 24, 1601 and July 20, 1602.<sup>2</sup>

1 ÖNB Mxt 638, pp. 2–3, 5.

2 ÖNB Mxt 635, pp. 21–23, 25.



**Table 13**  
*Revenues and expenditure of the treasury of Buda, 1601–1602*

Main categories of revenue	Akçe	%
Support from the campaign treasury	15,316,475 <sup>1</sup>	81.6
Revenues of the Buda treasury	3,454,803	18.4
<b>Total income in cash</b>	<b>18,771,278</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Revenue sources of the Buda treasury		
Mukataa	915,811	26.5
Cizye	274,569	7.9
Beytülmal, tezkere and berat fees	212,743	6.2
Victuals sold to fortress soldiers	1,595,717	46.2
Sale or rent of government-owned property	48,108	1.4
Treasury surplus, repayments	407,855	11.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,454,803</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Payments to soldiers		
Payment to local soldiers of the vilayet, 15 months	12,560,067	
Soldiers recruited for the defence of Buda, 12 months	428,646	
To cover unpaid sums due to soldiers	142,819	
Money due to soldiers absent (e.g. captives) at time of payment	1,276,080	
Yeniçeris serving in Buda for, 12 months	1,724,394	
<b>Total payments to fortress soldiers</b> <sup>2</sup>	<b>16,132,006</b>	

The majority of the figures show further deterioration. The revenues received by the Buda treasury covered just 18.4% of the total expenditure and 21.4% of the payment due to the soldiers stationed there. Even though the period covered was twice as long as the previous one, the income of the Buda treasury was not twice, but less than one and a half times what it had been. The items indicate a temporary improvement at only one point: the revenues from *mukataas* and the *cizye* rose to 34.4% of total local revenue. The soldiers, on the other hand, lived on less and less, as they spent almost 10% of their salaries on buying food from the treasury.

The remaining three accounts cover a single period.<sup>3</sup> The first day is February 24, 1601, the last June 10, 1603. The *26 months and 10 days* between these two dates were divided into three sections by the scribe:

1. From February 24, 1601 to October 13, 1601, *7 months and 25 days* (this account starts on the same day as the one summarised in the previous table, but sums up a shorter period, hence the difference between the two).
2. From October 13, 1601 (sic) to July 21, 1602 *9 months and 15 days*.
3. From July 21, 1602 to June 10, 1603 *11 months*. The numbers in the columns of the table indicate this.

1 The sum was composed of two parts, which were registered far from each other. The subsidy paid for this year was 15,174,636 *akçes*, while the surplus of an earlier one was 141,839.

2 Besides *yeniçeris*, many other central units were stationed in the *vilayet*; however, they were not mentioned in the account; therefore the total sum paid to soldiers must have been higher.

3 BOA MAD 6766. The source was published in a Latin transcript: Finkel, *The Administration of Warfare*, Appendix 13–16.

Table 14

*Revenues and expenditure of the treasury of Buda, 1601–1603*

Items of the account	1		2		3	
	Akçe	%	Akçe	%	Akçe	%
Main categories of revenue						
Support from the campaign treasury	6,003,965	78.3	9,283,850	82.6	10,926,040	85.2
Revenues of Buda treasury	1,673,591	21.7	1,962,036	17.4	1,903,269	14.8
Total income in cash	7,707,556*	100.0	11,245,886	100.0	12,829,309	100.0
Revenue sources of Buda treasury						
Mukataa	802,926	48.0	114,685	5.8	429,962	22.6
Cizye	66,840	4.0	207,729	10.6	7,440	0.4
Beytülmal, tezkere and berat fees	73,306	4.4	92,742	4.7	260,573	13.7
Victuals sold to fortress soldiers	706,813	42.2	889,884	45.4	1,146,945	60.3
Sale or rent government-owned property	23,706	1.4	28,002	1.4	19,282	1.0
Smaller items	–	–	247,440	12.6	–	–
Treasury surplus	–	–	381,554	19.4	39,067	2.0
Total	1,673,591	100.0	1,962,036	99.9	1,903,269	100.0
Payments to soldiers						
The local soldiers of Buda and the sancak of Buda	4,862,014		8,371,044		8,300,816*	
Other fortress folk	319,371		–		199,910	
Ziamet and timar holders paid in cash	–		–		199,455	
Yeniçeris serving in Buda	853,047		865,046		1,930,256	
Other central units	11,541		195,954		41,846	
Bosnian musketeers	–		24,000		–	
Total payments to fortress soldiers	6,045,973		9,456,044		10,672,283	

\* The scribe made a mistake in the addition; his result is 7,874,414.

\* As if this item did not only contain the payment made to the soldiery of the Buda *liva*: the scribe mentions the soldiers of Kopan, Şimontorna, and İstolni Belgrad who were in service somewhere else around that time.

Many conclusions can be drawn from this sea of figures, and they all point towards continuous deterioration. Instead of a long analysis I shall stay with the points of view used so far. The first, most informative row of numbers shows the decreasing contribution of the *vilayet* of Buda to the costs: in 1601 21.7%, in 1601–1602 17.4%,<sup>1</sup> while in 1602–1603 it was 14.8%. The collapse of the provincial treasury in itself would be the internal affair of the Ottomans, had the fact and the distribution of revenues not reflected the way in which Ottoman Hungary, which had been turned into a battlefield, was being bled dry. While in 1601 the revenues stemming from the productive work of tax-payers, the income from *mukataa* and *cizye*, accounted for a uniquely high share, 52% of Buda's total local revenue, this percentage fell to just 16.4% and 23% in the subsequent two periods. As the income from taxation, customs and other production-related revenues declined, so the relative importance of payments recouped by the

1 This contribution, rounded down to 17% is quoted by Finkel, *The Administration of Warfare*, 290.

treasury from the local fortress soldiers increased: 46.6%, 50.1% and finally 74%. The greater part of this was always money paid to the state for the victuals that the garrisons were obliged to buy. A smaller, but significantly increasing ratio was pumped into the state treasury by new soldiers, recruited to fill the vacancies created by the large numbers of war casualties, as fees for their letters of appointment.

Finally we can compare the items in the accounts by looking at the extent to which the taxes levied on the ruined production covered the payments made to soldiers. This index is particularly appalling: 4.6% in 1600, in 1601 it was 6.3% in the longer period, 11.8% in the shorter one, 2.9% in 1602, and 3.4% in 1603. The figures, of course, indicate not only the loss of the ability to pay tax, but the ineffectiveness of tax collection as well. The practice in Ottoman Hungary was for the elected foremen of towns and cities to collect taxes from the inhabitants of a settlement, and to take them to the offices in the *sancak* centres and to the Ottoman *timariots*; if they had any opportunity to avoid doing this, presumably they took it. But the productivity of settlements was primarily destroyed by war. The capital of the Jászság, the once populous and wealthy Jászberény, which has been mentioned several times above, was deserted during the decades of the war, and its inhabitants only returned in the 1610s:<sup>1</sup> there was nobody to pay tax.

Budgets are modestly silent about whether the revenues really did come into the treasury, and whether the soldiers did actually receive their pay. Payments for the 'provisions' (*harçlık*) for individual soldiers or units of unspecified size are permanent items in account books registering daily income and expenditure. What they do not specify, however, is to how many people, for how long and for what purpose—advance payment, travel expenses or the repair of the collapsing roof of the barracks—they were granted. The ambiguity and recurrence of these entries, and the usually low sums registered in them strongly suggest that fortress soldiers were continuously trying to pry their unpaid wages out of the authorities, and the latter spent some money here and there to pay off their debt.

I do not know of any wartime budgets from other *vilayets*; I can only imagine their financial situation. The fact that the treasury of Temeşvar, which used to excel, faced problems of various degrees, can be concluded from the accounts of 1613, which will be discussed below. The same is true of the situation of Eğri. The figures of the treasury of Kanija between 1605 and 1607 indicate that the territory that used to sustain it, south-west Transdanubia, was completely devastated as a result of ongoing warfare there, and 90% of the expenses had to be covered by the state treasury.<sup>2</sup>

1 Klára Hegyi, *Jászberény török levelei* [Jászberény's Turkish letters]. Szolnok, 1988, No. 17, pp. 19–20, 27–28, 33, 75–76 (with summaries in German).

2 Finkel, *The Administration of Warfare*, 290.

### 3. After the Long War

The accounts drawn up in the 17th century reveal significant changes in comparison both to the 16th century and to the wartime period. The earliest of these, drafted on December 24, 1613, examines revenues and expenditures in each of the four *vilayets* in Hungary.<sup>1</sup> It differs from earlier accounts because, rather than listing all the various revenue categories, it shows just two sources of revenue—*cizye* and *mukataa*. This means that small amounts of money accruing from the lease of shops in Buda or the sale of copper but also the far larger sums relating to the compulsory purchase of food by soldiers are concealed within the *mukataa* revenues, or appear as possible financial sources in the final clause of the grand total. An apparent reason for the simplification might have been that the collection of such important treasury revenues was done by the administrative and military elite, who had been forced to become entrepreneurs.<sup>2</sup> The treasury only drafted the budgets, and supervised the redistribution of money that came in (soon they stopped doing even this). The second change is a logical consequence of the first: rather than support the provincial treasuries in Hungary with shipments of cash, the central treasury automatically assigned to them state revenues from extensive Balkan territories. The 1613 budget was presumably not an account of actual income and revenue, but a draft, as it planned to cover the payments of the fortress soldiers of the Buda *vilayet*, for example, from the income between 1611 and 1614. This does not detract from the value of the source at all, as earlier accounts do not mention either whether the revenues were really paid in or whether the soldiers received their wages. A more serious drawback of the budget is that it only includes the number of paid soldiers and the sums due to them in the *vilayets* of Buda and Temeşvar, and not in the other two.

The combined totals of income and expenditure of Buda referred to 9,521 paid fortress guards in the *vilayet*, 8,108 of whom were serving in fortresses north of the river Drava, while 1,413 soldiers defended the strongholds in the *sancak* of Sirem, Semendire (Smederevo) and Alacahisar (Kruševac). Their total pay amounted to 23,789,495 *akçes*, of which 21,613,663 *akçes* were due to the fortress soldiery of the *vilayet* as far as the Drava. Thus even then there was a difference between the Balkan and Hungarian payments to soldiers to the benefit of the latter: while the defenders of Sirem and Serbia made up 14.8% of all fortress soldiers, their wages amounted to only 9.1% of the total sum allocated to payment. It is to be noted that the defenders of the *sancaks* of Şimontorna, Ko-

1 BOA MAD 1002, Buda on pages 6–8, 10–11 and 20, Temeşvar on pages 35–37, Eğri on 31–32, and Kanija on 27–29. The other copy of the account of the Buda *vilayet* with exactly the same figures ÖNB Mxt 612, pp. 3–6.

2 Fodor, *Vállalkozásra kényszerítve*, especially 89–101.

pan, Seksar, Mohaç (= Peçuy) and Segedin were paid using the 'seventy calculation', *behesab-i sebin*, which means that they only received 70% of their wage, while 30% remained in the treasury. The same fate befell the soldiery of the sancak of Sirem, Semendire and Alacahisar as well.

The draft contains the complete budget of the Buda *vilayet*, which includes northern Serbia as well, and as a result can only be examined as a unit. Most of this payment of almost 24 million *akçes* due to soldiers was contributed by Balkan taxpayers. The first substantial block of revenue came from state taxes, mostly from the *cizye*. In the Balkans, however, an 'extraordinary' (although long since regularly collected) state war tax was added to this, the *avarız*. The uneven tax burden was manifest not only in this, but also in the fact that Balkan tax units, the *hanes*, had to pay 220 *akçes cizye* and 70 *akçes avarız*, altogether 290 *akçes* (only the district of the Bosnian Foça got off more lightly: 2,664 of its *hanes* paid 220, 481 of its *hanes* 264 *akçes*), whereas the taxpayers north of the Drava had to pay 180 *akçes cizye* without *avarız*. (The tax units of the sancak of Esterгон contributed less, 176.5 *akçes*). The taxes of 16 Balkan districts, referred to as *vilayets*, were allocated to Buda. Most of these districts lay between the rivers Drava and Sava or were Serbian, but they included Bosnians too: the one located furthest to the north was the sancak of Sirem, the southernmost was the district of Podgorica. In Hungary, except for Segedin, the *cizye* tax of all the remaining sancaks of the *vilayet* of Buda was expected. Table 15 shows the distribution of tax units and the expected income from tax between the territories in the Balkans and north of the Drava.

Table 15

*The distribution of cizye and avarız allocated to the treasury of Buda, 1613*

Territory	Number of districts	Number and percentage of <i>hanes</i>		Tax revenue	
				Akçe	%
The Balkans	16	48,315	88.9%	13,812,364	92.7%
The vilayet of Buda	7	6,050	11.1%	1,086,000	7.3%
<b>Total</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>54,365</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>14,898,364</b>	<b>100%</b>

The other major source of income was the *mukataas*, which included all sorts of state revenues. The scribe provided this for three years, then divided the sum by three (not always accurately), then he subtracted the daily wages and expenses from the income (*mevacib-i kadime-i huddam ve ihracat-i saire-i mukataat-i mezbure*). As the subtraction interferes with the investigation of how much the Balkans contributed to state income, and how much the territory located north of the Drava did, I shall disregard it and calculate only on the basis of gross income.

Of the state revenues collected south of the Drava, it seems that by this time the greater part of the revenue of the Belgrade *mukataa* had already started

pouring into Buda; to this, however, a few new items were added around this time. The revenues of two *mukataas* and several harbours on the Sava, as well as the smaller income from Sirem, were separated (*ifraz*) from the treasury of Bosnia and allocated to Buda. 1,783,896 *akçes* of the total Balkan contribution was transferred via Buda to Eğri (this sum in the table does not appear here, but under Eğri). In the *vilayet* of Buda, the *mukataa* revenues of the once most profitable customs centre, Vaç, were used to cover the payments made to soldiers, to which two smaller sums were added (one of these was the lump sum of 350,000 *akçes* of *cizye* levied on Gypsies in the *vilayet*, to which Semendire and Alaca-hisar (Kruševac) were added). The distribution of the expected gross *mukataa* revenues of the two territories can be seen in Table 16.

Table 16

*The distribution of the mukataa revenues allocated to the Buda treasury, 1613*

Territory	Income from the <i>mukataas</i>	
	Akçe	%
The Balkans	6,206,101	67.5
The Buda vilayet	2,983,333	32.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>9,189,434</b>	<b>100.0</b>

The sum of the two direct sources of income, the *cizye* and *avarız*, which covered the wages of the Buda soldiery, and the revenues of the *mukataas* are summarised in the following table.

Table 17

*Distribution of the total income of the Buda treasury, 1613*

Territory	Total gross income	
	Akçe	%
The Balkans	20,018,465	83.1
The Buda vilayet	4,069,333	16.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>24,087,798</b>	<b>100.0</b>

The last known revenues of the *vilayet* of Buda are from 1602–1603, when they were enough to cover 14.8% of military payments. We can assume that in the last years of the war the productivity of taxpayers declined further, and this percentage was even lower. The period of seven years after 1606 barely improved the situation: the province's own income, considered as far as the Drava, only managed to approach the 17.4% it had contributed in 1601–1602. The calculations so far have been based on gross revenues; if we consider the net figures the results are even more depressing. According to the final summing up of the scribe, after subtracting of the operating costs of the *mukataas*, only 21,976,902 *akçes* remained to cover the wages due to soldiers, which totalled 23,783,495 *akçes*. The hastily drafted closure of the accounts lists a few extra sources which are difficult to calculate, and from which it was intended that the deficit (*kesr*) of

1,806,593 *akçes* would be made up: the *berat* and *tezkere* duties, the profits from exchange-rates, the sums due to missing soldiers which remained in the treasury. The closure seems to suggest to the *defterdar* of Buda that he should collect as much money as possible and do all he could.<sup>1</sup>

The *vilayet* of Temeşvar, which was not devastated every year by one campaign or another, emerged at the end of the war with less damage. Its accounts, or rather the draft budgets, include the payments to soldiers with the 'seventy calculation' and the revenues allocated to cover them for the first half of 1022, which was from February 21, to August 16, 1613. Of these, the *cizye* must already have been paid in, while the *mukataa* revenues were calculated at the same time as payments to soldiers. 2,996 cash-paid soldiers were registered in the fortresses belonging under Temeşvar, whose complete pay amounted to 9,119,098 *akçes*. In reality, however, they could only claim 70% of this, 6,383,368 *akçes*; the difference (2,735,730 *akçes*) was swallowed by the treasury.

The Temeşvar budget calculated with the same two major revenue categories as the Buda budget, with the essential difference that the *cizye* tax of the *vilayet* of Temeşvar does not appear at all. Both the size of this income and the way it was spent are shrouded in mystery, as this item does not appear in the budgets of other *vilayets* either. The *hane* of the three Bosnian subdistricts of Visoka, Pirepole (Prijeopolje) and Gorajde (Goražde), numbering altogether 8,575, were supposed to pay various amounts of *cizye* and *avariz*,<sup>2</sup> and from this (according to the slightly mistaken calculations of the scribe) they expected an income of 2,062,532 *akçes*. 301,000 *akçes* were expected as the *cizye* levied on the Gypsies living in the *vilayet* of Temeşvar, and the *sancaks* of Bosnia, Herzegovina, Kilis (Klis) and Kirka, so the total *cizye* income of 2,363,532 *akçes* (not counting the unknown contribution made by the Temesvár Gypsies) came from the Balkans.

From the gross revenues of the *mukataas*, on the other hand, 'Temeşvar and its dependencies' took the greater share: for three years, they had to produce a gross of 4,333,333 *akçes* annually, of which 455,465 were due to the Istanbul treasury. From the Balkans only the income from the sultan's *hases* in the sub-district of Ujiçe (Užice) was assigned to Temeşvar. This annual gross income was registered as 483,333 *akçes*. The distribution of the two major income sources is shown in Table 18.

1 The closure of the duplicate account (ÖNB Mxt 612) drafted on August 1, 1614, indicates a deepening of the crisis. According to this, a further one and a half million *akçes* were needed to cover the annual payment of the *gönüllüs* who had been discharged and then reinstated, which was to be covered from the 1614–1615 income of *mukataas* of Belgrade and Vidin and the *cizye* of Vidin from the previous year.

2 234 *hanes* were levied 290 *akçes*, 1,859 *hanes* 264, 4,866 *hanes* 236 and 1,616 *hanes* 220 *akçes*.

**Table 18**  
*The distribution of the revenues of the treasury of Temeşvar, 1613*

Territory	Cizye		Mukataa		Total	
	Akçe	%	Akçe	%	Akçe	%
Balkans	2,062,532	100	483,333	10	2,545,865	37
The vilayet of Temeşvar	—	—	4,333,333	90	4,333,333	63

The fact that the territory was able to produce 63% of the funds needed to cover the payment of fortress soldiers stationed in the *vilayet* indicates a considerable difference from the situation of Buda (although it is far from the 1591 results). The balance would be further improved if we knew the amount of *cizye* being paid in Temeşvar and if we knew how it was spent. There is another point that needs clarification: what exactly constituted the *mukataa* called ‘Temeşvar and its dependencies’: it is possible that Balkan income might be hidden here, since in the course of the 16th century many northern Balkan districts belonged for military purposes, and, or so it seems, often only temporarily, under Temeşvar’s authority.<sup>1</sup> We do not know what the situation in 1613 was in this regard.<sup>2</sup> What is certain, however, is that the scribe who drew up the final sums, after subtracting the almost half-million *akçes* assigned to the central treasury and the operating costs of the *mukataas*, arrived at exactly the amount needed to cover the payments to soldiers calculated with the ‘seventy calculation’, 6,383,368 *akçes*. The revenues of the *vilayet* covered just over two thirds of this. Comparing the budgets of Buda and Temeşvar we can see from the figures alone what a difference it makes in the life of a territory whether a war waging for one and a half decades devastated it every year or only once or twice.

Surprising as it may be, the situation of the treasury of Eğri in 1613 was not much weaker than that of Temeşvar, although its basic catchment area was thoroughly devastated by the Eğri campaign and the fighting for Hatvan and Solnok, while in its north-east zone the campaigns of the Principality of Transylvania raged. Still, in the end about 54% of funds for the payments due to the *vilayet*’s soldiers were produced by the taxpayers on its territory.

From the Balkans, the *cizye* of the two subdistricts of the *sancak* of İzvornik, the ‘*vilayet*’ of Brvenik and Kurpina (Krupanj) was assigned to Eğri, while from Hungary it received the *cizye* of the *sancak* of Segedin,<sup>3</sup> as well as the taxes paid

<sup>1</sup> Fodor, ‘A temesvári vilájet’, 198.

<sup>2</sup> The Balkan contribution is suggested by a note drafted on June 1, 1614 (so after the completion of the summing up) which was bound up among the Temeşvar pages of the 1613 budget; according to this note the tax on the *eflaks* (*floricis*) of Černa Reka belonging to Vidin as well as the *has*-revenues of Krivina in Vidin, altogether 600,000 *akçes* from the beginning of the year 1023, was spent on the wages of the garrison of Temeşvar. (For the list of the sultan’s *hases* located in the *sancak* of Vidin including Černa Reka and Krivina: Bojanić-Lukač, *Vidin i Vidinskijat sandžak*, 99–116).

<sup>3</sup> 1613 is the first and last known year when both the budget and the pay list of the *vilayet* of



by the Gypsies living in the districts of Eğri, Segedin, Mohaç and Sirem (this time it is the *cizye* of the *sancaks* of Hatvan and Solnok that are missing from the projected revenues; they were probably left for Buda). In the case of the Balkan tax payers, besides the *cizye* the *nüzul* was added, another ‘extraordinary’ state tax which in this period began to be levied on a regular basis, and the two were combined into a single sum of 290 *akçes* due from each *hane*; the tax payers of the Segedin *sancak* only paid 220 *akçes* of *cizye*. Among the budget items of the *mukataas* the Balkans were represented by the modest revenues of sultan’s *hases* in Yagodina (Svetozarevo), and the 1,783,896 *akçes* which were forwarded to Eğri from the Balkan revenues assigned to Buda.

Table 19  
The distribution of the revenues of the treasury of Eğri, 1613

Territory	Cizye		Mukataa		Total	
	Akçe	%	Akçe	%	Akçe	%
Balkans	1,183,200	59.9	1,890,686	40.3	3,073,886	46.1
The vilayet of Eğri	792,568	40.1	2,799,993	59.7	3,592,561	53.9

Thus in spite of the wartime devastation, the 1613 budget of the treasury of Eğri was not disastrous, and it was incomparably healthier than that of Buda. True, there were fewer soldiers to maintain (the source does not mention numbers, but we can estimate the figure at around 3,000 men including the units of the Porte). The consequences of the war are indicated by the fact that the territories in the northern and southern parts of the Alföld which used to pay plenty of tax in the 16th century and the wide, also tax-paying zones of the Hungarian Kingdom were able to maintain only a little more than half of these troops after the war.

The *vilayet* of Kanija was yet another disaster zone, whose situation was similar to that of Buda. In order to maintain an unspecified number of soldiers needing an unknown sum of money, the state tax was set at 290 *akçes* from each *hane* in the *sancak* of Pojega and five Bosnian subdistricts, including the *cizye* and *nüzul*, as well as the very modest income from the *cizye* of the Gypsies of numerous Balkan subdistricts (and the *liva* of Peçuy and Sigetvar). It was also allowed to keep the *cizye* from its own territory, which levied 180 *akçes* on 4,800 *hanes*, and 100 *akçes* on 1,000 *hanes*. The number of tax units, the amount of tax and the contribution of the two territories are all strongly reminiscent of the proportions found at Buda: 87.4% of revenues were paid in by Balkan tax payers, while 12.6% were paid by south Transdanubian tax payers. The distribution of the *mukataa* revenues, on the other hand, is similar and its total value, even the

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Buda (MAD 4000) considered the *sancak* of Segedin as part of Eğri. To be more precise: the pay list noted in connection with the soldiers paid in the fortresses under Segedin that they belonged to Eğri; however, the scribe registered them together with the Buda troops.

gross figure which I use in my calculations, is significantly lower than that of the *cizye*. From the Balkans, the revenues of the *mukataa* of Tuzla and the sultan's *hases* in Gradčanica (Gračanica), from the banks of the Drava the revenues of the harbour of Ösek and its dependencies, were assigned to Kanija; from the province the *mukataa* revenues of Peçuy, Sigetvar and Şikloş, as well as the cattle duty due to the *vilayet* were used to cover the expenses of maintaining the soldiery. The combined total of the revenues indicates that instead of the war-time 10%, the *vilayet*'s contribution to the treasury's assets had increased to 20%. The distribution of the revenues is shown in Table 20.

*Table 20*  
*The distribution of the revenues of the treasury of Kanija, 1613*

Territory	Cizye		Mukataa		Total	
	Akçe	%	Akçe	%	Akçe	%
Balkans	6,696,000	87.4	768,500	47.0	7,464,500	80.3
The vilayet of Kanija	964,000	12.6	866,666	53.0	1,830,666	19.7

By adding up the final figures of the four *vilayets*, we find out how much the northern part of the Balkan Peninsula, stretching from Bosnia to Vidin, including the territory between the Drava and Sava, contributed to the maintenance of the fortress soldiers stationed in Hungary who were paid in cash, who constituted the majority, and to what extent the funds came from Ottoman Hungary, which was being guarded by those soldiers. The total gross revenue was expected to be 46,928,609 *akçes*, to which the Balkans contributed 33,102,716 *akçes* or 70.5%, while the territory conquered by the Ottomans paid in 13,825,893 *akçes* or 29.5%. The *vilayets* of Buda and Kanija produced a significantly lower sum, as the long war laid waste the western part of Hungary every year. The province of Eğri suffered somewhat less and as a result was better off. As for Temeşvar, it was located at a safe distance from military roads, and survived the disasters of the war with the least damage.

Another account of the *vilayet* of Kanija survives from six years later;<sup>1</sup> it recorded the state revenues assigned to pay soldiers for the year between December 19, 1618 and December 7, 1619. Although only about half a decade had passed since the previous budget, the numbers show further, significant improvement. This, of course, is only true in comparison with 1613. 70% of the money needed to maintain the fortress soldiers belonging to Kanija was still supplied by the tax payers of the Balkan Peninsula, and the collection of revenues and payment to soldiers did not go smoothly: the account was dated August 20, 1620, a good three quarter-years after wages should have been made, most of which were supposed to be covered by the 1618 *cizye*. Looking at the long de-

<sup>1</sup> BOA MAD 2586, pp. 2–3.

lays one begins to wonder if there is real money behind the figures or the whole thing is a sort of financial charade.

This time, the sums to be paid to soldiers came from three sources: three quarters from the *cizye*, the rest in more or less equal parts from *mukataas*, and 'mixed' (*müteferrika*) income. The *vilayet* was able to make a modest contribution to this with the revenues of the two *sancaks*, Sigetvar and Peçuy, which had to be complemented with the income of two less valuable Balkan *mukataas* and the *cizye* tax of eight Balkan subdistricts (among the latter four populous districts were also allocated, Pojega, İzvornik, Sirebreniçe (Srebrenica) and Leskofça (Leskovac). Seemingly, the last, 'mixed' income source was supplied by Kanija alone. This, however, also included profits of Balkan origin which cannot be separated out, as for example the largest item, the exchange-rate profit on money arriving in Kanija, stemmed mostly from Balkan revenues. The scribe predicted an outlay of 12,615,740 *akçes* in pay—1.1% of which was not allocated to soldiers—and an income of 12,101,481 *akçes* (from the items I calculated 12,099,761 *akçes*; this is what I consider as 100%), then having subtracted expenses from income, he arrived at a deficit of 514,259 *akçes* (although he tried very hard to scrape all the available money together: he even included among the 'mixed' income the bequest of a certain Hüseyin ağa, worth 360 *akçes*). The revenues and the territories providing them are summarised in Table 21.

Table 21  
*The income of the treasury of Kanija, 1619*

Territory	Cizye		Mukataa		'Mixed' revenues		Total	
	Akçe	%	Akçe	%	Akçe	%	Akçe	%
Balkans	7,731,626	87.3	649,873	37.3	—	—	8,381,499	69.3
Vilayet of Kanija	1,121,732	12.7	1,090,280	62.7	1,506,250	100	3,718,262	30.7

#### 4. Later Budgets of the 17th Century and the *ocaklık* System

Figures for the four *vilayets* of the 1610s indicate that the worst balance was that of Buda—which is not surprising, as the situation in the 16th century was the same. I do not know of any accounts from the *vilayets* of Eğri and Kanija from later decades of the 17th century. One which includes only revenues from Temesvar, and three more from Buda survive as well. Consequently, our scope for investigation is limited, but given the circumstances it is lucky that the Buda figures survived, as with their help we can follow up the further fate and the restoration of normal life in the most important, and at the same time most tormented province, albeit unfortunately with a considerable degree of uncertainty.

The accounts of the Buda treasury dated August 5, 1631<sup>1</sup> reveal that the

1 BOA MAD 5193.

greater part of the burden of payments to soldiers was still borne by Balkan tax payers; the contribution of the *vilayet* of Buda, however, increased from 16.9% in 1613 to 27.6%. Still, its production illustrates the sad consequences of war damage, while the modest improvement points to the fact that normal life was beginning to return to Ottoman Hungary.

Yet again the combined total includes the revenue from the two great sources, the *cizye* and the *mukataa*, whose combined gross income is given as 29,242,887 *akçes* (my final figure is 29,463,336 *akçes*, which I take as 100% when working out percentages). The revenue sources are summarised in Table 22.

Table 22  
*Revenues of the Buda treasury, 1631*

Territory	Cizye		Mukataa		Total	
	Akçe	%	Akçe	%	Akçe	%
Balkans	14,366,245	88.3	6,971,845	52.8	21,338,090	72.4
Vilayet of Buda	1,897,863	11.7	6,227,383 <sup>1</sup>	47.2	8,125,246	27.6

The *cizye* tax of 20 subdistricts in the Balkans and of 6 *livas* in the Buda *vilayet* was transferred to Buda, as well as that of the Gypsies. The 20 Balkan subdistricts yet again stretched from Semendire to Podgorica, including Sirem, northern Serbia and the eastern part of Bosnia, the tax of altogether 49,826 *hanes*. In the six *sancaks* of the Buda *vilayet* 8,684 *hanes* were registered.<sup>2</sup> According to this, 88.3% of the *cizye*, which came from the Balkans, was paid by 85.2% of all tax units, while 11.7%, which came from the *vilayet* of Buda, was paid by 14.8% of the *hanes*. These figures also indicate a slight improvement since 1613; the figure of 6,050 *hanes* for that year rose by almost 50%, and the income by exactly 50% (supposing it was paid). Since 1613 the sum of *cizye* had increased everywhere. The burden on Balkan tax payers was still greater, between 130 and 320 *akçes* for each *hane*, most often 320 *akçes*, with an average per unit of 287 *akçes* (this time no other tax besides the *cizye* was transferred to Buda), while Hungarian tax payers paid 201.5 *akçes* on average. This is 20 more than before, which, it seems, they were able to supply. The production that appeared in the *mukataa* revenues seems to have revived. In 1613 the *mukataa* revenues of the *vilayet* of Buda came to a rounded up figure of 3 million, now twice as much was predicted.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 The account considers the revenues of the two Balkan districts as part of the Vaç *mukataa* as well.
- 2 Unfortunately we do not know what was included in Ottoman Hungary in the 17th century *avariz hane*.
- 3 More precisely; if we disregard the two Balkan districts allocated to the inspectorate of Vaç, we can calculate with almost twice as much. Detailed examination of the data of the inspectorate of Vaç raises other questions: partial data do not add up to the final sum. The most likely explanation is that the scribe forgot to include the largest *mukataa*, that of Vaç, in this list.

In the *vilayet* of Buda, whose territory had been enlarged by three Balkan *sancaks*, the budget calculated with payments to 9,826 soldiers, 8,920 of whom served in the *vilayet* of Buda, while 906 were in the fortresses of the attached Balkan subdistricts.<sup>1</sup> Those who belonged to Buda constituted 90.8%, while the Balkan ones 9.2% of all soldiers. However, 95.2% of the total sums paid remained in fortresses belonging under Buda, and only 4.8% ended up in the Balkans: wages were still higher in Hungary than in the Balkans.

The new method of maintaining fortress soldiers, the *ocaklık* system, appears in this source with obvious importance. This practice of remunerating a group of soldiers who had previously been paid in cash by transferring a source of income, the *ocaklık*, to them, was gaining ground in the 17th century. This meant that from then on the collection of the *ocaklık* was the right and duty of the community of soldiers that had been invested with it.<sup>2</sup> The treasury stopped acting as a middleman, and got rid of the wearisome problem of having to pay soldiers even if revenues fell. The soldiers, on the other hand, and not only the ones paid with *timars* but also those who were paid in cash, were licensed to rob at will. A few *ocaklıks* assigned to garrison soldiers serving in the *vilayet* of Buda appeared as early as in 1613,<sup>3</sup> and by 1631 they had become quite widespread. At this time, the *ocaklıks* were not yet separated from the *cizye* revenues—at least the scribe did not indicate such a division for any item—, but about one quarter of the *mukataa* revenues, 28.1%, were made into ‘corporate usufruct’. As *ocaklık*, a total income of 3,711,194 *akçes* from nine Balkan and one Hungarian *mukataas* was turned over to the direct management of the fortress soldiers of the *sancaks* of Sirem, Seksar, Segedin, Kopan and Şimontorna, and the soldiers of Belgrade and Semendire; the men stationed in Erçin were allowed to collect the only Hungarian *mukataa*, the crossing toll at Erçin, estimated at 50,000 *akçes*.

The accounts of the Buda treasury thirty years later survive in two copies,<sup>4</sup> in which all the items and sums are identical. The combined total was dated November 13, 1662. This included more revenue sources than before; the two largest items were again the *cizye* and *mukataa* revenues; added to these we find the separately managed *hases* of the sultan and custom duties, as well as the smaller items of *berat* fees, the income from leases and profit on exchange rates. The main part of the *cizye* and *mukataa* income, which brought in the most money, still arrived from the Balkans, while the greater part of the *hases* of the sultan, customs duties and other income came from the Buda *vilayet*. The scribe calculated a total income of 37,312,411 *akçes* (my total was 59 *akçes* less,

1 Besides the soldiers of Sirem, Semendire and Alacahisar, 99 Shkodra men received their pay from the treasury of Buda.

2 Fodor, *Vállalkozásra kényszerítve*, 272.

3 Ibid., 285.

4 BOA Bab-i defteri, Baş muhasebe, Budin hazinesi kalemi 16727 and 16728.

37,312,352, and this is what I take as 100%). The total expenditure was 36,821,411 *akçes*, of which at least one million—but rather more—was spent not on payments to soldiers, but on the daily wages of civilians as well as on sundry expenses. About another million was allocated to cover the expenses of the defenders of fortresses which were not in Hungary but in the Balkans. According to this, the budget of the *vilayet* of Buda was positive: assuming that the taxes and other revenues were indeed paid (which we have very good reason to doubt), there was a surplus of 490,921 *akçes*.

My doubts stem not only from the question of whether the income was real, but also, in more general terms, from certain signs which suggest that the combined total is a copy of one or more earlier accounts. It is a little strange that the *mukataa* revenue of Nemçe (Hu. Németsi) in Sirem, which is described as ‘new’ for the first time in 1631, is listed as ‘new’ again here. Naturally, after thirty years with no sources at all, the doubt remains simply a suspicion. Compared to 1631, one clear change is that the contribution of the *vilayet* of Buda increased from 27.6% to 33.3%. We are in the last peaceful year before the war of 1663. The almost six decades of relative peace since 1606 must have repaired some of the damage done by the war. After all, it was hoped that the *vilayet* of Buda would now contribute one third of the wages due to soldiers. Production, however, was unable to recover, and the soldiery occupying the province continued to be maintained by the Balkans. The difference can be demonstrated yet again using the size of the size of the *cizye*. The Balkan tax units were uniformly imposed 338 *akçes*, only the migrant folk (*haymanegan*) paid less (with the result that the average burden on one *hane* was reduced to 333 *akçes*), while the Hungarian tax payers had to pay a different amount of *cizye*, with an average sum for one *hane* of 271 *akçes*. It thus seems that the 1631 average of 201.5 *akçes* had significantly increased, although it still fell behind the Balkan average by 60 *akçes*: the tax payers were unable to pay more.

The data of the 1662 accounts of the treasury of Buda are summarised in the usual way in Table 23.

*Table 23*  
*Revenues of the treasury of Buda, 1662*

Revenue source	From the Balkan Peninsula		From the vilayet of Buda	
	Akçe	%	Akçe	%
Cizye	14,845,335	87.4	2,145,368	12.6
Mukataa	9,397,420	61.7	5,840,915	38.3
Has income	4,000	0.2	1,807,879	99.8
Customs duties	644,949	24.7	1,967,086	75.3
Berat fees and exchange profits	–	–	659,400	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>24,891,704</b>	<b>66.7</b>	<b>12,420,648</b>	<b>33.3</b>

In the analysed budget the scribe did not record which revenue was given directly to the soldiers. Luckily for us, this task was accurately performed by the scribe who drafted the following budget, for the year 1088, between March 6, 1677 and February 22, 1678.<sup>1</sup> This account enables us to estimate the amount of pure copying. Here the total income was 37,230,460 *akçes*, (81,951 *akçes* less than in 1662) and the expenditure 37,585,445 (764,034 *akçes* more than previously). The difference in income is insignificant, but in the expenditures it is higher, presumably because here a previously missing item of expense appears: 550,000 *akçes* with which the treasury of Buda subsidised that of Uyvar. However, as a result of these not particularly significant differences the treasury of Buda had a negative balance this time, a deficit of 354,985 *akçes*.

The income-expenditure figures are mostly unchanged, and so are the numbers of soldiers serving in the fortresses. In some details we can spot an increase or decrease, but these balance each other nicely. Maybe these small adjustments reflected reality: a subdistrict turned out to be unable to pay the *cizye* levied on it, the remitted sum, however, had to be paid by another subdistrict so that the deficit would not increase. Overall, we should be happy, because beside the numerous unchanged figures traditions were also preserved in another way: the transfer of the *mukataa* of Nemçe from Bosnia to Buda half a decade earlier was still described as ‘new’.

As nothing important changed, there is no point in making a table of this. It is, however, instructive to go through the revenues listed as *ocaklıks*, as they reveal a new way of maintaining fortress soldiers, which was completely different from the normal practice of the 16th century. The logic of the new method made the careful musters we met in the 16th century, as well as the originally quarterly, then less frequent, but always accurate calculation of the soldiers’ pay, redundant. How many days the *azab*, Hasan Abdullah spent at home on leave was no longer important; nor was the exact number of soldiers in each fortress. This is why the scribes of provincial treasuries copied the same numbers from one set of accounts into the next; the only issue the treasury was interested in was the approximate number of soldiers they had to take into consideration. The military leadership had to solve the problem of making sure that each garrisons would not shrink to a size which would endanger its defensive capacity, in order to have more per head—and it seems that they managed this.

Of the great categories of the 1677–1678 treasury revenues 98% of the *cizye*, 30% of the *mukataa* and 63% of the *has* revenues were allocated for direct use by soldiers as *ocaklıks* (only the customs duties were kept away from them). Al-

1 BOA Bab-i defteri, Baş muhasebe, Budun hazinesi kalemi 16729. A budget account survives from three years earlier (BOA MAD 16005), however, as a result of the poor quality of the copy I could not process and write it up.

though the treasury merely transferred revenues to soldiers in lieu of their payments, in reality it was handing over the vulnerable tax paying population of a district to them: let the garrisons squeeze as much profit out of them as they could, enough to make a living. If we considered the spread of salary *timars* in the 16th century as a form of institutionalised plundering of tax payers prescribed by the state, this is even more true of the *ocaklık* system, which turned the whole of the soldiery into tax collectors.

How the system was put into practice in detail we can only imagine. In 1662 the accounts calculated the wages due to soldiers of the Esterгон group of fortresses and of the day labourers at 4,568,252 *akçes*; now, fifteen years later, they were entitled to collect 4,273,248 *akçes* as *cizye* from three Bosnian and three Serbian subdistricts: Podgorica, Foça (Foča), Yenibazar (Novi Pazar), Leskofça, Resava (Manasija) and Niş (Niš), as well as from their own district of Esterгон. All this was given to the garrison as *ocaklık*, so that it would cover their wages, provisions and clothing. The tax to be collected from their own district was less than one quarter of the total sum due to them: more than three quarters had to be collected from far away. This could only have worked if, instead of the substantial apparatus that the state had once maintained for tax farming and collection, every garrison had to set up and maintain a smaller one. The treasury did not concern itself with distances (as two thirds of its revenues arrived from the Balkans, they could not really have done so). In 1631, 50,000 *akçes* out of the income from the river-crossing toll at Erçin were managed by the defenders of Erçin; now the sum (raised to 100,000 *akçes*) was granted to the soldiers of Val, and the Erçin men were left with the arduous task of somehow collecting the allocated sum of 346,080 *akçes* from the *cizye* tax on Gypsies in the Alacahisar, Semendire and Belgrade districts.

The greatest novelty emerges from the study of the sultan's *hases*. In the course of the 16th century the treasury had tried to find every possible way to increase the territories it managed, which provided not only *cizye* revenues but taxes paid to landlords, which the treasury itself received. The tax collectors had always been instructed to find ever newer sources of income, and to attach these to the sultan's *hases*. By now even this attempt had ceased. The accounts for 1677–1678 list only a modest number of *hases*: 22 inhabited settlements with three rich towns in the Alföld: Nagykőrös, Kecskemét and Cegléd, 15 farmsteads, the whole of Csepel island (on which at the end of the last century 13 villages had served as the sultan's *has* for the treasury besides the town of Ráckeve, as well as the tax on the *eflak* population of the Fedvar region. Their list is short: it fills no more than half of a page in the *defter*. But it becomes even shorter if we take out those places which the treasury allocated as *ocaklık* to soldiers. Of the settlements and revenues marked as the sultan's *has*, Kőrös, Kec-



kemét, Cegléd, and the village of Kosd continued to pay taxes to the *defterdar* of Buda, and he managed the revenues of the bridge at Buda, the fines paid in towns, and the insignificant sum stemming from the sale of unclaimed properties in Buda and Belgrade. The total income from the few remaining sultan's *hases* was 1,769,479 *akçes*, of which the *defterdar* supervised about one third, only 655,508 *akçes*. The rest became the soldiers' *ocaklıks*. The novelty was that the treasury not only tried to get rid of the places it used to tax so keenly, but it threw even the ones it kept as prey to the soldiers.

As a result of the drastic fall in the number of sultan's *hases*, in 17th century Ottoman Hungary it was considered very fortunate if a town or village was allowed to keep this status, which in spite of the arbitrary behaviour of state administrators, ensured far greater independence and security than the authority of a *sipahi* or a group of fortress soldiers. This situation, indeed privileged in the 17th century, lies behind the relatively complete preservation of the Alföld towns, which are used in Hungarian historiography as examples of urban development, as there is no doubt that soldiers-turned-landlords played a significant role in the collapse of the settlements which lost this status. The whole of Csepel island (*nahiye* of Kúvin) was granted as *ocaklık* to the *azabs* of Buda. Ráckeve (Kúvin) and the 13 villages on the island had been paying 27,047 *akçes* to the Turks since 1546, by 1590 the sum had been raised almost ten-fold, to 265,268 *akçes*. In the second part of the 17th century only five settlements were still inhabited; these paid 150,000 *akçes* in 1662, while in 1677 they paid 150,200 *akçes* to the *azabs* of Buda. It was not only the wars, but also the management of the *azabs* that could be held responsible for the destruction of the villages of the island and the disastrous decline of their ability to pay tax.

By the second half of the 17th century the *vilayet* of Temeşvar had recovered and was in much better shape than the Buda *vilayet*. From around 1670 the accounts of the *vilayet's* revenues survive<sup>1</sup> (at this time the *beylerbeyi* resided in Yanova, so the *vilayet* was also called Yanova). The accounts clearly do not include all sources of revenue, as the list only details the two main ones, the *mukataas* and the *cizye*, and not the lesser revenues; fortunately this absence does not seriously distort the picture, as the accounts inform us precisely of the main gist. The total income of the provincial treasury from these two sources was 20,658,879 *akçes*, 14,034,960 *akçes* from the *mukataas* and 6,623,919 *akçes* from the *cizye*.

The first source of revenue indicates flourishing, lucrative *mukataakas*. Their centres were at Yanova, Temeşvar, Çanad, G'ula, Pañcova, Virşiç, Lipova, Çakova, Modava, the harbour of Beçey, Şebeş, Lugoj, and the harbour of Irşova. The tax paid by the Gypsy population of the *vilayet* was also considered a *mukataa*,

1 BOA MAD 5449, p. 34.

as was the *cizye* of the pious foundations, *vakıfs* of Beçkerek and Arad, and a separate income from Yanova. Together these brought in 12,064,960 *akçes*, while the four Balkan *mukataas* assigned to complement this provided 1,970,000 *akçes*: 86% of income from *mukataaks* was of local origin, while 14% was Balkan. The total income from the *cizye* arrived from Temeşvar. If we combine these two sources, we find that of the total income of the provincial treasury 90.5% was local, and what is more it stemmed from productive work; the contribution of Balkan tax payers was only 9.5%. Unfortunately, the sum to be paid to soldiers at this time was not registered in the accounts, but an income of over twenty and a half million must have been more than enough to meet this expenditure.

I have not found budgets for Eğri or Kanija from the second half of the 17th century.

### 5. The *vilayets* of Varad and Uyvar

Varad and the majority of fortresses belonging to it were captured by imperial forces, so the garrison's first annual payment was covered by the campaign treasury, and presumably this happened in the case of Uyvar, too. According to the earliest accounts of the Varad treasury<sup>1</sup> payments to soldiers started on November 4, 1660 (Varad fell on August 27). By January 21, 1662, wages had been distributed five times, each for a period of three months, for a total of 6,173,099 *akçes*. In order to cover this sum, money was allocated from the campaign (then the Istanbul) treasury four times; to this was added some minor local income (a sum of a quarter of a million was transferred here from the *nüzul* tax of the *vilayets* of Buda, Eğri and Kanija): altogether this amounted to 6,102,564 *akçes*. My own assumption, which is based on the great similarity between the numbers appearing in the budget and the periods of payments made to soldiers, is that the campaign treasury only advanced the necessary sums.

The capture was followed by a quick registration of the territory belonging to Varad; from then on the intention was to meet expenses from local revenues. As a result of the short period of time, the account kept up to January 10, 1663 allows us only to guess that the assessed taxes and planned revenues were really paid in. The lump sum (*maktu*) from 21 settlements referred to as towns (their tax burden varied widely, and included a village paying 15,600 *akçes* as well as the town of Debrecen, which provided one million), the *cizye* of seven subdistricts, *nahiye*, together with the tax on the Gypsies, the complete tax income of the sultan's *hases* located in the *vilayet*, as well as the revenues of two low-income *mukataas* were specifically allocated to cover the payment of soldiers. Thus in 1662 they predicted an income of 4,728,578 *akçes*, which, combined with the profit of the previous year, gave a total of 5,066,361 *akçes*. This was 337,173

<sup>1</sup> BOA MAD 6382, pp. 8–10.

*akçes* less than the total payment due to soldiers between November 4, 1660 and January 21, 1662. The deficit was made up by the tax from Debrecen the following year. From then on the fortress soldiers were paid as and when the taxes and revenues arrived, at least this is what is indicated by accounted payments up to January 10, 1663.

The period that can be studied is very short, and in the absence of later sources I cannot say whether the apparently satisfactory initial calculations were workable later on as well. The tax revenues allocated to cover the payments of soldiers seem reasonable; the 'towns' listed were expected to pay sums which were mostly similar to the taxes levied on larger villages in the 16th century. The lump sum of one million-*akçe* in annual tax from Debrecen alone covered one fifth of the soldiers' wages (though we may well wonder how much trouble the town's transfer to Varad caused to the treasury of Eğri, which had so far received this tax). Our source material suggests that the Ottoman taxation of the western border area of the Principality of Transylvania, which was extended after 1660, covered without too much difficulty the maintenance of the soldiery of the new province. Temeşvar and Varad were the joint leaders in this respect.

The case of Uyvar is just the opposite. The accounts which added up the payments made to soldiers over 40 months and the sources of revenue that covered these between July 25, 1664 and October 18, 1667<sup>1</sup> barely include any local income. In the course of this long period 14,038,200 *akçes* were paid in nine instalments to the defenders (and day labourers) of Uyvar and Şuran, in the first year for two or three months at a time, then for five, finally for eight and ten. The income was calculated as 14,497,633 *akçes*, which at first sight seems a respectable sum, but is less so when we consider the details. The largest item, 8,659,633 *akçes*, was granted by the central treasury to the *vilayet*. The fact that the sum is the result of faulty calculations is not the only problem: there is also the fact that 687,733 *akçes* were earmarked not for pay but for provisions: food and cloth. The title of the second major income category of the budget, 2,370,000 *akçes*, refers to the 'financial assets of the *mukataas* and *cizye* of Uyvar', but it only contained 24,000 *akçes* of local income (*mabeyn*-revenues), and the bulk of the money came from the Balkans: *mukataas* of Vidin, Fethislam (Kladovo) and İlok, the *cizye* of Vilçitrin (Vučitrn) and a transfer from Üsküb (Skopje): these were only Uyvar funds in the sense that they were allocated to that *vilayet*. Finally the third main category, 3,527,450 *akçes*, also consisted of Balkan revenues, a good part of which repeated the previous items (these were presumably most-

1 Bab-i defteri, Baş muhasebe, Uyvar hazinesi kalemi 17081, pp. 6–7. Revenue categories from between 1665–1667 appear in another account, which is only one page long: BOA Bab-i defteri, Baş muhasebe 229.

ly collected for different periods, but there were some among them that covered the same period as well): often even their totals were identical. The whole budget is suspicious, and at many points one feels that calculations were 'adjusted'. What we can believe, though, is that in the four years following the capture of Uyvar and Şuran their garrisons were maintained by the central treasury and by Balkan tax payers, except for some local revenue amounting to 24,000 *akçes*.

The absence of local income is thought-provoking, as the *vilayet* had already been surveyed in 1664, the year following its establishment.<sup>1</sup> Its territory was the same size as the part of the *sancak* of Esterгон located north of the Danube. Its income was presumably left in Buda in order to leave a working system undisturbed. In the end, it made no difference if the central treasury maintained Uyvar or supported Buda with even more money.

The few surviving budgets of the six *vilayets* show great and increasing differences between the western and eastern parts of Ottoman Hungary. The three western provinces, Buda, Kaniža and Uyvar were unable to sustain the occupying forces by means of their own resources. The wealth generated by local people, production and commerce, manifested in revenues to the treasury, was far lower than the vast sums spent on soldiers' pay. The three eastern *vilayets*, on the other hand, Temeşvar, Varad and maybe even Eğri, after it had recovered from its wartime damage, were able to stand on their own feet.

The striking difference can be explained by several factors, three of which were decisive. The first: the wasted millions of *akçes* in the budget express in figures something that has been mentioned several times already: the Ottomans' expansionist ambitions targeting Western Europe, which concentrated the greater part of the army in the western part of the country and filled the territory facing the Habsburgs with fortresses and garrisons not only at the beginning, but also when it had become perfectly obvious that these aspirations were doomed. As a result, expenses were always higher here. The second factor, also often mentioned above, was the Fifteen Years' War, and then the wars of 1663–1664, whose devastating effects were felt mainly in the western territories again. I believe that the third factor probably relates to population changes, though it is hard to be sure as there is still a great deal of research to be done here: with the cessation of traditional Ottoman land surveying we know little about the population in the 17th century. The decimated population of the Ottoman part of the country was mainly replaced from the south, from the Balkan Peninsula. Southern Slavs settled down in the larger part of the *vilayet* of Temeşvar, while Romanians arrived from the east. Not surprisingly, turning again to numbers to il-

1 For the published version of the register, see Blaskovics, *Érsekújvár és vidéke*; dating is on page 22.

lustrate this, among the 1591–1592 revenues of this province the third highest item was sheep tax, amounting to one million *akçes*.

This by no means wealthy, but very numerous Balkan population sustained a dense network of villages, paid the *cizye* and taxes on produce and, at least this transpires from the registry books of the *kadıs* about the inhabitants of Temeşvar, Şebeş and Lugoş,<sup>1</sup> maintained kinship ties and economic relations with their native areas. In short: this territory remained densely populated and maintained close links with the Balkans. In the *vilayet* of Buda, Balkan people only settled in the southern zone, although not throughout the territory. The area located north of the Segedin–Kalaça–Balaton line was not repopulated: the Ottoman tax registers indicate a decline in the population as early as the 1580s, and this territory was devastated by the Fifteen Years' War as well. What is more, agricultural exports to the West, which had flourished in the 16th century, were in decline too. Who, then, would have been able to provide for the growing number of Ottoman soldiers and meet the additional costs incurred?

## 6. The Income and Living Conditions of Soldiers

For those soldiers who arrived from the fortresses between the Drava and Sava, getting to Hungary represented a huge step forward. Those who were transferred to Buda enjoyed one and a half times as much as their original pay. The differences between wages distributed in fortresses in the hinterland, in the Balkans and in the front line, Hungarian fortresses were maintained later too,<sup>2</sup> but the treasury did not spoil the soldiers north of the Drava either.

Daily pay varied between different military branches. The wages of senior officers were adjusted to this, as well as to the size of the fortress, the career of the man in question and his previous place of service and level of pay. As their wages ranged from a corporal's pay up to ten times as much I shall not deal with this area in great detail. However, the wages of corporals and ordinary soldiers, as well as their livelihood and possible subsidiary occupations, are worth a brief study, as very large numbers of men were involved.

In every garrison it was the cavalry that earned the most. The highest wages were received by the elite *gönüllüs*; in the 16th century their corporals were due 10–13 *akçes*, the common soldiers 10 a day. The corporals of the *farises*, the or-

1 The *sicill* of the *kadı* of Temeşvar kept in the 17th century was in the archives of Sarajevo, and it was probably destroyed in the war; a photographic copy survives in the Turkish Department of Eötvös Loránd University (Budapest). The *sicill* of the *kadı* of Şebeş-Lugoş: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtára (Budapest), Oriental Collection, Turkish manuscripts Qu 62.

2 For example, in 1575 the daily pay of the *müstahfizes* of Virovitica was 5 *akçes*, that of the cavalry 6; the latter was especially low compared to payments made in Hungary. Schwarz, *Osmanische Sultansurkunden*, 19.

dinary cavalry, were paid 10 *akçes*, the ordinary horsemen 9. The remuneration of *müstahfizes*, the artillery and auxiliary units (craftsmen, musicians etc.) were more or less identical: corporals were paid 7–8, common men 6–7 *akçes* a day (units consisting only of Christian craftsmen often had to make do with less). The two last units of the garrison, the *azabs* and *martoloses* were paid the least: the corporals of the former branch received 7, ordinary soldiers 6, the corporals of the latter got 6, its ordinary soldiers 5 *akçes* a day. When around 1560 wages were reduced, in many places the wages of corporals and ordinary *müstahfizes* fell to 7 and 6, of the cavalry to 9 and 8, of the *azabs* 6 and 5, and of the *martoloses* 5 and 4 *akçes*. All of these are not, of course, absolute rules: the figures only represent the general tendency. In large fortresses and in a few medium-sized ones the reduction of pay was less significant and slower. It was also rarely the case that all the soldiers in a unit of garrison were paid the same amount: a larger or smaller number of men usually stood out.

Another reason why payments could not be standardised was the fact that the same difference that existed between the remuneration of northern Balkan and Hungarian garrisons can be found within Ottoman Hungary too. From the beginning, wages were lower in fortresses located in the south than in the north, and this cannot be explained with the more secure locations of the former. For example, in 1543–1545 the *müstahfizes* and artillery of Peçuy, a fortress that at that point was distinctly vulnerable, received their due pay; the other defenders, however, were recruited for wages that were a few *akçes* less than what was granted in Buda. Usually, it was the cavalry, the *azabs* and the *martoloses* who were at a disadvantage. At Seksar this meant one *akçe* less, while the cavalry of Zombor and Pakşa received two *akçes* less than they should have. In several fortresses of the *sancak* of Segedin the *müstahfizes* also came off poorly: in Segedin and Sobotka part of the corps, in Baç all of it served for 5 *akçes*. By 1588 in Segedin even the wages of ordinary horsemen had been reduced to 8 *akçes* across the board.

I attempted to trace the fall in income as well as the changes in payments made to soldiers affecting most of the 1560s in various garrisons of the *vilayet* of Buda. Unfortunately, the majority of fortresses had to be excluded from the study, as in 1570 or earlier their infantry units were allocated salary *timars*, and from then on they did not receive their pay in cash. Thus the final result is distorted, because it was put together from the data of the soldiers of the major fortresses, and these are by no means typical in this respect. The following table shows the average annual salary of one soldier in seven fortresses belonging under Buda.

Table 24

*Changes in average annual payments made to individual soldiers, in akçes, 1544–1591*

Fortress	1544 <sup>1</sup>	1569 <sup>2</sup>	1579 <sup>3</sup>	1591 <sup>4</sup>
Buda	2,836	2,498	2,580	2,501
Estergon	2,076	2,091	2,038	2,136
İstolni Belgrad	2,532	2,282	1,572	1,942
Şimontorna	2,692 <sup>5</sup>	2,320	2,392	?
Val	–	2,307	2,244	2,416
Canbek	–	2,325	2,306	2,426
Lak	–	1,914	1,908	2,001

The question of how much the defenders of the *vilayet* of Temeşvar were paid cannot be answered due to the lack of sources. The only surviving data refer to all the soldiers of the province who were paid in cash. In the year H. 1000, which corresponds to 1591–1592, 6,271,931 *akçes*<sup>6</sup> were due to the 2,637 cash-paid soldiers serving in the fortresses of the province (among them there were a few civilian day labourers), of this the average annual sum per head was 2,378 *akçes*, which perfectly matches the figures for the *vilayet* of Buda mentioned above.

In the *vilayet* of Buda remunerations were not shocking in themselves. They only show a significant fall until 1570, and prior to 1591 they usually rise slightly. The data, however, need some explanation. The first point to make is the above-mentioned fact that only garrisons paid in cash throughout the century are suitable for such an investigation. These usually served in large fortresses where the reduction of wages was less significant (of the major fortresses, the data from İstolni Belgrad most closely resemble those from smaller fortresses). As a counter-example Şimontorna was included, whose figures up to 1579 correspond perfectly to the general tendency; after that, however, as a result of salary *timars*, it becomes difficult to study.

1 ÖNB Mxt 590, pp. 11, 13, 17. The values are not accurate: the valid numbers and payments made to soldiers are known for the *reşen* quarter year of 951 (September 18 to December 15, 1544), I multiplied these by four.

2 ÖNB Mxt 617, pp. 3 and 13, 5 and 15, 10 and 20, 11 and 21, 4 and 14, 9 and 19. The average sum paid is accurate, because the source contains the numbers of soldiers and payments for a complete year (December 20, 1568–December 9, 1569).

3 BOA MAD 498, pp. 24, 26–28, 36, 38–39. The account contains the data for the year between December 21, 1578–December 20, 1579, from which an exact average can be calculated.

4 BOA MAD 3762, pp. 4, 6–8, 14–15, 17. As the figures can yet again be calculated from data covering either six months, (April 25–October 18, 1591), 9 or 14 months, they may differ slightly from the annual ones.

5 Şimontorna appeared in the accounts in the *lezez* quarter year of 952 (December 6, 1545–March 3, 1546): ÖNB Mxt 581, p. 50. I multiplied by four the figures for this quarter year.

6 BOA MAD 15696, p. 2.

Although central accounts are lacking, the pay lists inform us that the treasury's attempts to save money on payments to soldiers were strongest in the 1560s, prior to the massive shift to salary *timars*. After this it was the real, not the nominal value that was reduced. The most general means of payment and unit of calculation of the 16th century, the small silver *akçe*, kept almost all of its value until the death of Süleyman (1566); after that, however, it lost a great deal: as a result of unfavourable economic and monetary changes in the three decades it fell to half of its mid-century value. In spite of the continuous debasement the official exchange rate was left unchanged for a long time, but this could not go on for ever: between 1585 and 1589 the *akçe* was drastically devalued, by no less than 100%, and its silver content was reduced by 44%.<sup>1</sup> Presumably this is why the wages of soldiers paid in cash before 1591 were slightly increased; this, however, was only a partial compensation for the problems caused by the drastic loss of purchasing power suffered by the large numbers of people living on state income over the previous three decades. To offset further deterioration, payments made to soldiers were only significantly increased in the first decades of the 17th century.

The reduction of pay in the 16th century affected the income of salary *timariots* too. In 1570 we usually meet the following categories: they allocated an annual income of 1,800 *akçes* to the corporals of *müstahfizes*, and 1,700 *akçes* to the ordinary soldiers; artillerymen were either in the same categories with them, or with the *azabs*, who were due 1,500 and 1,400 *akçes*. The 16th century trimming of income levels started in the *vilayet* of Temeşvar. The ordinary *müstahfizes* of Virşiç, for example, were entitled to an annual income of 1,700 *akçes* in 1554, while in 1569 this sum was only 1,400 *akçes*. By 1579 at Felnak even the payments allocated to senior officers were radically reduced, the *dizdar's* from 4,539 *akçes* ten years earlier to 2,004.<sup>2</sup>

The wars on many fronts at the turn of the century devalued the *akçe* still further, and the cost of living rocketed. As early as the 1610s, the treasury was forced to increase the pay of soldiers and day labourers. In the following decades, until the 1660s, as long as we have data, the rises continued. As a result of this process, in 1630 the defenders of the majority of fortresses received about 1,000 *akçes* a year more than they had in 1569. The improvement was not uniform. The defenders of Canbek up until 1613 were worse off and received less than before the war; the wages of the Segedin soldiers fell radically between 1613 and 1630.

1 Pál Fodor, 'Az oszmán pénzrendszer 16. századi válságáról. Megjegyzések az 1585–1589. évi leértékelésről [On the crisis of the Ottoman monetary system in the 16th century. Notes on the devaluation of 1585–1589]', *Aetas* 4 (1999) 29, 36.

2 BOA Tapu 298, p. 79. Tapu 552, pp. 131–137, 152–155. Tapu 674, pp. 167–172.



There are two factors which certainly underlie the notable differences between wages in the 17th century. The first is that soldiers serving in border fortresses were usually entitled to higher pay than those who were stationed in more secure places, and this did not depend on the size of the stronghold. The second reason is familiar: the further south we go, the lower the pay of soldiers was; so much so that men in the Serbian garrisons, who belonged under Buda, served for half the wages of their fellows in Hungary.

Table 25 below shows the changes in average annual salaries in a few fortresses in three *vilayets* in the first decades of the 17th century (Eğri is missing, as there are no sources), with the addition of the data of three Serbian *sancaks*.

Table 25

*Average annual payments to soldiers in the first decades of the 17th century*

Fortresses in the vilayet of Buda	1613 <sup>1</sup>	1630 <sup>2</sup>
Buda	2,830	3,050
Estergon	4,118	4,092
İstolni Belgrad	3,858	3,435
Vaç	–	3,225
Val	3,674	3,442
Canbek	2,144	3,488
Şimontorna	2,248 <sup>3</sup>	2,062 <sup>4</sup>
Segedin	3,197	2,003

Fortresses in the vilayet of Temeşvar	In 1629–1630 <sup>5</sup>
Temeşvar	4,960
Lipova	3,413
Virşiç	4,517
Çanad	3,055
Irşova	3,053

Fortresses in the vilayet of Kanija	In 1629–1630 <sup>6</sup>
Kanija	3,782
Şegeş	3,499
Berzenç	3,695
Kapoşvar	2,715
Barça	2,015
Peçuy	1,472

1 BOA MAD 4133, pp. 48, 50, 55, 64–65, 67, 69–70.

2 BOA MAD 5193, pp. 5–7.

3 The average payment of defenders serving in all the fortresses of the *sancak*.

4 The average payment of defenders of Şimontorna.

5 BOA MAD 15983, pp. 4–5, 13–14, 17–18.

6 BOA Kepeci 1924, pp. 4–7.

Fortresses in Serbia	1613 <sup>1</sup>
Fortresses in the sancak of Sirem	1,715
Fortresses in the sancak of Semendire	1,530
Fortresses in the sancak of Alacahisar	1,404

In the second half of the 17th century the records of income and expenditure in the province of Buda, as well as the data on payments to soldiers, as we have seen when looking at the budgets, are completely unreliable as a result of being copied for decades. In the case of some fortresses we can still calculate averages, although it does not make too much sense as they only repeat and reinforce the conclusions already drawn. In the 1660–1670s the average annual salary of the defenders of Buda was 2,166 *akçes*, those of Estergon 3,918, of Vaç 3,168.<sup>2</sup> What we can conclude from the numbers is that yet again the average wages of soldiers in Buda fell below those of the garrisons because the *yeniçeris* were paid so little. The other striking fact is that the treasury, disregarding the further devaluation of the *akçe*, calculated with lower payments than in 1630, with good reason: with the flourishing of the *ocaklık*-system less state revenue had to be allocated to fortresses to cover reduced wages. As a result, the soldiers were yet again encouraged to plunder and steal everything they could lay their hands on.

The payment calculations of Varad and Uyvar are more realistic than those of Buda, as in these places they were based on actual money paid in cash. The problem is caused by the fact that the accounts record the sum paid to soldiers and the varying numbers of soldiers (and day labourers) every two or three months, and we have to calculate annual sums from these figures. In the year between November 4, 1660 and October 24, 1661, the soldiers stationed in all the fortresses in the *vilayet* of Varad received an average of 3,447 *akçes*.<sup>3</sup> The average in the *vilayet* of Uyvar; in practice this means in Uyvar alone, as the few defenders of Şuran do not make much difference; between July 25, 1664 and July 13, 1665 it was 5,080 *akçes*.<sup>4</sup> This is a very large sum, in spite of the fact that it includes the pay of the *yeniçeris* as well. The men at Uyvar owed their exceptionally high wages to their exposed position; the vicinity of Vienna—this became Ottoman Hungary's most important border fortress.

If we consider the sums alone, soldiers who lived on salary *timars* were much worse off than those who were paid in cash. This is because while the nominal income of the latter increased significantly, that of the former was further reduced. The sultan's decree drafted between May 7 and 16, 1675 and sent

1 BOA MAD 4133, p. 7.

2 Bab-i defteri, Baş muhasebe, Budun hazinesi kalemi 16727, 16728, 16729.

3 BOA MAD 6382, p. 8.

4 BOA Bab-i defteri, Baş muhasebe, Uyvar hazinesi kalemi 17081, p. 7.

to Ibrahim Pasha, governor of Buda, concerned the salary *timars* of the *timariot* soldiers in the lower and upper fortresses of Vişegrad, who, so far, had received an unusual annual income of 1,600–1,700 *akçes* from their collective estates. The sultan refused to tolerate such an exception: as the majority of the soldiers in the other fortresses were entitled to 1,300–1,400 *akçes*, he ordered that the incomes of the Vişegrad men be adjusted accordingly. Thus the annual income of the corporals was reduced to 1,700–2,000 *akçes*, the ordinary soldiers' to between 1,314 and 1,400.<sup>1</sup>

The mere figures of average annual wages reveal a great deal about the importance of fortresses and their relationship to each other. The only aspect they say nothing about is the standard of living that these payments allowed to the soldiers concerned. Before I offer some orientation in this area by listing a few examples of price-to-value ratios, I would like to remind the reader that the treasury held back part of the wages under one pretext or another. The soldier paid for his letter of appointment, the *berat*, and not just once during his career; if against his will he was transferred to another fortress, and received a new document about this, or if his *berat* had to be renewed at the accession of a new sultan, he paid again. The fee amounted to a significant sum, thirty times the soldier's daily pay; in other words, his salary for a whole month. This, for the *müstahfizes* who were paid 6–7 *akçes*, meant a loss of 180–210 *akçes*. Transferred soldiers paid half of the total fee for a new document: their pay for fifteen days.<sup>2</sup> The soldiers' pay was docked for clothing, provisions or forage, and it was not the men themselves who determined how much they paid the treasury for these items. Finally, I would like to point out again that in 1613 and presumably later too the fortress soldiers stationed in the *sancaks* of Şimontorna, Kopan, Seksar and Peçuy of the *vilayet* of Buda, as well as in the whole territory of the *vilayet* of Temeşvar, received only 70% of the nominal pay due to them.<sup>3</sup> This practice affected especially the soldiers serving in the southern fortresses, just where pay was lower anyway.

In the first decades of Ottoman rule the *akçe's* purchasing power was still

1 Dresden E 356, pp. 29–35.

2 Examples for the sum of *berat*-fees: ÖNB Mxt 561, pp. 72, 76. Mxt 633, pp. 84–85, 87–90, 97. Mxt 626, p. 111. A regulation passed during the reign of Süleyman set the fee for the renewal of the document for fortress soldiers only at half an *akçe* (Schwarz, *Osmanische Sultansurkunden*, 17), but I have never come across such small sums. What I have come across is ordinary men (peasant soldiers, village *kenezes*) paying a great deal in comparison to their financial situation for jobs that were remunerated not in cash but by tax allowances or *timars*, while senior officers, (*beylerbeyis*, *sancakbeyis*) paid little compared to their wealth. ÖNB Mxt 552. The source is elaborated in Klára Hegyi, 'Egy török illetéklista tanulságai [The lessons of a Turkish duty list]', in Magdolna Baráth–Antal Molnár (eds.), *A történettudomány szolgálatában. Tanulmányok a 70 éves Gecsényi Lajos tiszteletére*. Budapest–Győr, 2012, 187–195.

3 BOA MAD 1002, pp. 6, 35.

good, officially one *akçe* was equivalent to two Hungarian *denar*, 50 *akçes* were worth one Hungarian florin. In 1550 in Buda cows and calves were auctioned, the former for 110 to 300 *akçes*, the latter for between 30 and 150. In 1558 the treasury sold a *kile* (25.6 kg) of flour or wheat for 10 *akçes*, a *kile* of barley for 9–11. At inheritance auctions horses were sold for 250–300 *akçes*, various items of horse-tack cost 2–12, a pinewood beam went for 20 *akçes*, and the treasury calculated the cost of sending freight a distance of forty kilometres at 20 *akçes* per cartload.<sup>1</sup>

The basic cost of living rose dramatically even prior to the decades of war around the turn of the century: between 1586 and 1596 the price of foodstuffs increased by 9.85% annually.<sup>2</sup> In Hungary in the 17th century an *akçe* was officially worth 1.5 *denars*, a florin 66.6 *akçes*<sup>3</sup> (of course both the treasury and the offices, as well as *timariots*, took constant advantage of currency exchange; this, however, was at the expense not so much of people living on daily wages but of tax-payers). The Temeşvar and Şebeş-Lugoş judicial records from the 1650–1670s are very informative about the cost of living. In Temeşvar, an *okka* (1,282 gramms) of butter was either 10 or 20 *akçes*, one *okka* of honey 13.5, a *pint* (1.69 liters) of wine 162. A horse would be sold for 2,000 *akçes*, an ox for 1,000, a pig for 240, and a sheep for 67. The price of a house with a room and kitchen and a courtyard was between 3,000 and 12,000 *akçes*, while manors with several rooms, a back garden, farm buildings and workshops or shops were sold for 22,000–50,000. Next to the western fortress gate four shops were sold for 20,000 *akçes*. The deposit on the rent of a dilapidated one-room house was 6,000 *akçes*, its annual rent was 187, while the deposit on the rent of an orchard was 7,200 *akçes*, and the total rent for a year was 125 *akçes*. The monthly rent for shops in the market place was 30 *akçes*. The payment of a domestic servant for three years was a horse, a saddle, a sword and 3,000 *akçes*. The charmingly named matchmaker Rahime bint Abdulkерim sold her two Muslim servant girls for 22,000 *akçes*. The heirs of murder victims could expect 2,500–6,000 *akçes* in blood money.<sup>4</sup>

In the second half of the 1660s the treasury subtracted 20 and 50 *akçes* from the payment of the Uyvar soldiers for every *kile* of barley sold to them (this is twice to five times the price in 1550), a *kile* of bread cost the soldiers 140 *akçes*, just like a bale of cloth.<sup>5</sup>

1 Fekete-Káldy-Nagy, *Rechnungsbücher*, passim.

2 Fodor, 'Az oszmán pénzrendszer', 29.

3 On the value of the Turkish coins in circulation in Hungary in more detail, see Hegyi, *Török berendezkedés*, 74–75.

4 *Sicill* of Temeşvar, entries Nos. 5, 39, 47, 66, 70–71, 94, 104, 116, 122, 127, 145, 148, 161–163, 169, 173, 175–176, 199, 201, 203–204, 259, 285–286.

5 BOA Bab-i defteri, Baş muhasebe, Uyvar hazinesi kalemi 17082, p. 6.

A better deal could be done at inheritance auctions, if the purchaser was satisfied with second-hand items. In the middle of the 1670s at the auctions at Şebeş a house with a garden could be purchased for 10,400 *akçes*, a garden with 28 beehives and a shed for 12,210, a washing basin with a jug for 230, a worn out carpet for the same sum, a small pan for 40, a big one for 259, a coffee cup for 5, a small mortar for 109, ten kitchen dishes for 1,040, a candle holder for 22, a pot with a lid for 200, a mattress with a carpet and a bedspread for 670, new house slippers for 6–9 *akçes* apiece. An *okka* of coffee—rare and valuable—was sold for 200 *akçes*.<sup>1</sup>

The soldiers, who could by no means be called rich, set up small farms in the vicinity of their posts, and the more adventurous ones looked for other sources of income. In some tax survey registers, at the end of the register of larger Ottoman centres, numerous thickly written columns contain lists of the shops, houses and plots, vineyards and vegetable gardens on the outskirts of the towns, meadows, hayfields and manors owned by local Turks, among them many soldiers.<sup>2</sup> In Ottoman customs records we regularly come across soldiers who made extra money by trading.<sup>3</sup>

The most attractive of secondary employments was the rent of treasury revenues. The state let the *mukataas* as single units or divided into parts for a fixed period of time and at a set sum to entrepreneurs; and as an insurance against the possible failure of (or embezzlement by) the tax lessees it demanded guarantors to stand surety for them. A great many entrepreneurs (*emins* and *amils*) and guarantors (*kefils*) were fortress soldiers; their task was to squeeze out enough income above the sum owing to the treasury to ensure a profit for all participants. Here we witness a nice convergence of interests. Soldiers serving in larger fortresses, which were at the same time administrative centres, could assert their demands more easily than civilian tax collectors by working in groups and using force of arms, so they happily undertook the collection of state revenues. The treasury, on the other hand, liked to have soldier-entrepreneurs and guarantors living on funds that came from the treasury, as if they failed, their debts were subtracted from their pay. Separate lists were compiled of tax lessees and guarantors. I have already quoted one of these when describing annotations written on pay lists; according to this from March 11, 1563 a revenue unit of the *mukataa* of Vác was rented by the captain, vice-captain and the commander of artillery of Vişegrad (from April the next year they also acquired a lease in Es-

1 *Sicill* of Şebeş-Lugoş, pp. 23–24.

2 The survey of Muslim properties of Hatvan from 1570: Bayerle, *A hatvani szandzsák adóösszeírása*, 21–27. The properties of Peçuy and Kapoşvar from 1579 BOA Tapu 585, pp. 7–13, 139. The list of the shops in G'ula from 1567 and 1579: Káldy-Nagy, *A gyulai szandzsák* 44, 51.

3 Fekete–Káldy-Nagy, *Rechnungsbücher*, 17–379, *passim*.

tergon), for which they had fifteen guarantors from their own fortress, one soldier from Buda, and five from Vaç. In the case of guarantors the contract included the sum for which they stood surety: the twenty-one soldiers undertook to guarantee 196,000 *akçes*, which amounted to three and a half times their annual salary.<sup>1</sup>

Among the pay lists, those of 1569 and 1573 in particular<sup>2</sup> register numerous entrepreneurs, maybe because here the scribes paid special attention to the issue, probably because tax farming had already become wide-spread over the past quarter of a century. The register clearly indicates that soldiers in the major centres were able to get involved in this activity, especially members of more prestigious and better-paid branches. The majority of more important tax farmers who persevered for several years were *gönüllüs* and *müstahfizes* in Buda; most guarantors, however, were *azabs*. In 1569, 53 members of the Buda garrison, 3% of the total corps, were involved in some kind of financial enterprise (seven as lessees and 46 as guarantors), in Pest the number was 31. It is striking that in Estergon, a place which was, perhaps, strategically even more important than Buda, only three soldiers were registered as being involved in tax farming.

In 1558–1560 the income from the local *mukataa* was considered to be modest<sup>3</sup> (its situation later is unknown), maybe this is why soldiers serving here, with more restricted local opportunities and being further from the Buda ‘hot spot’, fell behind in the competition. On the other hand, fate dealt good cards to those who were posted to either Solnok or Segedin, as the income from the Solnok *mukataa* was considered medium, and the Segedin *mukataa* was among the lucrative ones. In 1573 12 of the 110 Solnok cavalrymen, and four of the 48 Segedin cavalrymen were guarantors. Even soldiers in insignificant *palankas* fared well if they served in the vicinity of lucrative *mukataas*. In 1588, of the 37 cavalrymen of Batasek, 11 managed to take part as guarantors in farming the *mukataa* revenues of Bata, Tolna, Pakşa and Baç.<sup>4</sup>

The majority of soldier-entrepreneurs did not receive a sign of presence from the scribes who compiled the pay lists. There are two possible reasons for this: either they failed and incurred debts, so the treasury did not pay them, or they really were not present in the fortress. The above mentioned 53 Buda and 11 Batasek entrepreneurs were tax farmers or guarantors in several *mukataas*, and it is unlikely that they would all have gone bankrupt at the same time, and had their pay docked as a result. It seems more logical to presume that after the

1 ÖNB Mxt 588, p. 11.

2 ÖNB Mxt 642 and 626: in the latter, in most garrisons only the enterprises of the cavalry can be studied, as the infantry troops were already soldiers with salary *tymars*.

3 Fekete-Káldy-Nagy, *Rechnungsbücher*, 761.

4 ÖNB Mxt 615, p. 136.

conclusion of the 1568 peace the enterprising soldiers were more involved in their financial affairs than in military service, and with the consent of their commanders were more often outside the fortresses than in them.

In later registers of fortress soldiers, especially in the 17th century, we do not find such annotations. In the system of tax leases, which was undergoing a transformation from the end of the 16th century, and where the leading role was being taken over by the provincial elite, presumably not many opportunities were left for the ordinary soldiers (or if they were, the soldiers involved in the leases were not registered in the pay lists). Their leaders, however, remained participants in lucrative enterprises. Between 1675 and 1678, the managers of the revenues allocated to cover the payment of the Uyvar garrison were the captain, the *kethüda*, the *yeniçeri ağası* and the *kapudan* of the fortress.<sup>1</sup>

## 7. The Marital Status of the Soldiers

The ever-increasing difficulties of making a living—rising prices on the expenses side, falling real wages and nominally even less lucrative salary *timars* on the income side, made the life of soldiers progressively more difficult, as more and more of them started and tried to maintain families. The earliest military inheritance lists were made up of poor and lonely men who owned no property, money or valuables. In the 1560s, when the previously conspicuous internal mobility and the rapid turnover of personnel slowed down, we find more and more soldiers owning a house—often only a shed built in the corner of somebody's garden, but still a permanent dwelling place—or a garden, a meadow, and many of them are married.

It would make sense to start the study of family status by saying what proportion of the soldiers was married. What makes this particularly difficult is the fact that wives very rarely make an appearance in sources. The family status of soldiers can be more or less studied from those pay lists where the scribe registered the next of kin of the troops, or noted if a deceased soldier left behind any orphans. The annotations made life easier for the treasury; the inheritance of the dead soldier had to be passed on to the closest family member considered to be the heir according to the *şeriat*. Women, however, inherited only a fraction, so it is no use trying to find them in these lists. I only know of one source which refers to the married or unmarried state of the soldiers: in the pay list of 1558–1559 the scribe occasionally wrote above the names of the soldiers in some units if the given man was married and if so, where his wife lived. There is little source material, and it is by no means certain that it gives a correct picture of the situation.

Most of such annotations (*mütehhil der...*, *müzevvec der...* = married ...in )

1 BOA Bab-i defteri, Baş muhasebe, Uyvar hazinesi kalemi 17081, p. 3.

occur in the register of the defenders of Tata drawn up in 1557. For some reason, only the first two branches, the units of *müstahfizes* and artillery were of interest for the command of the fortress. 26 of the 141 *müstahfizes* (18.4%), and 4 of the 13 artillerymen (30.8%) were married. At this point, of the thirty women only 13 were brought along by the husbands to the new post, the others lived, for the time being, in the previous posts of Buda, Pest, Ístolni Belgrad, Novigrad, and Vitan, while three wives spent their lonely days in their original Balkan dwelling places, one of them in a Bosnian village, two in the Serbian Rešava. (Another detail of family interest is that of the four hundred and fifty men in the Tata garrison thirteen had brothers also doing military service in Hungarian fortresses, three in Tata itself.) Of the 139 *martoloses* serving in Pest 33 were married (23.7%); thirty women lived with their husbands, while three wives lived in their Balkan family houses. In the *palanka* of Korkmaz it was again the *martoloses* who received the annotations: 17 of the corps of 35 were married (48.6%); 15 women lived in the fortress, two in their original Balkan dwelling places. Just over half (16) of the 31 *azabs* of Tomaşin were married; their wives all lived in the fortress. Of the 58 cavalrymen of Kopan 13 were married (22.4%), ten of them lived together with their wives.<sup>1</sup>

It would be a great mistake to try to extrapolate an average proportion of married soldiers from as these small and incidental samples. It is, however, worth paying attention to an interesting fact and conclusion which is reinforced by other sources as well. A small number of soldiers did not bring their wives to Hungary. One reason for this, besides emotional motives long lost in the twilight of the past, might have been that these men joined the army only temporarily. The fact that cavalrymen were the least likely to start a family will be proved repeatedly below.

Sadly, we must now bid the wives farewell, as there is no more source material on them.

The annotations of pay lists concerning next of kin are no use for identifying married men without any children. They do, however, offer a list of the ones with children, as the first annotation beside the name of those soldiers who were fathers referred to their sons and daughters: their possible heirs. In the following pages, I shall call these soldiers 'family men'.

Only one such pay list has survived from the *vilayet* of Buda, which, with the exception of a few senior officers, contains next to all 3,412 names a small personal description of the origins of the soldier and his closest relatives.<sup>2</sup> The distribution of the 3,412 men according to place of origin is the following: 3,102 came from the Balkans (34 Thracian, 44 from the lower Danube, 145 Bulgarian,

1 ÖNB Mxt 633, Tata: pp. 50-65, Pest: pp. 40-42, Korkmaz: p. 71, Tomaşin: p. 226, Kopan: p. 234.

2 Berlin, Ms. or. fol. 432.



855 Serbian, 451 from between the Drava and the Sava, 110 Macedonian, 44 Albanian, 36 Greek, 1,006 Bosnian, 377 Herzegovian) and 310 others (69 Hungarian, 24 other western Christian, 128 non-Hungarian from Ottoman Hungary, 68 Anatolian, 21 from the Near-East). Among the 'others' there are 55 manumitted slaves (*azade, azadlı*) as well, who paid for their freedom by converting to Islam and joining the army; for most of them no relatives were registered (a minority of them had children), and of the soldiers who had always been free and had places of origin registered we can also count 14 who had no relatives whatever (*akrabasından kimesnesi yok*).

Of the people from the Balkans 451, of the other group 61 family men—that is, fathers with children—are registered in the list. Altogether this makes 512 men, exactly 15% of the total of 3,412 soldiers. There seems to be a significant difference between the two groups: 14.6% of the Balkan people had children, compared to 19.7% of the 'others'. Even these two numbers suggest that the 15% average covers great differences.

Let us deal first with the 'others'. The most vulnerable group, the majority of the 55 freed slaves, 48 men, lived alone, without any relatives; they only had ties with their one-time owners. But even among the ex-slaves we find 7 with families, all Hungarian, some with several children. As their masters were usually local administrative officials and military officers, we can presume that the minority of those people who were captured early on, but stayed in the locality, seven of the 26 captives, became intimate members of their master's household or entourage, so much so that they were allowed to start a family and later they were freed. The 22 Western Christians of other nations, and the seven captives from the Near-East were childless when they were freed, converted, and joined the army. So even the lowest group of the 'other' category was not completely without families, and the number of family men among soldiers who joined the army as free men was high. This group consisted of 255 men, of whom 51 had children, or exactly 20%. They varied widely. The 43 Hungarians, one Croatian and one Czech who converted out of their free will, as well as the 128 soldiers who joined up to become fortress defenders from among the Balkan people overflowing into the southern zone of the country and the Ottoman centres, must have been mostly young men without families: only 20 of them (11.6%) had children. The case of the 89 men who arrived here from the eastern part of the empire was completely different. Of the 21 soldiers from the Near-East five were liberated captives without families, of the remaining 14 free men five had families (35.7%); of the 68 Anatolian soldiers we find 26 with children (38.2%). Thus more than a third of the soldiers from the eastern part of the empire had families, which is presumably because service in the far-away Hungarian fortresses represented a late stage of their service careers, when they were already mature.

Of those 3,102 fortress defenders who came from the Balkan Peninsula, 452 men were married, or 14.6%. Here the differences are not as great as in the other group; still, they are marked and logical.

The first aspect of the territorial differences is the distance from Hungary, which as we saw above was so clearly present in the case of people arriving from the east. We find most family men among the Greeks: the proportion is equal to that among the Eastern arrivals (36.1%). They are followed by the Albanians with 22.7%, then the Thracians with 20.6%. Among the Macedonians, the Bulgarians and the people from the lower-Danube region, who did not come from so far away, the proportion of family men is 13.1–18.9%. What is characteristic of the six areas listed so far is that people who joined the army from there were largely Muslim: this is true of all the Albanians, Thracians and men from the lower Danube region. They were Muslim because they converted en masse (more than half of the Greeks and Albanians were new Muslims), and partly as a result of organised or spontaneous westwards migration from Anatolia.

The case of the Serbians is different. They can be studied in two districts: in Serbia and in the area between the Drava and Sava. More precisely: besides the Serbian majority in both districts there was also a sizeable group with *eflak* ethnicity or *eflak* legal status. The weaker units of the fortresses, the *azabs* and *martoloses*, were filled up from northern Serbia and from the territories between the rivers. About one third of the Serb-*eflak* personnel were recruited as Christians, while one third of the Muslims were newly converted. 20.3% of the Serbians and 16% of those who came from between the rivers had families, so their proportion was higher than average here too. A possible explanation for this might be that among the Serb-*eflaks* many men joined the army only temporarily; some of them did not treat military service as a profession, but joined up in the hope of earning some money and plunder, which family men could undertake as well, even by leaving their family behind.

A sharp contrast to this mentality is demonstrated by the Bosnians and Herzegovians. According to the pay list of 1554 their conversion and integration reached such a degree that 95.6% of soldiers of Bosnian ethnicity were Muslims (of these 18.5% had converted, while the majority were already born into Muslim families), while among the Herzegovians this number was 98.4% (of these 20.2% were new converts). These two districts seemed to produce an endless supply of young men who—mostly being second-born sons—considered military service for the empire as a lifelong career. Having just emerged from childhood, they joined the army and arrived in the Hungarian province, which was saturated with military folk and where there was an insatiable need for adventurous young men to garrison the fortresses.

In 1554, at the beginning of the period of Ottoman rule in Hungary, the ma-

jority of young Bosnians and Herzegovians, altogether 1,383 men, recruited for service here were single, only 9.8% of the former and 8.2% of the latter had families. Another distinguishing feature of these professional soldiers was that they strove to get into the most prestigious and best paid branches, so they were the main source of recruits for the cavalry. The fact that in the mid-16th century in Ottoman fortresses we find the fewest married soldiers among the cavalry can be partially explained by the very large numbers and the mentality of young Bosnians and Herzegovians.

Apart from the highly informative pay list of 1554, there are three other lists whose scribes noted next to the name of deceased soldiers whether they left any orphans, sometimes in only a few, sometimes in all fortresses. The first one was drafted in 1553, the second in 1557–1558, the third one a year later, in 1558–1559.<sup>1</sup> Death, ever present in Ottoman fortresses, took its victims not only in time of war, but also in peace time, as raiding was continuous even then. Death from natural causes was perhaps more common among more mature soldiers, so these three lists indicate a higher proportion of family men than the list of 1554, in which the family status of younger soldiers also appears and strongly influences the final result.

These three lists produce identical final results, independently of the number of garrisons they include, as is shown by Table 26.

*Table 26*  
*The proportion of family men in the 1550s*

Year	Number of fortresses	Number of deceased	Number of childless soldiers		Number of soldiers with children	
				%		%
1553	6	79	57	72.2	22	27.8
1557–1558	17	509	384	75.4	125	24.6
1558–1559	3	87	66	75.9	21	24.1

Rounding up the figures for all three years, we find that three quarters of the deceased were childless, while one quarter left orphans. Yet again, the proportion is the combined result from very different values. Obviously, many accidental factors also affect these, as apart from the larger garrisons the sample per fortress was very small: maybe only a few men. Some difference is also made by the fact that the most stable units in some garrisons, the *müstahfizes* and artillerymen, cannot be studied, because as *timar* holders they were not included in the pay lists.

I believe one of the reasons why the cavalrymen were the least inclined to start a family was the youth and high aspirations of the Bosnians and Herzegovians who constituted the majority in their units. The other reason is connec-

1 ÖNB Mxt 643, Mxt 614, Mxt 633.

ted to this. Besides the *azabs*, the cavalry were most mobile branch, and changed their posts most often, which may have delayed them in starting a family. In the three lists altogether 151 deceased cavalymen are registered; of these 125 (82.8%) had no children and only 26 (17.2%) had families (in comparison, among the two most stable branches, the *müstahfiz*es and artillerymen, the proportions were close to the average: 77.4% and 22.6% respectively). Presumably the well-paid corps of Buda *gönüllüs* was closed to youngsters; no matter how high their aspirations were, they could only join this elite group after several years of experience. The *gönüllüs*' relative maturity and higher income, adequate for starting a family, may have led to the higher proportion of family men among them: in 1557–1558 48 of them died; 26 had no children, 22 left orphans behind.

We have come to the end of the known sources on the marital status of fortress soldiers. All of them were drafted in the 1550s, so they illustrate the conditions of the fortress soldiery who were involved in the establishment of Ottoman military rule. It seems highly likely that after the wars ended, when the constant transfers slowed down and the continual, spontaneous mobility of garrison soldiers diminished, the numbers of family men increased, this, however, can only be suspected, not proven.

The judicial records of the *kadı* of Temeşvar from the mid-17th century, often referred to above, include 37 cases, mostly but not all connected to inheritance, in which several generations of the same family appear; the 1673–1674 registry book of Şebeş-Lugoş adds a further three to the sample. The 40 heads of families, mostly men and a few widows, who made wills, left, bought or sold property, were divided exactly half and half into childless and family people. This proportion is already closer to what one would expect; however, it must be noted that the heads of families listed here do not only represent the fortress soldiers who are the subjects of this book. The list includes a land-owning *sipahi*, a confectioner, a tinsmith, an intellectual worker and, of course, several fortress soldiers, but mostly people whose profession is not given. Of the 40 heads of families, eight were fortress soldiers, four of them childless, four with children: the perfect match between their ratio and that of the whole group is presumably mere chance. Samples from the 17th century are small and dubious. They do, however, seem to support the assumption that as time went by and Ottoman rule stabilised the number of family men increased among the fortress soldiers as well. Maybe they never became the majority, because those who died were replaced by members of the younger generation. The Ottoman military always lacked women. Time and again, in the registry books of Hungarian counties the Turkish intention to acquire women for themselves is clear. Young men taken prisoner were returned to their families sooner or later for a high ransom; young women were returned much more slowly, sometimes never. In 1641 the

soldiers of Estergon ransacked the village of Csejkő, which was located in the Kingdom, far to the north of the fortress. They took whatever they could carry away, including 180 captives. For a ransom of 7,460 Forints the villagers redeemed 120, but “the remaining 60 were lost, they were not returned because they were beautiful”.<sup>1</sup>

## 8. The Mobility of Fortress Soldiers

We know little about the inhabitants of Ottoman centres in Hungary, as they were left out of most survey registers. If occasionally they do appear, and we happen to know of them at different dates, they are characterised by notable degrees of mobility and impermanence. The dervishes and the well-to-do merchants and craftsmen of Baç, a town turned Balkan Turkish, changed completely within a decade, from one surveying to the next.<sup>2</sup> Even the general servants working in the mosque and the lamplighters working for a daily wage of one or two *akçes*, not particularly appealing jobs, were replaced very fast, and the posts of those leaving in hopes of something better were immediately taken by others.<sup>3</sup> It is natural that a military class whose members spent their lives in a state of constant movement, on campaign, frequently switching posts, partly as a result of imposed transfers and war losses, partly in pursuit of their own ambitions, kept changing at an even faster pace.

Transfers imposed from Istanbul or Buda do not need much explanation. The soldiers who manned the first fortresses arrived with the campaigning imperial army. Then, when the garrisons had reached a stable combined total of 13–14 thousand men, every new garrison was taken out of this pool and regrouped. It often happened that a unit went through several fortresses (the *azabs* of Donbo were sent first to Senmartin, then on to Kapošvar), but equally they could be transferred back and forth (one of the cavalry unit of Estergon was transferred to Sanda after 1546, but in 1549 we find them back in Estergon).

Enforced mobility always took a heavy toll on the troops. In 1545 five *azab* squads were transferred to Ozora. Their first register includes 44 soldiers present, 33 of whom were new, mostly recruited in Ozora itself; only 11 of the original men remained. The *müstahfiz*es of Sanda, who were transferred from an unknown location, moved on en masse in the first two years of their service

1 NOL OL, A 98, Fasc. 13, 1008r.

2 Hegyi, ‘Bács: A Balkan-Turkish Town’, *passim*.

3 The personnel changes of the *camis* and *mescids* of Buda, Pest, Vişegrad, İstolni Belgrad, Estergon, Segedin, Döbrekös, Novigrad, Bespirim, Vaç, Tata, Tolna and Siçen were registered between 1548 and 1568: ÖNB Mxt 593, pp. 47–60. In the post of the two general servants of the *cami* in the fortress in Segedin six and seven people respectively came one after the other. Extracts from the source are published in Claudia Römer, ‘Zur Bestellung eines Mü’ezzin und Devrhan an einer Moschee in Buda im Jahr 971/1564’, in Dávid–Fodor (eds.), *Hungarian-Ottoman Military and Diplomatic Relations*, 161–170.

there, so that only 19 soldiers were left of the original personnel; half of the corporals of the cavalry century transferred from Estergon refused to move, and their posts were filled by others in Sanda. Such poor proportions characterise the first decade, the years before each garrison formed a cohesive group in its first post. Soldiers often left, and these losses were aggravated by official transfers. In the decades to follow, when old garrisons settled down, and the cohesion of a group survived even if was transferred, the situation improved slightly. The soldiers of Tata (taken in 1557) were brought in from Pest, Vaç, İstolni Belgrad, Bésprim and Gestös; then they were brought up to full numbers in the following year by *müstahfizes* transferred from Vitan. Of the 20 soldiers in the two cavalry squads transferred from the Bésprim garrison, which was set up in 1552, to Tata, 7 were still in service in 1557. Of the 38 *müstahfizes* transferred from Vitan 31 were still present a year later, although five of them had put in for transfer to the cavalry.<sup>1</sup>

It transpires from the above that freshly established garrisons were the most problematic. In especially bad situations, for example in Solnok, a significant part of the soldiers never even arrived in the fortress, did not report for service, or having arrived they immediately moved on. In such cases it was up to the commanders of the fortress to recruit new soldiers in bulk to relieve the shortage of men. But even in places where garrisons were well established to start with, mobility in the first few years was very strong. Those who left the corps resigned, and even more of them simply left the fortress without notice; another large group requested transfers to different posts; all the units and all the men in them were still trying to find their places. It usually took a decade for a garrison to settle and calm down. This is indicated by the decreasing number of soldiers leaving the fortress, and partly by the fact that the majority of these did not leave voluntarily, but were victims of war: soldiers who were dead, missing or taken prisoner.

Mobility varied from branch to branch. Apart from a few rare exceptions, *azabs* and *farises* were the least strongly attached to fortresses everywhere. Anybody could be taken on as an *azab*, so, as we have seen, for recruits this corps was a kind of springboard towards better units and posts. The cavalry, a unit which suffered more casualties than others during raids, also moved from place to place. However, they arrived not as beggars asking to be taken on but as lords: as the best paid soldiers in any garrison they aspired to the better fortresses, to an officer's post or to the status of a *sipahi*. Mobility was strong in the auxiliary units, among craftsmen, musicians and others as well; their advantage was that as carpenters, smiths or musicians they could make a living in the civilian world too.

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1 ÖNB Mxt 614, pp. 52–60.

In some cases the typical patterns of migration and mobility can be measured in one fortress. One such case is the above-mentioned Tata, where the first three years of the garrison's life were recorded in two pay lists in 1557–1559.<sup>1</sup> Its soldiers arrived from various places, partly in smaller groups, partly in larger, transferred units, and they behaved as new garrisons tended to. In the first year 22 *müstahfizes* left the fortress; by the second year every fourth member of the garrison was already a new man recruited in Tata. Some of the missing men were victims of fighting, but in the cases of 16 soldiers the scribe recorded where they went after they left Tata. Seven joined other fortresses, in better-paid units; they became a *gönüllü*, a cavalryman or a *müstahfiz* in Buda, an *ağa*, a cavalryman or for a small pay rise a corporal in Solnok, Hatvan, Vaç, and Diregel. Five soldiers remained in the fortress, but were transferred into the better-paid cavalry, three were promoted to corporal within their own unit. Of the artillerymen, one left for Pest, while three of the *azabs* managed to get better posts in Canbek and Korkmaz. The mobility of the cavalry was conspicuous: in the year the fortress was captured the troop lost one quarter of its number. They had already been transferred to Tata as a larger, unified unit. As a result, they were not reduced so much by desertion as by the raids which became widespread in the 1550s. 36 soldiers were slain in these raids, and 'only' 9 left the fortress. The remaining 8 cavalrymen, on the other hand, followed the usual career path: they were promoted or acquired *timars*.

We can only be sure that a soldier left service or the fortress if next to his name the scribe added the note 'left the fortress' (*terk-i kale*), which is never explained any further. Comparing the annotations of successive pay lists we find that at times 'resignation' (*feragat*) from a post was equivalent to getting a 'different post' (*gedük-i ahar*). What registers of soldiers highlight is the desire to get into a better unit, to obtain an officer's post or to move to a more prestigious fortress. It seems that the commanders of the garrisons and heads of the *sancaks* and *vilayets* made efforts to promote men from within the fortress. In 1549 five new corporals were needed in the unit of the *müstahfizes*, and they were all singled out from the unit itself.<sup>2</sup> An explanation was given for one of the promotions: "As the above mentioned Faik is a capable and valiant comrade, on the orders of his excellency Kasım Pasha he has been appointed corporal of his own squad keeping the payment he received."<sup>3</sup> When a senior officer had to be replaced, this often meant that according to expectations and the normal career ladder several men in the unit were promoted as well. In 1558 the commander of the İstolni Belgrad artillery died. His former deputy was given his post, while

1 ÖNB Mxt 614, pp. 52–60. Mxt 633, pp. 50–65.

2 ÖNB Mxt 562, pp. 2–10.

3 1557–1558, Buda: ÖNB Mxt 614, p. 13.

the first corporal became his new deputy, and an ordinary artilleryman from the eighth squad was appointed first corporal.<sup>1</sup> I have come across numerous such cases by matching names and annotations in order to confirm the incidence of this otherwise perfectly obvious path of promotion, but for reasons of space I shall not list them here.

The other motivating force behind mobility within the fortress was higher payment, which meant transferring into a better-paid branch: from the *müstahfiz* into the cavalry, from the *azabs* into anything better. But it could also happen that, as payment sometimes varied within the same squad, a soldier obtained a vacant post which paid him one *akçe* more. In 1543 one of the armourers in Buda was transferred from a post paying 6 *akçes* into one worth 7.<sup>2</sup> In 1557 the eighth corporal of the Bessirim *müstahfiz* changed his post and became head of the second squad, because there he was paid two *akçes* more.<sup>3</sup>

As we have seen with the example of Tata, some soldiers joined garrisons in other fortresses voluntarily (my assumption, which cannot be proved, is that this was the path probably taken by a minority of the soldiers who left fortresses, especially in campaign years, when they tried to find themselves new posts by joining the imperial army), while others were commanded to do so. Here I am referring to individual cases, not collective transfers. In the majority of such cases senior officers were moved from one place to another; this happened, for example, with the vice-captain of Buda in 1549, who was made into the captain of Istolni Belgrad.<sup>4</sup> Transfer between fortresses was an especially obvious choice where the places were close to each other, both for the *sancakbeyis* who ordered such movements, and for soldiers on the lookout for new posts. In 1557 one of the corporals of the cavalry of Peçuy was appointed cavalry *ağa* in Senlörinç, while three of his comrades moved from Senlörinç, Şelin and Sekçöy to Peçuy.<sup>5</sup> This of course does not exclude movement between fortresses located far from one another, for example from Segedin to Novigrad, or from Tata to Hatvan.<sup>6</sup>

In the 1550s, although mobility was still common, a new class of fortress soldiers was emerging: those who had set down roots in their posts and who, if they were transferred somewhere else, would have done anything in their power to get back to their original fortress. In 1557 the cavalry troop of Tata was established, partly by transferring the Vaç unit. They included an ordinary soldier, by the semi-Hungarian name of Hüseyin Lakoş, who was promoted to the

1 ÖNB Mxt 633, p. 179.

2 ÖNB Mxt 566, p. 13.

3 ÖNB Mxt 614, p. 167.

4 ÖNB Mxt 652, p. 2.

5 ÖNB Mxt 614, pp. 188–193.

6 ÖNB Mxt 561, p. 3. Mxt 633, p. 50.



post of corporal here. He makes another appearance in the Vaç section of the same pay list: on May 11, 1558 he was appointed second corporal of the cavalry;<sup>1</sup> this was his first departure and return (in 1549 he was certainly not serving under this name in any unit of the garrison). Thanks to his unusual name, we can follow the career of this man with some certainty. Still in 1558 part of the Vaç cavalry was split up yet again. Two of their squads were allocated to Novigrad, and with them Hüseyin Lakoş as corporal. Yet again he protested against the change, and looked for a patron to support his return, as the scribe wrote above his name: 'One of Cafer ağa's men' (around this time there was no ağa named Cafer at either Vaç or Novigrad, so the patron must have been stationed somewhere better). It is quite understandable that the corporal still did not want to be separated from his old fortress, as at the beginning of the 1570s he owned a house, even if it was only a shack made by repairing an old, dilapidated house with wicker-work, in the Market quarter (*mahalle*) of Vaç.<sup>2</sup> His struggles were finally successful: in 1573 he was once more the second corporal of the Vaç cavalry. However, he could not enjoy his return for long, because he died in the same year.<sup>3</sup> (On the basis of earlier sources and the Ottoman house register from around 1570 we can assume that Hüseyin was descended from one of the leading families of the original German population of Vaç, the Stobers or Stoibers. He converted to Islam, was recruited in his home town, and in the meantime turned Hungarian in spirit: as a second name he took the Hungarian equivalent of Stober, Lakos, and he managed to get all the Ottoman authorities to accept this impossible name instead of the second name Abdullah, which in his case would normally have been 'obligatory'. A strange identity, a confused spirit, must have dwelled inside the multi-religious and multi-national 'Turkish' soldiers of Ottoman Hungary like him).

The commanding officers of fortresses and the leaderships of the *sancaks* made attempts, if possible, not only to replace fallen officers and under-officers via promotions within the fortress, but to find recruits to fill the depleted ranks among the sons of fortress soldiers. Although I only know of one decree by the sultan on this subject from the *vilayet* of Buda, it is, however, significant as it deals with replacements for the most favoured unit, the *yeniçeris*. The decree from the imperial council, dated August 3, 1568, was an answer to the *paşa's* petition, in which he complains that although originally 1,566 *yeniçeris* had been transferred to Buda, their number had fallen by 450, and the remaining force was not strong enough to defend this border area; thus it would be necessary to

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1 ÖNB Mxt 614, pp. 55, 102.

2 Lajos Fekete, *A törökkori Vác egy XVI. századi összeírás alapján* [Ottoman Vaç on the basis of a 16th-century house register]. Budapest, 1942, No. 257.

3 ÖNB Mxt 626, p. 72.

bring the corps up to full strength by recruiting the sons of deceased and living *yeniçeris*. This decree from the highest authority assented to the *paşa*'s suggestion.<sup>1</sup> When discussing the *müstahfizes* I quoted two decrees, not sent to Hungary, which forbade the sale of vacant posts, and recommended that soldiers' sons should be recruited into the garrisons instead.<sup>2</sup>

The system worked in Hungary as well. In 1546 a deceased *müstahfiz* from Šimontorna was "replaced by his son Firuz".<sup>3</sup> At the same place on December 31, 1557 a certain İbrahim Abdullah from the village of Pojega was appointed as deputy of the *dizdar*. On the same day one İsmail İbrahim joined the first squad, and next to his name they wrote "the son of the *kethüda*", and that he had himself transferred from Seksar.<sup>4</sup> In 1569 the fifth corporal of the *müstahfizes* of Boboŕça was called Emirşah Mehmed, and his two sons Mustafa and Hurrem Emirşah served in his squad.<sup>5</sup> We could provide other examples.

What has been said so far probably creates the impression that mobility and movement among the soldiers of Ottoman fortresses, which were both frequent to begin with and then slowed down but never ceased completely, were all a question of changing posts. This is, quite naturally, one of the major factors, but the other side of the coin was the loss of manpower resulting from casualties in war, death from natural causes, the acquisition of *timars*, and retirement. Various combinations of these led to the complete replacement of whole branches, even very substantial ones, within a period of a few decades.

Fortunately, the way in which scribes managed the pay lists affords plenty of opportunities to compare registers of names and to study issues of continuity. It was based on the consistent manner, mentioned previously, in which names were written into the lists. If Hasan Hüseyin was recruited to the seventh post of the fourth squad of the *müstahfizes* of Canbek, as long as he served as an ordinary soldier in this unit he was to be found in exactly the same place in all lists. There are two possible minor departures from this rule, neither of which threatens the validity of this study. One of them occurs when vacant posts were not filled, and the names of long-missing soldiers were erased from the new registers; thus Hasan Hüseyin might have moved from the seventh place to the sixth, or maybe the fifth.

However, in this case the fact that the squad consisted of fewer soldiers would make it obvious what had happened. Another possible departure would have been the result of a change in the composition of a unit consisting of Muslims and Christians. This was because some scribes followed the procedure

1 7 Numaralı mühimme defteri, No. 846.

2 6 Numaralı mühimme defteri, Nos. 752, 775.

3 ÖNB Mxt 561, p. 46.

4 ÖNB Mxt 614, p. 176.

5 ÖNB Mxt 642, p. 216.

of putting the Muslims at the beginning of lists, and the Christians after them. If a Christian left the unit and was replaced by a Muslim, the latter was written at the end of the Muslims, and consequently Radul Nikola, who so far had been the eighth in the list, became the ninth. This admirable consistency of registration is only reinforced by the great variety of names. We would presume that without surnames the frequent recurrence of Hasan Hüseyin, Mustafa Uruc or other, often used names would make any investigation impossible. This is not the case, as the large number of names in use led to such a variety of 'own name plus father's name' patterns that the same combination of names hardly ever occurred in one squad. And if it did happen, the scribe distinguished the second soldier with the same name by using the adjective 'other'. If in the fourth squad of the *müstahfiz* of Canbek we find the only Hasan Hüseyin ten years later, we can confidently identify him as the same person from years earlier.

I have compared the list of names registered for decades in numerous fortresses, and the result is always the same. I shall list a few characteristic examples.

By 1580, only one third of the *müstahfiz* of the already 'settled' garrison of Vaç registered in 1558 remained, and by 1588 only one ninth of the cavalry in service in 1558 were still there. Between 1558 and 1580 two thirds of the *müstahfiz* in Vişegrad changed. In Canbek from 1558 to 1588 only one sixteenth of this branch and of the artillery remained, while between 1569 and 1588 only one fourteenth of the *farises* were still to be found there. At Kızılhisar between 1573 and 1588 only one tenth of the *azabs* stayed in their posts.<sup>1</sup>

Çongrad was constructed in 1561 and had 60 cavalymen stationed there (nine were already missing in the first year); of these only seven lasted until 1573, and by 1591 all the original soldiers had gone; of the partially renewed unit of 61 men that was registered in 1573, only two cavalymen were still there in 1591.<sup>2</sup> Of the 34 men of the three *müstahfiz* squads defending Çoka in 1551 only 13 soldiers were still present in the fortress seven years later.<sup>3</sup> Of the two squads of the Siçen artillery registered in 1558 only three men remained by 1580.<sup>4</sup> Only 34 of the 58 cavalymen transferred to Kopan from Donbo in 1553, and only 10 of the 23 *martoloses*, remained in their posts until 1557, which means that in four years almost half of these two units disappeared from the fortress.<sup>5</sup> In the spring of 1546 among the garrison of Sobotka, which consisted

1 The pay lists by years are as follows: 1558: ÖNB Mxt 633; 1569: Mxt 642; 1573: Mxt 626; 1588: Mxt 615.

2 The pay lists by years are as follows: 1561: ÖNB Mxt 607; 1573: Mxt 626; 1591: Mxt 607.

3 The pay lists for the two years are as follows: 1551: ÖNB Mxt 592; 1558: Mxt 633.

4 The two lists: 1558: ÖNB Mxt 633; the list which was continuously corrected between 1570 and 1580: Mxt 634.

5 The two lists: 1553: ÖNB Mxt 643; 1557: Mxt 614.

of only two squads of *müştahfizes*, there was one soldier who was a member of the original garrison in 1543, but then they still served in Kalaça and Baya.<sup>1</sup>

The situation was no better even in large fortresses. A rare register has survived listing the *müştahfizes* with salary *timar* of the inner fortress of Sigetvar, on which personnel changes were written between April 27, 1580 and January 17, 1592.<sup>2</sup> During these almost twelve years 46 of the original 120 soldiers remained. Although the proportion is quite high, the frequency of changes is intense: 32 posts changed hands once, 20 twice, 15 three times and 7 four times. Peçuy was always an exemplary garrison, peaceful and settled; there were barely any missing soldiers, and the places of the few who left were quickly filled by others.

If we consider a longer period, however, we get a different picture. Between 1570 and 1591, 12 of the 134 *müştahfizes* registered in the first year remained, as did 2 of the 31 artillerymen; only eight of the 81 *azabs* recorded in 1553 were left by 1570, while 5 of the unit of 64 who were given salary *timars* in 1570 remained by 1591.<sup>3</sup> As a result of frequent transfers, the *farises* can only be studied for shorter periods. Of the 121 cavalrymen listed in the incomplete register of 1543, only 14 men were still present ten years later; of the 130 cavalrymen in the register of 1553 (which is complete) we find only 51 in their posts five years later. Between 1558 and 1569 only the members of one *ağalık* that stayed in the same place can be studied: during this relatively peaceful decade almost three quarters of the soldiers disappeared.<sup>4</sup>

In the years of the Fifteen Years' War the total number of troops changed at an unprecedented rate; to be more precise, it fell. Many of them died in battle, although it has to be said that yet again Ottoman losses were often exaggerated by Christian sources; for example the state of the garrison of Hatvan in 1596–1597 certainly does not support the claim that when the town fell on September 3, 1596, the imperial army massacred most of the Ottoman defenders of the fortress as well as the majority of the civilians. The other reason for the decline in the numbers of the fortress soldiery and for its growing mobility is that the military had grown soft and lazy during the decades of peace, and then fled from their posts at the first whiff of gunpowder. The pay list drafted in H. 1005/1596–1597, which also contains later annotations,<sup>5</sup> informs us that in little more than a year 145 men, 44% of the Buda corps of 326 *müştahfizes*, disappeared from the

1 The two lists: ÖNB Mxt 550 and Mxt 561.

2 ÖNB Mxt 607, pp. 230–237.

3 The sources belonging to the years: the two last data on the *müştahfizes* and artillery, and on the *azabs* 1570: BOA Tapu 503; 1591: Tapu 638; *azabs* 1553: ÖNB Mxt 643; 1569–1570: Mxt 642.

4 The lists: 1543: ÖNB Mxt 592; 1553: Mxt 643; 1558: Mxt 614; 1569: Mxt 642.

5 BOA MAD 3370.

fortress. Unfortunately the scribe only recorded what happened to 55 of them: 25 (45%) left the fortress without notice or after resigning, 11 died, 6 disappeared and 13 changed posts. It is shocking that the *yeniçeris* of the Porte at Kanija were also fleeing. In the summer of 1605 there must have been about 1400–1500 of them; 57 had to be expelled from the corps, as 27 refused to take part in the campaign, and 30 ran away: in contrast to these only 15 died, disappeared or were taken prisoner.<sup>1</sup>

Unfortunately, the 17th century pay lists are not such as would enable us to study the movements of soldiers.

Being a soldier in the western border territories of the Ottoman Empire, which were continuously engulfed in battles and wars, was a dangerous business, and besides the low life expectancy which characterised the period this offers a possible explanation for the frequent changes among fortress defenders. However, comparing lists of names drafted in various decades we do not find significant differences between wartime and peace, between the years that were characterised by constant raids and those that were not. Looking for further explanations, let me remind the reader of the fact that the whole 'Turkish' population of Hungary was on the move. Finally, another aspect emerges, which will be discussed in the next chapter: the majority of Ottoman Hungary's fortress soldiers were sons of the Balkans. Presumably many of the soldiers of Bosnian, Serbian and Albanian origin only sought a temporary livelihood in the Ottoman fortresses in Hungary.

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1 BOA MAD 3731.



## V The Origins and Religions of Soldiers

## 1. The Origins of Soldiers

Ottoman Hungary was described by Lajos Fekete as “a world which is usually referred to as Turkish, although it was more Bosnian and Serbian.”<sup>1</sup> When compiling a Turkish language book and dictionary, Gyula Németh came to the conclusion that “naturally the Muslim subjects of the Porte and those of other faiths came to live here from all over the empire; the most important role, however, was played by the Bosnian Muslims, whose country was situated closest to Hungary among all the Muslim provinces of the Porte.” This is why the 17th century language book recorded a dialect which has characteristics in common with the Bosnian Turkish language.<sup>2</sup> When studying Ottoman loan words in Hungarian, Zsuzsa Kakuk found that these stem from three sources: common Turkish, its West Balkan dialect and Serbo-Croatian.<sup>3</sup> “Hungarians heard Turkish words uttered at the same time by people whose mother tongues were Turkish and Slav; words that we borrowed entered our language simultaneously from Turkish and Slav sources. Words used in two forms are typical manifestations of this duality.”<sup>4</sup>

Everywhere, archeological finds from excavated Ottoman fortresses, especially pottery, testify to the presence of people from the Balkans and their influence. According to Győző Gerő's summary, in the second half of the 16th century, pottery made with the coiling technique, smoothed on primitive hand-operated wheels, appeared in the Ottoman province of Hungary; the technique could still be found in the Balkans at the beginning of the 20th century. These finds have only been excavated together with local Ottoman or imported eastern pottery, and are historically significant not only in terms of technology but also in terms of ethnicity: they demonstrate the presence of Balkan Slav peoples.<sup>5</sup> When the Ottoman fortresses in Ozora, Val, Barça and Yenipalanka were excavated, little ‘classical’ Ottoman glazed ware was found, but large quantities of Balkan pottery were discovered, including vessels fired to dark grey or black on the outside, reddish-brown inside, roughly worked on a hand-operated wheel, and in some places the characteristic Balkan kilns have survived as well.<sup>6</sup>

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1 Fekete, *Budapest a törökök korában*, 197.

2 J. Németh, *Die türkische Sprache in Ungarn im siebzehnten Jahrhundert*. Budapest, 1970, 8–9. “Es gab natürlich mohammedanische und andersgläubige Untertanen der Pforte aus allen Gebieten des Reiches, aber die Hauptrolle spielten die bosnischen Mohammedaner, deren Land von allen mohammedanischen Provinzen der Pforte Ungarn am nächsten lag.”

3 Suzanne Kakuk, *Recherches sur l'histoire de la langue osmanlie des XVI<sup>e</sup> et XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles. Les éléments osmanlis de la langue hongroise*. Budapest, 1973, 527–546.

4 Zsuzsa Kakuk, *A török kor emléke a magyar szókincsben* [The residue of the Turkish era in the Hungarian vocabulary]. Budapest, 1996, 13.

5 Győző Gerő, ‘Die Frage der Keramik und des Ethnikums im türkischen Fundmaterial von Ungarn’, in Hanns Schmid et al. (Schriftleitung), *Urgeschichte — Römerzeit — Mittelalter. Materialien zur Archäologie und Landeskunde des Burgenlandes II*. Eisenstadt, 1985, 200.

6 Attila Gaál, ‘Turkish Palisades on the Tolna-county Streetch of the Buda-to-Eszék Road’, in



Thus historical sources, language and material relics all point to a substantial south Slav population in the Ottoman centres. The literature has focused mainly on the Balkan people who spread through the southern zone of Ottoman Hungary; among the inhabitants of the Ottoman strongholds it has almost exclusively noted the Christian *martoloses*, and in the major trade centres it has concentrated on the south Slav craftsmen and merchants; the Balkan traces were linked to these. However, the unquestionable statement of Gyula Németh, according to which the Turks in Hungary spoke the Bosnian dialect, refers not to the Christian *martoloses* and merchants of the population of Ottoman Hungary, but to the Muslim inhabitants, who were considered Turkish.

Although not even the approximate proportions are known, it is usually not doubted that the majority of the 'Turks' in Ottoman Hungary were soldiers. The only areas that the military did not manage to penetrate were the religious and legal professions—these remained under the control of an intellectual elite which passed down the posts along its own line in other parts of the empire as well—, but among tax farmers, craftsmen, shopkeepers and merchants we keep coming across soldiers who were only engaged in these activities as a form of secondary employment. This means that they actually constituted a significant proportion of the 'civilian' population. Obviously it would be an exaggeration to claim that the 'Turks' living in Hungary were equivalent to the soldiery who were sent here, but when we research the origins and the ethnicity of the conquerors, investigating the origins of the soldiers will give us the clearest picture. This investigation is the most obvious choice from a practical point of view as well: the surviving sources are concerned with soldiers. The lack of data makes it impossible to count the real civilians: middle-ranking officials, the classes of craftsmen and merchants, and even when we know the names of particular individuals, we know nothing about their origins.

From the mid-16th century we have four pay lists where the names are annotated, above and below, with a modicum of personal information on the origin of the soldier, his closest relatives, and maybe a few words about his career so far.

The earliest of these lists covers the garrison of Ístolni Belgrad between September 5 and 29, 1543. The fortress was taken by Sultan Süleyman on September 2, thus the list preserved the names of the first defenders. Presumably it was due

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Ibolya Gerelyes–Gyöngyi Kovács (eds.), *Archaeology of the Ottoman Period in Hungary*. Budapest, 2003, 105–108. Ibolya Gerelyes–István Feld, 'Hódołtság kori leletgyűttesek az ozorai várkastélyból [Finds from the Ottoman era in the fortress castle of Ozora]'. *Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae* 1986, 161–180. Kovács–Rózsás, *A barcsi török palánkvár*, 164–182. Gábor Hatházi–Gyöngyi Kovács, *A váli gótikus templomtorony. Adatok Vál 14–17. századi történetéhez* [The gothic church tower of Val. Data on the 14th–17th-century history of Val]. Székesfehérvár, 1996.

to the care taken over the establishment of this new and important garrison that in the register of the most valued infantry unit of the fortress, the *müstahfizes*, each soldier's place of origin was also noted.<sup>1</sup> The unit consisted of 853 men, and 840 of them were marked either with the name of the nationality to which they belonged—*Arnavud* meaning Albanian, or *Macar* meaning Hungarian—, or more often the name of the geographical location he came from. These latter annotations sometimes refer to whole countries or parts of countries, but more often to a larger settlement. The geographical names Edirne, Sofia, Semendire and Saray (Sarajevo) have double meanings: they could refer to the places themselves, or they could indicate the administrative districts—it is impossible to distinguish between the two possibilities, so I considered every town name as a district.

Reading and identifying the names of settlements was a long and tedious process. As the scribe supplied neither the *vilayet* nor the *liva* (and furthermore he tended to leave out the diacritics of Arabic letters), the place given could be looked for in any corner of the empire, which by that time had expanded significantly. Luckily, the final result narrowed down the territory in question: none of the *müstahfizes* in İstolni Belgrad came from southern Arabia or from Egypt, their dwelling places 'only' stretched from eastern Anatolia to Buda. In the end I was unable to decode the places of origin of only 28 soldiers (usually these appear once and the writing is smudged. I am certain about the vast majority of the 812 ethnic or geographical names, and there some that I can claim to have identified with a fair degree of confidence. Luckily the number of uncertain identifications is too low to significantly modify the final ratios.<sup>2</sup>

1 ÖNB Mxt 550, the register of the *müstahfizes* is on pp. 1–11.

2 In order to identify the geographical names I used the following works: Tayyib Gökbilgin, 'Kanuni Sultan Süleyman Devri Başlarında Rumeli Eyaleti, Livaları, Şehir ve Kasabaları', *Belleten* 20 (1956) 77–80, 247–298. M. Kemal Özergin, 'Rumeli Kadılıkalarında 1078 Düzenlemesi', in *İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı'ya Armağan*. Ankara, 1976, 251–309. Tüccarzade İbrahim Halmi, *Memalik-i Osmaniye Ceb Atlası*. İstanbul 1323 (=1905). Johann von Asbóth, *Bosnien und Herzegowina*. Wien, 1888, especially the map entitled 'Karte von Bosnien und der Herzegowina mit geschichtlichen Angaben'. Lajos Thallóczy, *Bosznia mint történelmi színtér* [Bosnia as a scene of history]. Budapest, 1902, with map. *Detailbeschreibung von Serbien*. Wien, 1905, the maps entitled 'Kommunikationskarte von Serbien. Gewässer'. A. Scobel (Hrsg.), *Andrees allgemeiner Handatlas. Ausgabe für Österreich-Ungarn*. Wien, 1912, 77–78.: Dalmatien, Bosnien und Hercegovina, Montenegro. W. Liebenow, *Grosse Karte der Türkei und Balkanstaaten mit der Spezialkarte des Osmanischen Reiches und seiner Nachbarländer*. Berlin, s.a.; the map also indicates the Turkish names of larger settlements. *Izvori za bolgarskata istorija XXVI. Turski izvori VII*. Ed. by Strashimir Dimitrov–Elena Grozdanova–Stepan Andreev. Sofia, 1986, the index of the volume. Nikolaj Todorov–Asparuh Velkov, *Situation démographique de la Péninsule balkanique (fin du XV<sup>e</sup> s. –début du XVI<sup>e</sup> s.)*. Sofia, 1988, the index of the volume. Hans Georg Majer (ed.), *Das osmanische "Registerbuch der Beschwerden" (şikâyet defteri) vom Jahre 1675. Bd. I*. Wien, 1984, the index of place names. Bruce McGowen, *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe. Taxation, Trade and the Struggle for Land, 1600–1800*. Cambridge, 1981, 92–93: Map 13: Judicial districts of Ottoman Europe, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Milan Vasić, 'Der Einfluss der Türkenkriege auf die Wirtschaft des osmanischen Grenzgebiets

The unfortunate fact that the scribe only recorded the places of origin of the *müstahfiz*, and even then he supplied only the districts, limits both the investigation and the final result. An attempt was made to allocate soldiers born into Muslim families into this infantry unit, along with relatively small numbers of recent converts, but never Christians. If we knew the origins of the whole garrison, the numbers of Christian *martoloses* would surely raise the proportion of Serbians more than their contribution to *müstahfiz* units alone. The habit of registering by district, on the other hand, makes it impossible to distinguish those who were recruited in fortified places and towns from those who arrived from villages.

Even so, in spite of these limitations the final results are interesting: they show how an important unit of the new garrison was made up. The sultan issued the decree of mobilization for the Estergon campaign on March 21, 1543; he himself set out with the army on April 23 from Edirne, and crossed the river Drava at the end of June.<sup>1</sup> The volunteers had a good three months from mobilisation to the beginning of the fighting in Hungary to join the army. The first wave came from Asia Minor, the second from Istanbul, and finally new recruits arrived evenly distributed from every part of the Balkan Peninsula to join the marching army. Men who were excluded one way or another from society in their own dwelling place, or aspired to secure state wages, made use of the fact that the imperial campaign needed manpower, and became soldiers.

The districts of origin of the *müstahfiz*es of İstolni Belgrad are shown in Table 27. I divided the Balkans into ten areas, whose borders I traced taking into consideration the date of conquest, the degree of Islamisation, linguistic boundaries and the Ottoman administrative divisions.

1. Thrace with Istanbul and Edirne: the western border of this territory stretches east of the Plovdiv (Filibe)–Drama line. The district, as a result of the destruction caused by the struggle for Constantinople, then the large-scale settlement under Mehmed II, was strongly Islamised and became Turkish as early as the second half of the 15th century.
2. The line of the lower Danube from Vidin to the fortresses in the vicinity of the delta. The eastern Balkan provinces of the empire were defended by

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in Serbien und Bosnien (1480–1536)', in Othmar Pickl (Hrsg.), *Die wirtschaftlichen Auswirkungen der Türkenkriege*. Graz, 1971, the map of the Bosnian *paşalık*. *Problèmes de la formation du peuple albanais, de sa langue et de sa culture*. Tirana, 1985, map of Albania between pages 176 and 177.

1 Tayyib Gökbilgin, *Kanuni Sultan Süleyman*. İstanbul, 1967, 30. Gyula Káldy-Nagy, *Szulejmán [Süleyman]*. Budapest, 1974, 171. Valpova fell on June 22, Şikloş on July 6: Mehmed İpçioğlu, 'Kanuni Süleyman'ın Estergon (Esztergom) Seferi 1543', *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 10 (1990) 146–147.

strongly manned fortifications located mainly along the southern bank of the river, thus this line was also strongly Islamised.

3. Bulgaria, whose territory is approximately the same as that of the modern country, naturally minus the stretch along the Danube.
4. Serbia (with Kosovo) and the territory between the rivers Drava and Sava,<sup>1</sup> which is the Serbian linguistic territory, if matters of language mean anything at all in this period. In the 16th century we ought to consider the territory between the rivers as part of Hungary; the Ottoman administration, however, took the Drava as the southern border of the *vilayet* of Buda when registering soldiers.
5. Macedonia, which to the west starts from the eastern shore of Lake Ohrid, and stretches to the east as far as the Plovdiv–Drama line, up to Skopje (Üsküb) in the north and Thessaloniki (Selanik) in the south.
6. Albania.
7. The northern half of the Greek Peninsula.
8. The Peloponnese (Morea). From both ethnic and linguistic points of view the two parts of Greece should be considered as a single unit; I have only divided the peninsula into two so that the degree of Islamisation can be measured.
9. Bosnia, or more precisely the territory which the Ottoman administration considered the *sancak* of Bosnia. Its border with Serbia runs along the Drina, it crosses the river towards the east at Višegrad (Vişegrad).
10. Herzegovina with Montenegro, or more precisely the territory which in 1543 included the *sancak* of Hersek; in the 1550s Hersek and the small *sancak* established around Kilis. Foça stood at its eastern end.

Finally two unnumbered, non-Balkan territories sent men to İstolni Belgrad as well (and later to the whole of the Buda *vilayet*): the eastern part of the empire and Hungary, which in 1543 meant only the district of Buda.

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<sup>1</sup> In our period the population of the Sirem and Pojega *sancaks* was already almost pure Serbian. Bruce W. McGowan, *Sirem Sancağı Mufasssal Tahrir Defteri*. Ankara, 1983. Pál Engel, 'A török dúlások hatása a népességre: Valkó megye példája [The effect of Turkish ravages on the population: The example of the county of Valkó]', *Századok* 134:2 (2000) 267–321.

**Table 27**  
*The origins of the müstahfizes in İstolni Belgrad, 1543*

District	Heads	%	Born Muslim %	New Muslim %
Thrace	83	10.2	74.7	25.3
Lower Danube	65	8	75.4	24.6
Bulgaria	73	9	67.1	32.9
Serbian territory	89	11	60.7	39.3
Macedonia	127	15.8	62.2	37.8
Albania	69	8.5	50.7	49.3
North Greece	32	3.9	62.5	37.5
Morea	36	4.4	38.9	61.1
Bosnia	123	15.1	73.2	26.8
Herzegovina	25	3.1	68	32
The Balkans altogether	722	89		
Asia Minor	75	9.2	98.7	1.3
Arabs	9	1.1	77.8	22.2
Hungary	6	0.7	–	100
<b>Total</b>	<b>812</b>	<b>100</b>		

The table speaks for itself; it only needs a summary or further explanation at a few points. 88.9% of the İstolni Belgrad *müstahfizes* were from the Balkans, 10.3% were recruits from the eastern provinces. 0.7% of the total, six men, came from Hungary. They were new Muslims, presumably they were all Hungarian: after four of their names their nationality, '*Macar*' is given; two were from Buda or the district of Buda.

There was no part of the Balkan Peninsula that did not supply any soldiers. Taking the Greek peninsula as one unit, six of the districts (thus reduced to nine) contributed evenly, between 8–11% to the recruits. Three districts were different: the largest number of men, 127, came from Macedonia, but Bosnia with its 123 soldiers was a very close second. However, its neighbour, the recently conquered Herzegovina and Montenegro, which preserved its tribal autonomy,<sup>1</sup> was barely represented: only 3.1% of the *müstahfizes* came from here. It is instructive, on the other hand, to divide the two constituent parts of the Serbian territory. Only 79 soldiers came from Serbia, and only ten of them from the territory between the Drava and Sava, whose conquest had started only two decades earlier. Obviously the sizes of the territories also contributed to the differences; the leading role of Macedonia and Bosnia, however, cannot be attributed to this, as they were not among the most extensive districts.

There are some towns or administrative districts belonging to them which produced particularly large numbers of volunteers. Edirne appears under the names of 37 soldiers, Niğbolu (Nikopol) under 29, Semendire 23, Istanbul 22, Belgrade 19, and Üsküb 18. (From the western part of the peninsula only Üsküb is represented;

1 Bistra Cvetkova, *Les institutions ottomanes en Europe*. Wiesbaden, 1978, 68.

no doubt there were other places too, but in this territory, country and nationality are usually indicated as place of origin instead of towns.) It clearly transpires from later pay lists, and based on this it can be presumed, that the frequently mentioned military and administrative centres often functioned as places where new recruits were assembled and sent off on their way to the army as well.

Most of the men arriving from the eastern part of the empire, 75 recruits, came from Asia Minor, while 8 were Arabs and there was 1 Tatar (who could also have been from northern Bulgaria).

The sample seems large enough to reflect the expected degree of Islamisation. The eastern part of the empire, except for three converts, sent born Muslims. Exactly three quarters of the new recruits from Thrace and from along the lower Danube were born into Muslim families, and the degree of conversion in Bosnia was almost as high. The Bulgarian, Macedonian, Serbian, Herzegovian and northern Greek territories were less Islamised, 61–68% of the soldiers from these areas were born Muslim. The conversion *en masse* of Albanians was still at an early stage; exactly half of the men are first generation Muslims. The fewest Muslim recruits, only 39% of the total, were sent by far-away, secluded Morea, here the ratio was just the opposite of that of Serbia. Finally, all the Hungarian recruits are new Muslims, ‘bin Abdullahs’.

In 1543, more annotations referring to place of origin than usual were added to the names of men belonging to certain units in a few fortresses, though with rather less detail. I shall only mention one example: the scribe noted the original dwelling place of 119 men of the Pest *müstahfiz*es under their names. Their distribution differs slightly from that of the İstolni Belgrad men; it indicates the state of affairs in the middle of the century, which can be attributed either to chance, or to the fact that the garrison was not new, but partly brought here from the fortresses of Sirem. More than three quarters of the 119 men, 78%, came from Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia (42% and 36% respectively); Thrace contributed 6, the remaining Balkan territories 13.5, Anatolia and Hungary 2.5%.<sup>1</sup>

Our second pay list which is especially rich in personal data includes all the cash-paid soldiers of all the fortresses in the *vilayet* of Buda in the year between October 24, 1557 and October 13, 1558 (I shall call it the list of 1558).<sup>2</sup> Thus the basic list was drawn up in the autumn of 1557, and the changes taking place were noted on it for a year. The register of original names and the list of replacements contain almost 13,000 names, above 819 of which personal data were added. A few of the 819 men appear in the original list, but the vast majority were replacements who joined up during the year. But irrespective of when they joined, what they probably have in common is that they were all new recruits.

1 ÖNB Mxt 566, pp. 57–66.

2 ÖNB Mxt 614.

The scribe took special care to record their personal data. The place of origin was noted several times: he wrote down the *liva*, within that the subdistrict, the *kazas* or *nahiyes*, then the settlement. Before this the status was added: fortress (*kale*), town (*kasaba*), the civilian town (*varoş*) or village (*kariye*) belonging to the fortress; for larger places he also named the town quarter (*mahalle*). To make the job of the future researcher easier, the names of places in Asia Minor are preceded by the definition 'on the other side'. Having noted the place of origin, the scribe then named the soldier's closest male relative, if any; if there was none, then the nearest female, most often his siblings, to whom the treasury would issue the inheritance if the soldier died. These data are important, because they indicate whether the converted soldier's brothers were converts too. Another interesting feature of the personal data is the mention of whether new Muslim recruits converted to Islam of their own free will. The scribe also noted if someone was the freed slave of an important person, and a valuable though sadly rare bonus is provided by a few words about the soldier's career.

Thanks to the careful annotations, there was only one recruit of 819 whose place of origin I could not identify. The cases of a further four soldiers are impossible to evaluate. One of them was from Slovenia, one was Croatian, one Czech—he was taken prisoner during a 'Czech-Moravian raid'—, but where they had lived before is not revealed. The fourth one could not say where he spent his childhood. Except for these five soldiers I analysed altogether 814 cases: the size of the sample is identical with the previous one. I have divided the places of origin into the above described ten Balkan regions and summarized the results in table 28.

*Table 28*  
*The origins of the fortress defenders serving in the vilayet of Buda, 1558*

District	Heads	%	Born Muslim %	New Muslim %	Christian %
Thrace	6	0.7	83.3	16.7	—
Lower Danube	17	2.1	41.2	17.6	41.1
Bulgaria	15	1.8	93.3	—	6.7
Serbian territory	236	29	47.4	15.7	36.9
Macedonia	13	1.6	69.2	30.8	—
Albania	15	1.8	33.3	66.7	—
North Greece	6	0.7	66.6	16.7	16.7
Morea	2	0.2	—	100	—
Bosnia	327	40.2	75.5	21.1	3.4
Herzegovina	105	12.9	75.2	22.9	1.9
The Balkans altogether	<b>742</b>	<b>91</b>			
Asia Minor	20	2.5	100		
Hungary	52	6.4	17.3	55.8	26.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>814</b>	<b>99.9</b>	<b>62.8</b>	<b>22.1</b>	<b>15.1</b>

Behind the data, there was a historical situation which was completely different from that of 1543. 1557 was a year of peace; no Ottoman imperial army had marched through Hungary for five years. Recruits were not needed to fill the sultan's campaigning forces or to garrison newly captured fortresses, but only to replace the daily losses of soldiers. As the turnover was very rapid up to the 1570s, after which it slowed down but never ceased completely, the total body of recruits registered annually became, in a few decades, the complete corps of soldiers.

Of the 814 men, only 20 came from 'the other side', Asia Minor. Ottoman Hungary, on the other hand, supplied far more soldiers, altogether 52, some of whom were born Muslim, while others were converts of different ethnic origins, Christians from the Balkans and Hungarians as well. This time, a little more than nine tenths of the new recruits were from the Balkans, primarily from the north-west territories. Rounding up the figures, Bosnia contributed 40%, Serbia and the territory between the Drava and Sava 29%, Herzegovina together with Kilis 13%, this whole contiguous territory 82% to the supply of soldiers. The other districts of the Balkan Peninsula provided altogether no more than 9% of the recruits.

The regions forming the north-west block did not play roles of equal importance. Large numbers of Muslims came pouring out of Bosnia and Herzegovina, but barely any Christians. The great masses of Christian *martoloses*, however, arrived from territories populated by Serbians.

It is worth sub-dividing territories even further. Herzegovina and the newly formed *sancak* of Kilis, to which a stretch of coast belonged, had reached an advanced stage of Islamisation. Three quarters of the people coming from here were born Muslims, the others, except for two Christians, were new converts. Bosnia split into two *livas*, the *sancak* of Bosna with Saray as its centre, and east of this the much smaller *İzvornik*, whose eastern settlements already stretched into Serbia. The conversion of Bosnians was making such rapid progress that 80% of those who left were Muslims, and more than half came from villages (59%): the peasants too were converted *en masse*. Of those who left the *sancak* of *İzvornik* behind only 68% were Muslim-born, and less than half (47%) came from villages.

The Serbian district consisted of Serbia and the territory between the rivers Drava and Sava. Let us recall: in 1543 Serbia supplied 79 soldiers to *İstolni Belgrad*, the territory between the rivers 10. By 1557 the ratio had changed radically. From Serbia 116, from between the rivers 120 newly recruited soldiers joined the fortresses of the *vilayet* of Buda. Within the two territories there seem to be obvious focal points. According to the Ottoman division, Serbia was divided into four and a half *sancaks*: the most extensive being Semendire, south and south



west of it Alacahisar, Vilçitrin and Prizren—the combined territories of these barely surpassed that of Semendire—, and the south-west part of the *liva* of Vidin also stretched over into Serbia. Of the 116 Serbians enlisted in the *vilayet* of Buda, 107 came from the *sancak* of Semendire, which is northern Serbia, while from all other *sancaks* located further south only nine came. The situation is similar between the Drava and the Sava. The focal point here shifted to Sirem, which sent 85 soldiers, in contrast with the 35 men who were from the *sancaks* of Pojega and Pakrač (Pakrac). As we can see, recruits were pouring in from the contiguous northern block of the territories populated with Serbs, consisting of Sirem and northern Serbia, while they only trickled in from other areas.

The proportion of Muslim-born men is suspiciously high: almost 50% among those who came from the Serbian block of territory, while that of new Muslims is low in both territorial parts: in Serbia it is 13%, between the rivers 18%. The explanation is supplied by the differentiation between those who came from fortified places, towns and villages. In both territories the vast majority of recruits came from the populations of fortified places: 69% of the men coming from Serbia, 82% of those from between the rivers. No doubt the main reason for this was the establishment of the Ottoman fortress system in Hungary. By the mid-16th century the defensive significance of fortresses located south of the Drava had decreased; some of the fortresses between the rivers were abandoned, and the remaining garrisons were reduced in size.<sup>1</sup> Large numbers of soldiers were left unemployed, and their sons, who had grown up since the occupation of the territory, only added to their number. Even more important, in this list too one notes the role played by the military and administrative centres located along the two great rivers in collecting and sending off recruits.

As we have seen, very few Christians from Bosnia and Herzegovina enlisted in the Ottoman fortresses in Hungary. The place of origin of the Serbian military personnel, who served mostly as *martoloses*, less often as artillerymen or paid craftsmen, was northern Serbia and the territory between the rivers Drava and Sava. The Christian Serbian soldiers who migrated to Hungary came exclusively from the *sancak* of Semendire and the western part of Vidin. Three quarters of those who left the territory between the rivers were from the *liva* of Sirem, one quarter from that of Pojega, and most of them were village-born.

Finally, the well-established province of Buda, packed with Ottoman fortresses, contributed to the supply of fortress soldiers with people of various origins. I will deal with them in more detail later.

The limitation of both our sources is that they offer a relatively small sample of under a thousand people, so they might be accused of not being representative. As long as I only knew of these two sources, I seriously wondered whether

1 Zirojević, *Turska utvrđena mesta*, 99–143.

service in the Ottoman army really attracted so very few Hungarians. Fortunately, a list from 1554 has survived, which, albeit incomplete—it does not include all the fortresses of the *vilayet*, and several pages of the register of the Hatvan garrison are lost as well—is unique in that the scribe wrote next to all the soldiers present, except for some *timar*-holders, their place of origin and closest relatives.<sup>1</sup> There were only two annotations I could not decipher, so this time we have a sample of 3,412 men, in which every unit of the small and large fortresses is realistically represented.

With some modifications I used the same ten areas when grouping the places of origin. In order to measure the degree of Islamisation in 1543 it made sense to separate northern and southern Greece; now, however, with a Greek contribution of less than 1 percent, I took the two areas as one. As the significance of the Serbs had increased, on the other hand, I separated Serbia proper from the territory between the Drava and Sava. Hungarians and non-Hungarians from Ottoman Hungary and non-Hungarian Western Christians were all assigned to separate categories, and I also divided the eastern part of the empire

*Table 29*  
*The origins of the garrisons of nine fortresses, 1554*

Region	Heads	%	Muslim born %	New Muslim %	Christian %	From fortress/town %	From village %	Has children %
Thrace	34	1	91.2	8.8	–	55.9	41.1	20.6
Lower Danube	44	1.3	65.9	18.2	15.9	68.2	31.8	15.9
Bulgaria	145	4.2	76.6	21.4	2	24.8	75.2	13.1
Serbia	855	25.1	46.3	22.3	31.4	63.6	36.4	20.3
Btw Drava and Sava	451	13.2	40.1	22.4	37.5	76.7	23.3	16
Macedonia	110	3.2	70	28.2	1.8	61.8	38.2	18.2
Albania	44	1.3	45.5	54.5	–	45.5	54.5	22.7
Greece	36	1.1	41.7	52.8	5.5	47.2	52.8	36.1
Bosnia	1,006	29.5	77.1	18.5	4.4	48.6	51.4	9.8
Herzegovina	377	11	78.2	20.2	1.6	46.2	53.8	8.2
The Balkans altogether	3,102	90.9	62.2	21.6	16.2	56.2	43.8	14.6
Hungarians	69	2	–	98.6	1.4			15.9
Other ethnic groups from Ottoman Hungary	128	3.8	29.7	18.7	51.6	88.3	11.7	12.5
Other Western Christians	24	0.7	–	100	–			12.5
Anatolia	68	2.0	91.2	8.8	–	42.6	57.4	38.2
Beyond Anatolia	21	0.6	76.2	23.8	–			23.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,412</b>	<b>100.0</b>						

1 Berlin Ms. or. fol. 432. The list is quoted and the Balkan origin of the majority of the *müstahfiz*es at Esterгон is discussed briefly in: Schwarz, *Osmanische Sultansurkunden*, 88–89.

into Anatolia and the territories beyond. The number of columns has also increased: the new ones show the percentages of men from fortresses/towns and villages and those who had children. The source and the table show the complete garrisons of Estergon, Novigrad, Vişegrad, Sanda, Çövar, Buyak, Holloka and Solnok, as well as part of the garrison of Hatvan.

In spite of the occasional differences, the study of the 3,412 soldiers reinforces the conclusions drawn from the sample of 814 men listed in 1558. The overall proportion of Balkan participation was the same, 90.9%, instead of the previous 91%. Within that, however, the proportions differ significantly. In 1558 Bosnia-Herzegovina's share is 53.1%, the Serbians' is 29%; in 1554 the order is the same, but the results are much closer: Bosnia-Herzegovina's contribution is 40.5%, the two Serbian territories are represented with 38.3%. The reason for the difference is that in the list of 1554, which contains few fortresses, three large riverside garrisons appear: Estergon, Vişegrad and Solnok, in which—especially in Estergon—the weaker branches constituted the majority, the *azabs* and the *martoloses*, and they were primarily recruited among the Serbians. The other districts in the two pay lists show only minor differences, nor is there any difference in the proportions of Muslim-born, newly converted or Christian soldiers supplied by the different areas. The lesson learnt using the smaller sample was also reinforced: the majority of Bosnian and Herzegovian soldiers were born in villages, so they could not possibly have been children of Turkish families sent abroad for provincial service (these two ethnic groups are now complemented by the Bulgarians, three quarters of whom were village folk), and the hypothesis made when studying the previous lists was proved: northern Serbian towns and fortresses and those between the rivers did indeed also serve as temporary depots for the masses migrating from south to north. This is why three quarters of the Serbians who joined the army appear as town or fortress dwellers.

Finally, the list of 1554 gives a satisfactory reinforcement to the conclusion drawn from the previous two, according to which the Hungarian presence in the Hungarian border fortresses was insignificant: of the 69 Hungarians 26 were ex-slaves, who had accepted conversion and military life as the price of their freedom, while 43 (1.3% of the 3,412 soldiers) volunteered for this path. Of their 24 fellow converts, non-Hungarian Western Christians, 22 were ex-slaves, and only two converted voluntarily: one Czech and one Croatian. The number of non-Hungarians recruited from within Ottoman Hungary is almost twice that of the Hungarians. They enlisted in the army from the southern, Balkan-populated parts of the country.

From among the lists containing personal data, the greatest variety of ethnic origins, including soldiers from the eastern part of the empire and from countries even further afield who ended up in Ottoman Hungary, appear in the list of

1554, although their percentage is still low: only 2.6%. The majority, 68 men, came from Asia Minor, mostly from the western part, especially the south-west shores of the Black Sea. Not all of them were born Muslims: 6 soldiers were converts, but their families belonged to the Christian population of Anatolia, who had been reduced to a minority by then. 21 people were born in countries even further away in the empire, or outside it. Ten were described by the scribe as 'Arab boys', but three of them were ex-slaves. There were also five Persians, one Circassian, one Crimean Tatar, two Muslim-born Hindus, one Kurd and one Abyssinian<sup>1</sup> in this group; the last two were also former slaves who had converted to Islam.

Finally we have a fourth pay list which is also heavily annotated. It was kept from October 14, 1558 to October 2, 1559 (I call it the list of 1559), and it includes a complete list of soldiers in the *vilayet* of Buda.<sup>2</sup> If the scribe had continued as he started, this would be the very best of all lists, because when he felt like it he provided personal information about all soldiers. Unfortunately he was often not in the mood to do so, so following some weird logic, he thickly annotated some pages, while on others he only put the muster signs. He was not consistent even within one fortress: he paid close attention to some branches, but not to others, sometimes he gave personal descriptions, sometimes the origin or the relatives, and sometimes whether the soldier was married or not.

Although this mishmash of details does not enable us to build a picture similar to the previous ones, the thirteen hundred valuable though variegated sets of personal data do supply a great deal of new information. In order to classify this, I chose grouping according to branches as my organising principle. I looked into where the military formations of different value, prestige and pay received their replacements. The result can be summarised by saying that as we move from west to east in the northern zone of the Balkan Peninsula, from Bosnia to Niğbolu, we find the collection zones of military personnel to be of decreasing quality. There is only one branch of which this is not true: the artillery, which needs expertise. It is true that the list mentions the place of origin of only thirteen artillerymen, they, however, arrived to the *vilayet* of Buda from various places; two from Edirne and Istanbul.

The most valued and prestigious units if the garrisons, apart from the soldiers sent and paid by the Porte itself, were the infantry *müstaḥfizes* and cavalry *farises*. Our pay list registered the places of origin of 276 *müstaḥfizes*, who served in various fortresses. Some of them, mostly Muslims, arrived from far away:

1 The three odd Arabs and the Abyssinian—all of them freed slaves and new Muslims—were presumably black, as the definition 'Arab and Abyssinian' also meant black-skinned. Ronald C. Jennings, 'Black Slaves and Free Blacks in Ottoman Cyprus, 1590–1640', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 30 (1987) 288.

2 ÖNB Mxt 633.

three from Anatolia, twenty from the south Balkans, while seventeen were from within Ottoman Hungary; they are mostly new Muslims. The vast majority, however, 63%, came from Bosnia and Herzegovina, and 23% from Serbia, from the vicinity of Vidin and from between the Drava and Sava. The largest centres where they gathered were located in the north: the two Tuzlas, the district of İzvornik and Nemçe in Sirem, but numerous men came from fortresses and towns further south, such as Visoko in the middle of Bosnia, or from Saray (Sarajevo) and Kıladina (Kladanj), from Blagay (Blagaj) in Herzegovina, or from Valyevo (Valjevo) and Ujiçe (Užice) in central Serbia, as well as from the villages belonging to them. More than four fifths of them were already born Muslims.

The *farises* received 337 replacements from the same territory, and the distribution was more or less the same (64% came from Bosnia and Herzegovina, 24% from Serbia, the vicinity of Vidin and from between the rivers.) Maybe as cavalry they were more mobile so they set off from the southern parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina as well, for example from Saray and Mostar. Their places of origin reached further south than those of the *müstahfizes* in Serbia too. Maybe because of the expense of keeping a horse, there were few villagers among them; three quarters of them came from richer, more town-like, mostly fortified places.

A less valued infantry branch of the garrisons was that of the *azabs*, which was the principal gateway—and transit station—for those who aspired to join the fortress soldiers. Here almost everyone was welcome: poor Muslims unable to keep a horse, as well as those who had converted the day before; indeed, we even find a few Christians serving as guides or ordinary soldiers here too. In 1559 almost all the 272 *azabs* serving in the fortresses of the *vilayet* of Buda whose places of origin are known came from the north-western Balkan zone. There were no Anatolians among them; two came from Albania, seven from other parts of the Balkans, and ten from Hungary. The distribution of the vast majority (93%) arriving from the zone stretching from Kilis and Pojega to Niğbolu is already obviously different from that of the two elite branches. The importance of Serbia was beginning to grow: one third of the men came from North Serbia and the most numerous group came from between the rivers. The places of origin of most of them were strongholds which also functioned as collecting centres.

Finally, with the *martoloses*, the generally despised Christian unit of the garrisons, we arrive in obviously Serbian-*eflak* territories. The scribe noted the place where they arrived from next to the names of 331 *martoloses*. None of them enlisted from Anatolia, Albania or the *sancak* of Kilis; from all the other, smaller districts of the Balkans two people joined, from Hungary eight. Bosnia and Herzegovina sent 44 men, of whom twelve were Muslim-born, while three

were converts: they were allocated among the corps of officers and under-officers. The vast majority, 278 men (84%, including only four born Muslims and one convert) came from Serbia, spreading from the territory between the two rivers and the section of the lower Danube as far as Niğbolu. The 39 soldiers who had set off from Serbia's fortress- and town-like settlements, were exclusively from the territories north of the Čačak-Užice line, and within this two-thirds were born along the Danube. The riverside fortresses and towns located both in Serbia and east of it and in Sirem took the leading role: Belgrade, Braničevo, ĩlok, Petrovaradin and Güğercinlik (Golubac) sent numerous recruits. The fortresses in Sirem seem to have been primarily transit posts here as well.

The majority of *martoloses* from villages came from the same clearly defined area. From the territories between the rivers only 30 men were enlisted, while 86 were from northern Serbia and the *sancak* of Vidin, of whom 74 came from villages belonging to the districts of Semendire–Braničevo–Vidin–Resavica. This area, the triangle enclosed between the rivers Danube, Morava and Timok with Braničevo at its centre, even before the Ottoman conquest, but especially later, was the largest dwelling place of the *eflaks*, who had already settled down, but were still largely engaged in animal husbandry, in the north Balkans. I will deal in more detail with the military activity of this semi-military, privileged peasant class. According to the pay lists, part of the surplus *eflak* population became paid soldiers, and found a way of making a living among the *martolos* units of fortresses. It is interesting to note that, as we have seen earlier, the corps of Serbian, and within that *eflak martoloses* is much more stable than that of the Muslim branches: their turnover is usually slower.

The same conclusions can be drawn from the pay list of the year 1554, for the fortresses of which the fortress group of Estergon—the fortress, the walled town and Ciğerdelen—is the best example. We know the place of origin of 1,560 of its soldiers, and 93.3% of them came from the Balkans. As a slight majority of the garrison consisted of *azabs* and *martoloses*, of this 93.3% Serbia and the territory between the Drava and the Sava supplied 47.6%, and only 35.5% came from Bosnia and Herzegovina. 44% of the *müstahfizes* and 45.5% of the cavalry who arrived from the peninsula were Bosnian and Herzegovinan, while the proportions of Serbs among them were 38% and 37.5%; in these two branches the other Balkan areas sent 18% and 17% of the soldiers. Among the *azab* troops the Bosnians and Herzegovinans took the lead with 51%, compared to the 43% of the Serbians, while among *martoloses* only 9% were Bosnians and Herzegovinans, compared to the Serbian-*eflak* 90%; in these two branches the other parts of the peninsula supplied 6% and 1% respectively.

On the basis of what has been said so far it is clear that the peoples of the Balkan countries that belonged to the empire contributed large numbers of men

to the Ottoman army occupying Hungary, and this needs explanation. The Hungarians, on the other hand, seldom joined the Ottoman army, and this can be explained as well.

In 1554, 2% of the 3,412 soldiers with registered places of origin, 69 men, were born Hungarian. 26 of them were freed slaves who converted and undertook military service as the price of their freedom, not of their own free will. The majority were captives of high-ranking officers living in Ottoman fortresses, and remained in the same fortresses for their service, but there were a few who came back to Hungary from far-away lands, Belgrade, Vidin, Semendire, even from Konya in Asia Minor. 43 Hungarians, altogether 1.3% of all the soldiers, converted and took up military service voluntarily (five were joined by their brothers, so a whole generation of their family became Muslim). Considering their birth places, most of them came from the northern part of Ottoman Hungary: usually in a given fortress a native of a nearby settlement was recruited. There is never more than one; never a trace of a group of young men nudging each other to join the Turks. The majority left villages behind: the bigger settlements such as Buda, Pest, Istolni Belgrad, Sanda and Vaç are represented by only one or two people. A separate group is made up of five Hungarians who used to live in south Transdanubian villages. Of all the Hungarians, only four volunteered to serve the sultan in the fortress where they were born or lived; experience shows that most of those who changed sides tried to get away from the locality of their birth.

In 1558 25 converted Hungarians appear in the pay list, which is 3% of the 814 soldiers with known places of origin. 12 were born in Ottoman centres, 13 in small towns or villages. This 3% is higher than the figure from four years earlier, but compared to the proportion arriving from the Balkans it is insignificant.

Both the massive Balkan and the modest Hungarian participation are natural consequences of the situation. By the end of the 15th century, the whole of the Balkan Peninsula had come under Ottoman rule, which was to last for three to five centuries. The natives of this land could only continue their official and military peasant activities within the framework of this state; they had no other options (only a negligible fragment of the population living in the north-west could take service with the Habsburgs). The Ottoman Empire was the only available 'choice' for the military class which emerged in smaller or greater numbers—in huge numbers under the Ottomans—in every contemporary state and society. Anyway, the Ottomans were masters of the art of militarising to the highest possible degree the societies they had subjugated; an important element and safeguard of the close integration of the Balkans was precisely to allocate military functions as well to every section of the subjects acquired here, and to force them to perform auxiliary or actual fighting duties for the army. The Orthodox

Church and ecclesiastical organizations did not resist the intertwining of duties: they had neither sufficient strength nor the necessary will to do so. In the given situation converting to Islam and doing military service carried no moral significance; both were possible and natural reactions to Ottoman rule.

Just as I consider the lack of options and the general militarisation of society in the Balkans the main reasons for massive participation, in Hungary I believe that the opposite of these factors resulted in low participation. Permanent war brought into being a sizeable class of soldiers here as well, but those who opted for a military career, making use of the available choices, went for the Hungarian fortress system. The Ottomans themselves made no attempt to militarise their Hungarian subjects either. Following the cessation of the military peasant organizations set up in Baranya county (see following chapter), they gave up their attempts to turn the Hungarians into their own soldiers or military peasants. The permanent war created a kind of moral barrier to such transformations: both religious norms and lay regulations condemned and declared punishable all forms of collaboration with the conquerors. Hungarian counties that were pushed out of Ottoman Hungary relocated their centres to within the Kingdom, and relying on the force of Hungarian nobles and soldiers, reaching across borders they punished (sometimes by death) cooperation with the Turks, or what was known as *turcismus*.

Hungarian conditions did not totally exclude Ottoman military service, but they did seriously limit it. That it was difficult to resist the attraction of the Ottoman army, and the financial advantages offered by it, is indicated by the 3% Hungarian presence in the fortresses of the *vilayet* of Buda in 1558 and by the cases mentioned in Hungarian sources whereby in the escort of the local elite, mainly the *sancakbeyis*, Hungarians make an appearance too in occasional military manoeuvres.

A larger number of Hungarians became Ottoman soldiers if previously they had been held captive, and later liberated by their capturers, or if the state conscripted them into the army. From 1578–1579, in the register of 2,434 paid cavalymen of the Porte—whose wages came from the central treasury, not the provincial ones—(525 *ulufeciyan-i yemin*, 745 *ulufeciyan-i yesar* and 1164 *silahdar*)<sup>1</sup> there are numerous soldiers whose places of origin are recorded and who had obviously exchanged captivity for military service for the Porte. They can be divided into five groups: Hungarians, Croatian-Slovenians, Western Europeans (Austrians, French and Germans) and Caucasians (Circassians, Georgians, Armenians, Abkhazians and four Russians), as well as Balkan people living within the framework of the Ottoman Empire (Albanians—they were the most numerous—, Bulgarians, Greeks, Serbians and *eflaks*); they too could become prisoners of in-

1 *Osmanski izvori za islamizacionite procesi*, 43–77.



dividuals, or fall victim to the *devşirmes*, the levy of boys.<sup>1</sup> In the four groups which became prisoners in the border territories of the empire, the Hungarians were the most numerous in all cavalry units. This is understandable, as the Hungarian wars and conflicts always supplied both private individuals and the Ottoman state with plenty of captives, as a kind of additional bonus. Maybe some of the men born in Western Europe lost their freedom here too. The 2,434 cavalrymen of the Porte are divided up as follows: 138 Hungarians (5.7%), 98 Slovenians and Croatians (4%), 47 Western European (1.9%) and 107 Caucasians (4.4%), as well as 165 Balkan men (6.8%), 90 of whom are Albanians.

Summarising what we have learnt from the pay lists, we come to the conclusion that the continuous reinforcements of the fortress soldiery of the *vilayet* of Buda arrived mostly from the north western part of the Balkan Peninsula, Herzegovina, Bosnia, Serbia and from the territory between the Drava and the Sava rivers. The first two territories sent mainly Muslim-born men, equally from fortresses, towns and from villages, who filled up the more prestigious branches in the Ottoman fortresses in Hungary. The greater part of the Christian military personnel came from Serbia and from between the rivers, within this the settlement area of the *eflaks*. Very few Hungarians and Western Christians were enlisted in the fortresses of the *vilayet* of Buda, and some of those who did join up were ex-slaves.

From the eastern part of the empire, or from further afield, very few made it to Hungary. Most of them were Western Anatolian, but occasionally we find sons of the Near East as well. But, as we have seen, not even those who arrived from Asia Minor were all Turks, which is indicated, apart from the few new Muslims, by another point worthy of note. Among the few soldiers bearing names of Anatolian settlements we relatively often find men whose second name is Trabzon,<sup>2</sup> which means that they came to Hungary from Trebizond in the south-eastern corner of the Black Sea. Given the great distance, their relatively frequent appearance in Hungary is difficult to explain at first, but only until we learn that the garrison of Trabzon at the end of the 15th century con-

1 In 1557, the one hundred and fifty slaves of a deceased court dignitary were registered; almost half of them were from the Balkans. The analyzer of the source presumes that they were people who became captives of the senior officers during the tax-collecting raids of their commissaries, 'private *devşirme*', mostly without their or their families' consent. I. Metin Kunt, 'Transformation of Zimmi into Askeri', in Benjamin Braude-Bernard Lewis (eds.), *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire. The Functioning of a Plural Society*. New York-London, 1982, 62-63.

2 In 1549 five men from Trabzon served in Buda as *müstahfiz*, artillerymen, gunsmith and cartwright (ÖNB Mxt 562, pp. 2-12); by 1557 the artilleryman, Karagöz Trabzon was the *kethüda* of the unit, by 1569 its *ağa* (ÖNB Mxt 614, p. 10. and Mxt 642, p. 12). In 1557 the captain of Ozora was from Trabzon (ÖNB Mxt 614, p. 179), or in 1570 the first corporal of Şikloş too (BOA Tapu 480, p. 56).

tained numerous men from the Balkans: of its 134 *müstahfiz*es and artillerymen 80 came from the most diverse parts of the Balkan Peninsula.<sup>1</sup> In this last surviving piece of Byzantium, which the Ottomans only captured in 1461, the presence of Balkan soldiers who had converted to Islam in the meantime might have become a tradition and their original country was still remembered. We can presume that the soldiers from Trabzon who got as far as Hungary were of Balkan origin. We even find an example of someone who was not born Muslim but converted. From 1546 two contemporary lists survive of the *müstahfiz*es of Sanda; on one list their *ağa* is called Ali Trabzon, on the other one he is Ali Abdullah,<sup>2</sup> which means that he was a new Muslim who returned to Europe from Trabzon, to the vicinity of his home land.

## 2. Reasons for Becoming a Soldier

So far the four lists have supplied answers to the question of where, from which parts of the Balkan Peninsula, the soldiery of the Buda *vilayet* were continuously recruited. But it also reveals *who* became soldiers and for what reason.

It is important to make a distinction here: I do not want to study the general reasons that brought people into the Ottoman army, but why they chose to serve in fortresses. This is because the state had different regulations concerning the replacement of *sipahis* rewarded with *timars* and the corps of the garrisons. It strove to stop tax paying subjects, the *reaya*, from rising among the *sipahis*; naturally it could not prevent all movement in this direction, but it could make it difficult.<sup>3</sup> The state did, however, open the gates of fortresses—especially those guarding the borders—wide. There is absolutely no sign that any social class would have been excluded from joining these garrisons, either in the relevant laws or in the petitions submitted by applicants for posts.<sup>4</sup> On the contrary, the annotations of pay lists prove that anyone was welcome. We cannot suppose that new recruits from Ottoman military centres were all sons of Turkish soldiers or officials, and those who came from villages were surely members of the *reaya* community.

Thus the great social division lay not so much between the tax-paying *reaya* and all kinds of military personnel who were exempt from paying tax and who were paid with treasury funds, but rather between the *timariot sipahis* who were protected by the authorities and the fortress soldiery which was open to the *reaya* as well. Anybody from the peoples of the Balkan Peninsula who wished to

1 Christiane Villain-Gandossi, 'Les éléments balkaniques dans la garnison de Trébizonde à la fin du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle', in *Contributions à l'histoire économique et sociale de l'Empire ottoman*. Publ. par Jean-Louis Bacqué Grammont et Paul Dumont. Paris, 1983, 134–139.

2 ÖNB Mxt 583, p. 206. and Mxt 592, p. 108.

3 Fodor, 'Önkéntesek', 62–63.

4 Römer, *Osmanische Festungsbesatzungen*, 143–236.

leave civilian life behind for whatever reason and who chose a military career would find a place for himself in the fortresses, especially in Ottoman Hungary, which was able to absorb thousands of new recruits. In the Ottoman state, which was permanently at war, any kind of military career, even fortress service, which was at the bottom of the hierarchy, enjoyed significant prestige: it offered real advancement for the second or later son of a Bosnian peasant family. Having joined one of the garrisons, those who aspired to better things tried to enter forbidden territory: to rise among the *sipahis*. They had to struggle to do this and continuously prove their worth; still, records of grants in the *timar ruznamçesis* kept in the Hungarian *sancaks* show that the most important supply pool of the *sipahis* was the fortress soldiery.

Apart from the attraction of fortress service, which offered a modest but secure livelihood and social advancement, overcrowded families might seem the most obvious source of motivation for Muslims, converts and Christians alike, but this is not confirmed to the expected degree even in the case of Muslim families. The image of an army of heirs growing in populous harems is generally inaccurate, but it is especially false in the case of the new Muslims in north Balkan villages. The personal data of newly recruited men were registered most conscientiously by the scribe of the 1558 list (the drafter of the 1554 list started by listing all the brothers of the soldiers, later he got bored and only wrote in one). He always noted the closest relative according to inheritance laws,<sup>1</sup> mostly brothers (since the soldiers were grown men but mostly unmarried, parents already appear rarely, and children are not yet common), to whom the treasury would give the inheritance should the soldier die.

We can base our calculations on altogether 468 Muslim families which can be used to investigate the size of families. Within this number the scribe registered brothers in 394 cases: 372 new recruits reported one brother, twenty had two, one had four and one had five brothers (we only come across sisters in 11 cases when, in the absence of any male relatives, they became heirs). 74 recruits must have been single children, as instead of siblings they had all kinds of other, mostly distant, collateral relatives registered next to their names. Assuming equal numbers of sons and daughters, and adding a further 35% to cover families without children or with only daughters, the size of Balkan—mostly Bosnian—Muslim families only marginally surpassed that of Hungarian families: we arrive

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1 In the Hanafi school of Islam, accepted by the Ottomans, the order of inheritance is the following: direct descendants, direct forebears, brothers and their descendants, paternal uncles and descendants, maternal uncles and descendants, then, following blood relations, and finally only with the statutory portion of inheritance, spouses. Ömer L. Barkan, 'Edirne Askeri Kassamına Ait Tereke Defterleri (1545–1659)', *Belgeler* 3:5–6 (1968) 20–23. Raymond Charles, *Le droit musulman*. Paris, 1965, 99.

at 2.81 children per family (the Hungarian figures are 2.56, 2.63<sup>1</sup>). Tendentially, it was the younger members of the second generation, which, although not overpopulated, was more numerous than the Hungarian one, who left their homes. Of the 372 recruits who had one brother 134 were first-born, 188 were born second (the scribe did not make a note of whether the brothers of the others were younger or older). On the other hand, in families with many children the older ones, first or second-born sons, were more likely to enlist in the army.

The family circumstances of converted and Christian soldiers appearing in our list barely differed from those of the Muslims. We can take a close look at 132 new Muslim and 120 Christian recruits, who could be considered as one group as the conversion of one particular son did not really affect the structure of his Christian family. Still, I will study them separately in order to identify any issues which are associated with conversion.

In these two groups, maybe as a result of the smaller number of usable families, there are no families with four, five or six sons. Almost all the converted recruits, 92 of the 96 soldiers, had one brother, only four had two. From these families it was also the younger sons who tended to join the army: 43 second-born compared to 26 first-born. A notable difference, however, is that of the 132 converts fourteen were already fathers (with this, they represent 6% among all the Muslims, 11% here). Finally the vast majority of the 120 Christians, 99 soldiers, came from families with two sons; there are only four men whose families raised three sons. A difference, however, is that first-born sons slightly outnumbered the others, and the number of fathers rose further to 12%.

The slightly dry data given above can be briefly summarised by stating that in Muslim and converted families, most of whom were bringing up two sons, the younger son was more likely to set out, either because he could be spared from the family farm, or because he was pushed out. The mostly Serbian and *eflaks* Christians, on the other hand, who lived together with military service, enlisted more readily even if they were first born or fathers of children.

When investigating the process of becoming a soldier, it is important to consider the mentality of Bosnian-Herzegovinans and the Serbian-*eflaks*, and the differences between the two groups in this respect. Whether we look at the degree of Islamisation or the role they undertook in administration and military activity, the society of Bosnia and Herzegovina was the most strongly integrated into the Ottoman system. This produced generations of men who consciously strove to join the army at a young age, still without a family; who arrived in Hungary not as settlers, but as soldiers, and within the military circles aspired to better branches and posts. The majority of the masses of Serbians and *eflaks* migrating to the north came to Hungary as peasant settlers; only a minority came

1 Dávid, *Simontornya Sancağı*, 65.

as soldiers. Ottoman tax registers indicate that dwellers in villages populated by settlers were desperately poor, and presumably the members of this group of migrants who were recruited were neither rich, nor determined or ambitious. Small and large families set off, most of them in search of deserted villages and uncultivated land, and relatively few joined the army; this is why the number of fathers is higher among Serbian soldiers.

Having relatives who followed a military career was a motivating force within the family as well, partly as to the decision of the next family member, partly considering the chances of being accepted. In 1543 seven *müstahfizes* of İstolni Belgrad were described by the scribe as brothers of soldiers, mostly of-ficers; the brothers of two served as *yeniçeris*. In 1558, of the recruits brought up in Muslim families twenty-eight had an older relative—father, uncle or older brother, most often the latter—who was a soldier, and whose example had influenced the younger man. Some of the converted recruits also followed their older brothers, who had converted and become soldiers earlier. Irrespective of religious affiliation, we come across various examples of family connections in the list. Sefer Divane arrived from the upper town of Berkovica in north-west Bulgaria and became head of the sixth squad of the Kopan cavalry; he assigned his nephew, who came from the same place, to the seventh squad. From the fortress of Blagay in Herzegovina a Muslim, whose two brothers served at Filek, joined the cavalry at Hatvan, while Jovan Nikola, from a village near Sofia, asked to be transferred to the Hatvan *martoloses* because his son Ivan was already a member of the unit.<sup>1</sup>

Enlisting in groups noticeably enhanced the courage and enterprising spirit of the recruits. The arrival of small companies of a few people from great assembly centres such as Saray or İzvornik may be considered a coincidence,<sup>2</sup> but those who joined in groups from smaller places are not. From Pojega in the Serbian district of Čačak four men joined the cavalry at Segedin together, from Ljubuška south of Mostar two men became *müstahfizes* and one a cavalymen in Hatvan, from Diyakovo (Đakovo) three came to Göröşgal, also to join the cavalry, while three men from two villages near Silistre reinforced the *farises* of Senmikliş.<sup>3</sup>

In many cases it was sheer necessity that turned men who had no other chances of advancement into soldiers. These were orphans left without families, who really were all alone in the world. In the absence of close relatives the scribes usually registered more distant ones, but these men lacked any kin at all.

1 In the order of the cases ÖNB Mxt 614, pp. 184, 122, 127.

2 For example the three *müstahfizes* who came to Pest from Sarajevo (ÖNB Mxt 614, pp. 36–37), or the three Muslims from Zvornik who joined the cavalry at Peçuy (Mxt 614, pp. 188–189).

3 In the order of the cases Mxt 614, pp. 210, 120, 126, 203, 141.

In 1554 very few, 14 men (not even half a percent of the Balkan soldiers), received the annotation “has no living relatives” (*akrabasından kimesnesi yok*) from the scribe. In 1558 there were 21 of them, three of whom could not say precisely where they had spent their childhood. Four fifths of them were new Muslims, who, having lost all their close and distant relatives, grabbed the only chance they had of becoming independent: a military life. Their fate arouses sympathy, and perhaps the occasional snigger, in the modern observer, as in the case of one orphan from İstolni Belgrad who enlisted as a Turkish soldier in the fortress of his home town. This was a rare case, as converted Hungarians preferred to stay away from the scene of their childhood. His case is even more unusual in that, in spite of being a new Muslim, he was immediately allocated to the *müstahfiz*es. His career is explained by a brief stage of his earlier career: before becoming a soldier he had worked as an attendant in a Turkish bath. His devotion in his profession must have found him a patron, who made sure the boy did as well as he possibly could in his given situation. If this is what happened, it gave him the strength to stay in his home town: the following year he was still serving in the same post.<sup>1</sup>

The situation of those in captivity, from which they yearned to escape, was even more vulnerable than that of orphans. If their masters freed them either for money or as a good deed for their own salvation, they converted and joined the army in return for their liberty (they were called *azade/azadlı* by the scribes). In 1554, among the 3,412 defenders whose origins were known 59 ex-captives served (1.7%). The majority, 52 men, were previously Christian—most of them must have been taken prisoner in the course of the Hungarian wars. Their nationalities were as follows: 26 Hungarians, 10 Croatians, 4 Germans (*nemçe*), 3 Slovenians, 2 Czechs and 2 *frenks* (the term might mean Frenchmen or more generically Westerners) and one Moldovan (*Bogdan*), as well as a Corfiot (or Dalmatian, *Körfes*), an Albanian and a Serbian. Seven were born in the east and captured somewhere: 4 Arabs, one Circassian, one Kurd and one Abyssinian. In the 814 men on the list of 1558 12 freed captives (1.5%) appear: besides a Slovenian, a Croatian and a Czech there were nine Hungarians who were granted their liberty by their capturers. The latter were men who belonged to the local elite and could thus afford to free an otherwise saleable slave of theirs.

One might have expected the former captives to consider conversion and enlistment as the price of their freedom, and to take the first opportunity—not rare in the permanent battlefield that was Ottoman Hungary—to escape. It was not so. Of the 16 liberated captives—Hungarians, Croatians, Slovenians, French and Corfiots—serving in 1554 in the *müstahfiz* troops in the fortress group of Ester-

1 Mxt 614, p. 148, and Mxt 633, p. 173, in both lists in the 25th squad of the *müstahfiz*es of İstolni Belgrad.

gon we find 11 still in their posts four years later; new recruits had taken the place of three others for unknown reasons, one had died, and only one had left the fortress. Nor did the two Hungarian-born captives allocated to the Solnok *müstahfizes* escape. The ex-captives who appeared in 1558 were all still there in 1559, not only the Hungarian, but also the Czech, Croatian and Slovenian. There was no turning back after conversion.

Another category included the men who belonged to the escort of important members of the civilian or military hierarchy, or just hung around them to solicit their help while applying for secure army posts paid with cash wages or with a *timar*. I considered as such everybody who was connected on the lists with the Ottoman Turkish words *kul*, *adam*, *tabi* or *mukayyede/müfide*. There were soldiers like this in the 1543 list of the *müstahfizes* at İstolni Belgrad, next to whose names the scribe wrote who they were connected to, but not their places of origin. There were sixteen of them (2% of those whose names were annotated in one way or another) and almost all were in the service of the *sancakbeyis*. In 1554 the scribe did not pay attention to such connections. In 1558 there were fewer of them than in 1543, as somehow they were mixed up with the freed captives. Still, their presence is tangible. A Slovenian captive used to live with a certain Receb ağa, while two men were in the service of the *paşas*.<sup>1</sup>

### 3. Muslim-born Men, Converts, Christians

In the nine fortresses which appeared in the pay list of 1554 there were 670 soldiers born in the Balkans who converted to Islam, and were new Muslims. The scribe registered a brother as the closest relative of 438 of them, which supplies more than adequate material to investigate the question of whether conversion was the decision of a single individual or a whole generation was carried away, including the soldier. Numerous sisters appear in the sources, but I did not investigate their conversion, as it might have been the result of the girls marrying Muslims. Considering all Balkan converts the figures are as follows: of the 438 'bin Abdullahs' 344 (78.5%) had converted brothers, 94 (21.5%) remained Christians. As the data on those districts which sent few soldiers is inadequate, it would be misleading to consider them seriously, although several of them showed exactly what we could expect in terms of the degree of Islamisation.<sup>2</sup>

It is, however, worth paying attention to the figures for the north-west block of territory where the majority of soldiers came from, as we find out about the

1 In the order of the events: ÖNB Mxt 614, pp. 16, 15.

2 Thrace is represented by only one pair of brothers: these converted together; of the 6 'bin Abdullahs' from the lower Danube two had brothers who remained Christian; the figures for the remaining districts are as follows: Bulgaria, 22 converted: 16 Muslim and 6 Christian brothers; Macedonia, 17 converted: 12 Muslim and 5 Christian brothers; Albania, 13 converts: 10 Muslim and 3 Christian brothers; Greece, 9 converts: 6 Muslim and 3 Christian brothers.

brothers of 372 converted soldiers. The Bosnians and Herzegovinians took the lead in Islamisation too: in the majority of cases whole generations converted to Islam together. Of the 148 Bosnian pairs of brothers we find only 18 cases (12.2%) in which one member of the pair remained Christian; of the 61 converted Herzegovinians we find only 8 (13.1%) with a Christian brother. Among the Serbians and *eflaks* the number of conversions where only one individual was affected was much higher: of the 93 'bin Abdullahs' from Serbia 25 (26.9%) had a Christian brother, as did 24 (34.3%) of the 70 new Muslims from between the Drava and Sava.

The source material in the 1558 list is smaller: at that time, 184 converts were recruited, including 105 new Muslims from the Balkans, next to whom the scribe registered brothers (in two cases male cousins) as the closest relative. 21 of them were Herzegovinians, 56 Bosnians, 21 Serbians and 7 Albanians. Of the 21 sons of Abdullah who ended up in Ottoman Hungary from Herzegovina and the *sancak* of Kilis there were only two with brothers who had not yet converted to Islam. The brothers of 6 soldiers of the 24 young Bosnians kept their Christian faith, but they were typically all from the *sancak* of İzvornik, which stretched over into Serbia. The ratio of homogenous Muslim and mixed-religion second generations that can be assessed in Serbia is 8:1, between the Drava and the Sava it is 10:2. Let us calculate the total numbers for this north-west block of the Balkan Peninsula, where most soldiers came from: of 98 families the generation to which 87 new recruits belonged converted, and the two religions coexisted in only 11 (11.2%). The groups of brothers consisting of more than two boys were uniformly Muslim, of the 'mixed pairs' it was always the younger brother who was a Christian, maybe still a child who would later follow his brother. The parents, given the nature of things, were Christians; a few uncles, however, were Muslim, which means conversion had made a few inroads in the older generations.

The data on Albanian and Hungarian converts show a very different situation. In 1554 three of the 13 Albanian soldiers had Christian brothers. In 1558 the names of the brothers of seven converted Albanian soldiers are known: only two were Muslim, five kept their faith, as the scribe carefully noted: they were infidels (*kâfir*). Usually nothing is mentioned of the brothers of those Hungarian renegades who tried to free themselves from captivity; we only know of one from 1558: he was a Christian. In 1554 there were 20 Hungarians who volunteered to convert and enlist in the army, and next to whom the scribe registered a brother: the brothers of 15 remained Christian, while 5 turned Muslim. From the list of 1558 we know of 11 brothers of 10, voluntarily converted, Hungarians: four converted to Islam together with their brothers, seven remained true to their original religion. In the case of Hungarians individual conversion without



other family members seems to be natural: the religion of the enemy could hardly have attracted large numbers of people. It is, however, surprising among the Albanians, as their leaders, trying to preserve their privileges, had already chosen to cooperate with the Ottomans as early as the last decades of the 14th century;<sup>1</sup> their sons, recruited through the *devşirme*, became pillars of the Ottoman state and military management.

The difference is explained by the wide gap between the eastern and western branches of Christianity, which determined not only the attitude of those who converted to Islam but also the way they were regarded by the Ottomans.

Until the 19th century, the Ottoman Empire paid little attention to ethnic-national origins. The mentality of the drafters of pay lists was in complete accordance with this: nationality, among the personal data of the men enlisting in the army was only considered important enough to merit occasional mention. A brief examination of the cases where it is mentioned makes it obvious that their procedure was consistent.

In the 1543 list of the *müstahfiz* of İstolni Belgrad, besides Arab we meet the names of two European nationalities, Albanian and Hungarian. The scribe of the 1554 list mentioned the ethnic name in the case of freed, converted captives who joined the army with fair consistency, irrespective of whether the soldier was Balkan, Western European or Asian (German, Serbian, Circassian, Arab). Of the voluntarily converted men the nationalities of only a few Hungarians and Albanians, a Czech and a Croatian were registered;<sup>2</sup> nothing significant can be learnt from the data collected from this list.

The pay list of 1558 offers a small but useable sample with regard to conversion to Islam and the attitude of the Ottomans to this. Here too the most frequently specified nationalities are Hungarian and Albanian, besides which there were four Croats, a Slovenian, a Czech, a Slovakian, a Greek and a Serbian as well. The last two are odd, especially the Serbian, because apart from these two,

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- 1 Decades before the final conquest of Albania, in 1431, almost one fifth of the *timars* in the southern part of the country were in the hands of Albanian dignitaries, among them four prelates. Halil İnalcık, '1431 Tarihli Timar Defterine Göre Fatih Devrinden Önce Timar Sistemi', in *IV. Türk Tarih Kongresi, Tebliğler*. Ankara, 1952, 132–139. Idem, *Hicri 835 Tarihli Suret-i Defter-i Sancak-i Arvanid*. Ankara, 1954. As regards the era of Mehmed II, see the same author's *Fatih Devri Üzerinde Tetkikler ve Vesikalar I*. Ankara, 1954.
  - 2 We find the same procedure in the aforementioned 1578–1579 list of names of the salaried cavalry of the Porte, who were mostly selected from those who were collected via *devşirme* or who were taken captives. Although the scribe did not use the term 'freed captive', those soldiers who were registered with their ethnic name came typically from countries where numerous captives were taken to the inner parts of the empire (in Hungary they comprise Hungarians and western Europeans fighting here; in the Caucasus: Circassians, Georgians, Armenians and Abkhazians; in the Balkan Peninsula: Albanians, Catholic Croats and Slovenians in the largest number, and a few Bulgarians, Serbians and Greeks). Cf. *Osmanski izvori za islamizacijonite procesi*, 43–77.

and a single case registered in the list a year later,<sup>1</sup> I never came across a soldier converted from Orthodox Christianity whose ethnic origin was mentioned. The only Serbian beside whose name the scribe added the usual short sentence recording his ethnic origin and conversion: “Serbian boy, converted to Islam freely” (*Sırpça oğlanı iken ihtiyariyle islama gelip*), was an especially unusual new Serbian recruit in the list of 1558 who had left his Christian mother living in Pojega to join the Peçuy cavalry; following his conversion he became Huda-verdi Abdullah. Apart from him, this sentence only appears in the individual annotations for western Christians. His case is so much at odds with the consistent practice of the scribe that I followed it up. The name of the boy’s mother, if written without diacritics, reads most like Kata, so it may well be that he was actually Hungarian, and the scribe got his nationality wrong; but equally he could have been born to a Serbian father and a Hungarian mother, and could have followed the religion of the latter—the mixing of ethnic groups and religions within the families in this region was common. Whatever may have happened, these three cases can, without any doubt, be considered exceptions which serve to prove a general rule. The rule can be summarised as follows: the cases of the many thousands of men who converted to Islam from Orthodox Christianity were quite normal to the Ottoman way of thinking, and were not worth mentioning. And if their change of religion was not emphasized, still less was their ethnic origin. This attitude is understandable: the example of castellans in Byzantine border fortresses who were the first to change sides at the end of the 13th century was followed by thousands of Greeks and southern Slavs. In the wake of conquest, settlement and mass conversion the ethnic and religious make-up of the provinces seized from Byzantium was transformed. The process had been going on for two hundred and fifty years, and had become the norm. Permanent coexistence brought Orthodox Christianity and Islam together at many points of life.

In the case of Greeks, Serbians and Bulgarians this attitude does not pose any problems. The question, however, arises: how did they consider the Bosnians? Neither the ethnic nor the religious origins of the converts among them are ever mentioned; does this indicate some other factor, or does it mean that among the Bosnian men joining the army there was not a single former Roman Catholic Christian? To summarise the history and unique features of the Bosnian Catholic church would require a degree of expertise that I do not possess. According to Antal Molnár, the most knowledgeable researcher in the field of the Balkan and Hungarian Catholic missions, “the Bosnian church was one of the most mysterious phenomena of medieval European ecclesiastical history,

1 See: ÖNB Mxt 614, pp. 159, 189. Mxt 633, p. 96 (in the order in which they were mentioned).

which has still not been completely understood by historians.”<sup>1</sup> I will not even attempt to delve into this question; considering our topic, my readings have led me to the conclusion that in Bosnia the Ottomans found nothing new either in the external aspects of religious life (the system of monasteries, the external appearance and internal decoration of churches, the language of the liturgy and so on), or in the attitude of the faithful, which would have differed significantly from whatever was usual in ecclesiastical organization and religious life in the eastern part of the peninsula. They obviously did not consider the Bosnians as Catholic, especially not as people who would have to be combated on religious grounds. The Bosnians themselves had neither a strong ecclesiastical organization capable of resistance nor smaller, coherent religious communities, and they were unmoved by the religious changes motivated by the political interests and needs of the authorities; they were also under the influence of three different monastic systems: the medieval Bosnian, the Franciscan and the Orthodox. And so, lacking firm religious convictions, they accepted the Ottoman conquest and converted to Islam faster and in larger numbers than any of the other peoples in the Balkan Peninsula.<sup>2</sup> Maybe they were encouraged to do so by the improve-

- 1 Antal Molnár, ‘A ferencesek Boszniában a középkorban és a török uralom első időszakában [Franciscans in Bosnia in the Middle Ages and in the first period of Ottoman rule]’, in Antal Molnár, *Elfelejtett végvidék. Tanulmányok a hódoltsági katolikus művelődés történetéből* [Forgotten confines. Studies on the history of Catholic culture in Ottoman Hungary]. Budapest, 2008, 56. By the same author on the Bosnian church: *Katolikus missziók a hódolt Magyarországon I. (1572–1647)* [Catholic missions in Ottoman Hungary]. Budapest, 2002, 74–87. Idem, *Le Saint-Siège, Raguse et les missions catholiques de la Hongrie Ottomane 1572–1647*. Rome–Budapest, 2007. Srećko M. Džaja, *Die “Bosnische Kirche” und das Islamisierungsproblem Bosniens und der Herzegowina in den Forschungen nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg*. München, 1978. Idem, *Konfessionalität und Nationalität Bosniens und der Herzegowina. Voremanzipatorische Phase 1463–1804*. München, 1984. John Fine, *The Bosnian Church: A New Interpretation. A Study of the Bosnian Church and its Place in State and Society from the 13th to 15th Centuries*. New York, 1975. Idem, *The Late Medieval Balkans. A Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest*. Ann Arbor, 1987.
- 2 For a long time the Bosnians were no more pious as Muslims than they had been as Christians. Local Muslims who observed religious norms conscientiously were outraged and complained as early as fifty years after the conquest to the Porte about the religious indifference and drunkenness of the new converts. Pál Fodor, ‘A kincstár számára a hitetlen a leghasznosabb’. Az oszmánok magyarországi valláspolitikájáról [“For the treasury the infidel is the most useful.” On the religious policy of the Ottomans in Hungary], in Mária Ormos (ed.), *Magyar évszázadok. Tanulmányok Kosáry Domokos 90. születésnapjára*. Budapest, 2003, 90. Papal visitors and other travellers in Bosnia described how the superficially converted peasant population preserved many Christian traditions; for example, Christian holidays were remembered. Many did not even speak Turkish. István György Tóth, ‘Raguzai Bonifác, a hódoltság első pápai vizitátora (1581–1582) [Boniface of Ragusa, the first apostolic visitor to Ottoman Hungary]’ *Történelmi Szemle* 39:3-4 (1997) 467–469. Idem, ‘Athanasio Georgiceo áruhás császári megbízott útleírása a magyarországi török hódoltságról 1626-ból [The travelogue of Athanasio Georgiceo, imperial emissary in disguise, of Ottoman Hungary from 1626]’, *Századok* 132:4 (1998) 842. On not only the Bosnians, but in general the numerous conversions and re-conversions to the Christian faith of Balkan converts, see *Osmanski izvori za*

ment in their social status offered by Ottoman military service. The Ottomans considered all this normal.

Returning to the chain of thought I was pursuing earlier: the Ottomans' interest in nationality and religion intensified when they reached the spheres of influence of Venice and Hungary, and thus the adherents of western Christianity. Now they no longer encountered mass conversions, but at best individual cases; furthermore, the coexistence of religions was out of the question, as in the European wars of the 16th–17th centuries the enemies of the Ottomans were, without exception, western Christians. Apart from the overused *kâfir*, however, the Ottoman Turkish language did not have a separate word for this kind of Christianity, whose mentality was different and which was considered differently, so they started using the names of nationalities. But there can be no doubt that these names emphasized the bearer's religion. This is indicated by the fact that among the almost two thousand annotations in the list it is only in the three special cases mentioned earlier that nationality was included in the personal data of converted soldiers from Orthodox backgrounds. All the other converts whose nationality was specified can surely and justifiably be considered western Christians. Another obvious indicator of the religious aspect is that conversion to Islam—except in the single case of the earlier-mentioned Serb—was only mentioned in the case of western Christians.

The Ottoman attitude and use of vocabulary is easiest to pin down in the youngest province, in the *vilayet* of Buda, which was just becoming acquainted with the conquerors and their religion. The 52 men who enlisted for military service from here in 1558 represent a variety of nations and religions. They include 10 boys born in Muslim families who applied for service, representing the younger generations of Turkish families settled in Ottoman centres.<sup>1</sup> The other obvious group consisted of 12 south Slav Christians.<sup>2</sup> The majority of them, seven men, came from the lands to the east of the river Tisza—mostly the *vilayet* of Temeşvar—which was filled with Balkan people; five had families in the county, one in Temeşvar and one in Pañcova. Of the remaining five Orthodox men, four arrived from Ottoman centres located in the south, from Titel and Baç, and there was a Hungarian from Ístolni Belgrad. These two little groups, sons of Muslim and Orthodox families, were obvious cases: the scribe did not add any further explanations. Nor did he comment on the two Hungarians who, keeping their names and religion, joined the *martoloses* at Peçuy: they did not convert, so the fact that they were Hungarian was not mentioned by the scribe.

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*islamizacinnite preocesi*, 32–33 (introduction by Strashimir Dimitrov).

1 Their dwelling places were Buda, Şikloş, Segedin, Pest, Seksar, Baç, Peçuy and Kuvín (Hu. Ráckeve), a town located south of Buda. The second name of this last soldier was Divane; presumably he was a convert. ÖNB Mxt 614, pp. 5, 95, 128, 140, 176, 183, 185, 190.

2 Ibid., 49, 90, 119, 137, 138, 166, 195, 212, 216.

The situation of the twenty-five converts of Hungarian origin is quite different.<sup>1</sup> Except for one man, either their Hungarian origins or their conversion to Islam or, in most cases both, were registered: the first with the expression ‘Hungarian boy’ (*Macar oğlanı*), the second with “converted to Islam” (*islama gelip/gelmiş, müslüman olmuş*). Some soldiers received the additional note they converted of their own free will (*ihtiyariyle* or *kendi rey*). The only exception is a converted boy from the village of Arács, whose Hungarian nationality is proved by the purely Hungarian population of the village<sup>2</sup> and by his mother’s name, Katalina, although the scribe mentioned neither his Hungarian origin nor the fact that he was a convert.

Among those recruited from Ottoman Hungary we have three more similar men, who converted to Islam, and next to whose names only their dwelling places are registered, but not their ethnicity or their conversion. In these cases I presume that we are not dealing with Hungarians whose details were carelessly recorded, but with regularly registered converted south Slavs. One enlisted from Estergon, one from Buda, and the third from Vaç.<sup>3</sup> We know nothing of the relatives of the first man, the second one had two, the third a Muslim brother. If their Balkan origin was only supported by the existence of these brothers, the hypothesis would be weak. Luck, however, has provided decisive evidence with the example of two inhabitants of Vaç.

At the beginning of the 1570s, not more than fifteen years after the pay list of 1558, a detailed survey was conducted of the properties in Vaç. The source is unique, and the fact that it survived is a special stroke of luck: it immortalized the society, buildings and life of an Ottoman military, administrative and commercial centre.<sup>4</sup> Its surveyor described in detail every piece of landed property, and besides its current owner he listed the previous ones to the third or fourth degree. Among them we find our two men from Vaç, the one who was surely Hungarian and the supposedly Balkan man mentioned earlier. According to the pay list, the Hungarian converted as a freed captive of a certain Memi Bey. He then received the name Pervane Abdullah, and was placed in the fourth squad of the *müstahfiz*es of Diregel. We learn from the description of the Vaç houses that his father was called János Csiszár; the family were long-standing Hungarian inhabitants of the town. The family house, situated in the quarter named after the

1 Ibid., 28, 31, 43, 63, 77, 82, 94, 97, 109, 113, 114, 118, 123, 140, 146, 148, 152, 156, 169, 171, 173, 190, 199, 209. The distribution of the 25 Hungarians is as follows: 14 came from Ottoman military-administrative centres, two from Hungarian towns, 9 from Hungarian villages.

2 Matuz, *Die Steuerkonskription des Sandschaks Stuhlweissenburg*, 281.

3 ÖNB Mxt 614, 18, 33, 137.

4 Published by Fekete, *A törökkori Vác*. For a new study on the same topic by Balázs Sudár, ‘Vác városának török házösszeírása 1570-ből [The Turkish house register of the town of Vác from 1570]’, *Századok* 139:4 (2005) 791–853.

*mescid* of Hasan *voyvoda*, “was inherited by the convert Pervane after the death of his father;” later he sold it. Pervane had another house nearby, which he bought when he was already a soldier at Diregel from two Turks; later he sold this one as well.<sup>1</sup> Our presumed Balkan man, Hamza Adbullah, joined the Solnok *azabs*. The pay lists said this much about him: “he came from the town of Vaç, later he applied to the ağa; he has a fortress soldier brother named Mustafa”.<sup>2</sup> The first and fourth houses in Zsidó (Jewish) street were owned by the Abdullah brothers Hamza and Mustafa, who lived there at the beginning of the 1570s, and presumably later as well. (In 1569 Hamza was no longer among the *azabs* of Solnok,<sup>3</sup> he had obviously moved back home to Vaç; Mustafa served among the cavalry at Vaç in 1573.<sup>4</sup>) Both of the houses in Zsidó street were bought by Mustafa: the first one from the treasury (this was the one he sold to his brother), the second from a local Hungarian family. Without doubt Hamza and Mustafa were not original Hungarian inhabitants of the town, but soldiers of the garrison who came from the Balkans and settled here. The scribe differentiated between newly converted Muslims who were originally Orthodox and Roman Catholic, even if they were living in the same fortress.

In the pay lists the other converts from western Christianity were registered in the same way as the Hungarians. Among the *azabs* of Filek there served a certain Ahmed Abdullah, above whose name the scribe wrote: “a Slovakian from the town of the fortress called Rimsonbat (Hu. Rimaszombat), located in the *nahiye* of Filek, converted to Islam, a guide.”<sup>5</sup> The new recruits of Czech and Slovenian origin were registered with the names of their nationalities,<sup>6</sup> and the same was done for the four Croatians. The case of one of them is especially interesting. He was called Pervane Hasan, and his brother was called Ali, which means that both his father and his brother were Muslims. Still, he got the usual short sentence from the scribe: “Croatian boy, converted to Islam.”<sup>7</sup> Maybe he converted together with his father and his brother, but he could equally well have been born a Muslim; still, his Croatian origin was noted. Unfortunately we do not know if the Ottoman way of thinking made them record the Hungarian origins of Hungarian converts for several generations: 1558 was too early for there to have been any such cases, and later on the sources are missing. All we know is that they did so with the Albanians.

In 1543, 23 *müşahfizes* from Ístolni Belgrad were registered as Albanian (Ar-

1 ÖNB Mxt 614, p. 97. Fekete, *A törökkori Vác*, Nos. 276, 278. Sudár, ‘Vác városának’, Nos. 276, 278.

2 ÖNB Mxt 614, p. 137. Fekete, *A törökkori Vác*, Nos. 37, 40. Sudár, ‘Vác városának’, Nos. 37, 40.

3 ÖNB Mxt 642, pp. 203–205.

4 ÖNB Mxt 626, p. 72.

5 ÖNB Mxt 614, p. 118.

6 *Ibid.*, 16, 116.

7 *Ibid.*, 107, the other three Croats are on pp. 43, 110, 125.

*navut*) by nationality: there were twelve sons of Abdullah converts, and it was recorded that eleven men had fathers who were already Muslims. The scribe would have done us a great favour if he had noted their places of origin, but he failed to do so, and the list only allows us to conclude that for some unknown reason the origins of some Albanians were noted for at least two generations. The more informative pay lists of 1554 and 1558 offer some help towards the answer. However, since few Albanians came to Hungary around this time, these lists provide us with only six and nine men respectively as a basis for investigation.<sup>1</sup>

Of the six men who appear in the list of 1554 four were born in northern Albania, in the vicinity of Īskenderiye (Shkodra) and Lake Ohrid, two arrived from Greece (one from the northern, the other from the southern part of the Gulf of Corinth). Among the nine Albanians in the list of 1558 eight men came from Albanian territories, one from distant Morea. Six were registered with names that indicate their nationality, for three Albania is only the place of origin. Two of the soldiers described as 'Albanian boys' came from the district of Īskenderiye, two from the mountainous region of Dukagin stretching east of it, the fifth was born in the south of the country, in the district of Elbasan, the sixth was from Morea. Most of them are not sons of Abdullah, their names are Ali Arnavut, Hasan Arnaut and so on. Three were sons of Abdullah; their nationality is not specified as such, but they came from Albanian territory, from the districts of Ohrid and Depedelen (Tepelenē).

This tiny sample would not justify any assumptions about the differential evaluation of Eastern and Western Christianity. However, after the Hungarian, Croatian and other examples it is worth taking a look at the religious conditions in Albania at the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries.<sup>2</sup> As a result of the long-lasting influence of Venice, which continued into the 16th century, strong Catholic traditions—real ones, not like those in Bosnia—were preserved along the coast and in the northern part of the country, the strength of which caused large parts of the population to flee from the Ottoman conquerors in several waves to the remaining provinces of Venice, as well as to Greece and Italy.<sup>3</sup> The popula-

1 Ibid., 58, 123, 129, 139, 170, 204, 205, 210.

2 Halil Īnalçık, 'Les régions de Kruje et de la Dibna autour de 1467 (d'après les documents ottomans)', in *Deuxième conférence des études albanologiques I*. Tirana, 1969, 231–232. Jens Reuter, *Die Albaner in Jugoslawien*. München, 1982, 16. Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans*, especially 595–602. Selami Pulaha, 'Les Albanais et leurs territoires du Nord-Est durant les XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles', in *Problèmes de la formation du peuple albanais, de sa langue et de sa culture. (Choix de documents)*. Tirana, 1985, 334–345. *Ohrid i Ohridsko niz istorijata II*. Ed. by Mihailo Apostolski et al. Skopje, 1978, 75–76. Antonina Željazkova, *Razprostranenie na islama v zapadnobalkanskite zemi pod osmanska vlast XV–XVIII vek*. Sofia, 1990, 86–87. Molnár, *Katolikus missziók*, 87–90.

3 Alain Ducellier–Bernard Doumerc–Brünhilde Imhaus–Jean de Miceli, *Les Chemins de l'exil. Bouleversements de l'est européen et migrations vers l'ouest à la fin du moyen age*. Paris, 1992,

tion of this area was still almost entirely Catholic at the beginning of the 18th century: in 1703 in the 371 villages of the five northern coastal districts (Shkodra, Pulaj, Zadima, Lezhe, Durrësi) in comparison to 5,349 Catholic households there were altogether 37 Orthodox families.<sup>1</sup> In the south of the country, below Dırac (Durrësi) and the river Shkumbia the Orthodox religion was dominant. At the beginning, following the fall of Albania, Islam mostly attracted the tribal leaders; in the 16th century the greater part of the population stubbornly preserved their two Christian faiths. This is borne out in our limited source material by the fact that soldiers of Albanian origin usually converted to Islam by themselves while their brothers remained Christians. And even if the material available to study is limited, its conclusions fall into line with Ottoman mentality and use of vocabulary. Those who were registered in the list with specific nationalities were all born, with the exception of the Elbasan convert, in Catholic regions, the district of İskenderiye and Dukagin, while the Abdullah sons came from the Orthodox, southern part of the country.

All the above lessons can be briefly summarized by saying that the vast majority of the fortress soldiers of the *vilayet* of Buda, including the ‘Turks’, were Balkan, mostly Bosnian, then Serbian (part of them were *eflaks*); their lost—or in the case of *martoloses* retained—religion was Orthodox Christianity. In 1567 Marco Antonio Pigafetta found that “almost all Turks are acquainted with the Croatian language in Buda.”<sup>2</sup>

Since sources are not available, it is impossible to say what the situation was in the *vilayet* of Temeşvar, just as we cannot say whether this changed in the 17th century. As the Temesköz, except for a few Hungarian islands, was completely taken over by the Balkan population, the fortresses situated here are unlikely not to have been manned by Balkan soldiers. This, of course, is pure hypothesis, just as it is no more than a rhetorical question to ask what changed, and why, in the 17th century. I would like to repeat that Gyula Németh found Bosnian Turkish dialect in a language book written in Hungary in 1668; at the same time, Evliya Çelebi wrote of Buda that “the whole population of Buda is Bosnian, from Bosnia.”<sup>3</sup>

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the spreading of refugees from North Albania on very detailed maps on 453–458. On the Albanian refugees in central Greece cf. Evangelia Balta, *Rural and Urban Population in the Sanjak of Euripos in the Early 16th Century*. Athens, 1992, 79–80. On the Morean Albanians, who constituted one third of the population, see Nicoara Beldiceanu–Irene Beldiceanu-Steinherr, ‘Recherches sur la Morée (1461–1512)’, *Südost-Forschungen* 39 (1980) 37–38.

1 F. Duka, ‘XV–XVII. Yüzyıllarda Arnavut Nüfusunun İslamlaşması Süreci Üzerine Gözlemler’, *Osmanlı Tarih Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi (OTAM)* (1991) 70–71.

2 Quoted in Fekete, *Budapest a törökkorban*, 154.

3 Evliya Çelebi, 6. Kitap, 153.



## **VI Balkan Population and Military Peasant Organisations in the Southern Parts of Ottoman Hungary**

## 1. The Privileged *reaya* in Military Service in the Balkans

Up to the end of the 16th century, numerous early and later semi-military or military peasant organizations<sup>1</sup> of Anatolian or Balkan origin, which provided auxiliary services for the army, functioned and played an important role on the Balkan Peninsula. Fewer were to be found in Hungary, and even some of these withered away within a few decades.

While the Ottomans were advancing up the Balkan Peninsula, they brought their own system with its *müsellems*, *yürüks*, *akıncıs*, *derbendcis* and other military elements to Europe, but they also discovered here, and more often than not won over to their side, then integrated into their own military system, classes in the Balkan peasantry many of which had already performed semi-military duties in the Byzantine Empire, and later in medieval Balkan states. In the European part of the Ottoman Empire a substantial class called 'privileged *reaya*' emerged from the military peasants belonging to the systems transferred from Asia Minor and found locally, in situ. In social terms they were somewhere between the *reaya* who paid full tax, engaged solely in production, and the lowest levels of the regular soldiery (the retainers of *timariots*, the branches of fortress soldiers with the lowest prestige) in the hierarchy. Peasant military service was one of the most important elements of the Ottoman's establishing their rule in the Balkans, with which large numbers of the conquered people were put at the service of their army and conquests.

Balkan military peasants played a significant role not only in the Ottoman military organisation, but also in their own society. Both financially and in terms of prestige, they were raised above the rest of the peasantry by their mobility, partial or complete exemption from taxation, occasional state remuneration and the booty which came with military activity. To begin with, their organisations, which the Ottomans accepted and maintained with slight modifications, served almost exclusively to carry out the will of the state and to act as supervisors for higher authority. From the mid 16th century, however, they were the core of emerging local organisations. These ethnic groups and classes played a significant role in preserving the post-Byzantine Orthodox religious life and culture throughout the Balkan Peninsula. The territories where numerous and impressive monasteries and especially village churches were built usually coincided with the area of settlement of some privileged, semi-military element.<sup>2</sup> This privileged class of peasants could be found anywhere in the Balkans. In the period under discussion, they are estimated to have made up 10–13% of the tax-

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1 The most important ones were: *yaya*, *müselleme*, *yürük*, *akıncı*, *derbendci*, *menzilkeş*, *doğancı*, *celeb*, *çeltikçi*, *voyruk*, *martolos*, *eflak* and various craft-related organisations.

2 Machiel Kiel, *Art and Society of Bulgaria in the Turkish Period*. Assen-Maastricht, 1985, 74–101. Idem, *Studies on the Ottoman Architecture of the Balkans*. Hampshire-Vermont, 1990.

paying population.<sup>1</sup> They constituted groups of different sizes, of different prestige and positions, named according to the tasks that they had been entrusted with, half of them doing more or less purely military duties and keeping order, while the other provided auxiliary services. Their obligations were varied, from tasks that can barely be called military to actual military service; it also happened that peasants who were engaged in peaceful activities—obviously prescribed—in time of peace had to join campaigning armies. This lively section of the privileged *reaya* had some generally characteristic features, though these were not found everywhere and at all times. As they had obligations and privileges set by the state, they were carefully registered, with special attention being paid to sons and brothers who could be conscripted, and carefully accounted for; the rights and obligations of each group were regulated by the sultan's regulations (*kanuns*); their services and the privileges they received in return were passed down from father to son, brother or grandson within the family. Those who were entrusted with maintaining order and border defence in peace time as well, in other words those who were considered soldiers, were granted their status with the sultan's *berat* of appointment; they enjoyed partial or complete exemption from taxation, which often applied to their sons and brothers as well.

Besides this, the law granted most of them free (but not sellable or transferable) land, *baştina*. Those maintaining order and doing military service took turns; service and military expenses were borne by the ones who stayed behind at home. The foremen whose posts were inherited and maintained from pre-Ottoman times and the officials appointed by the Ottoman military and administrative authorities coexisted within their system, to the point that these substantial, militarily significant organisations were divided into units also called *sancaks* which reached across the borders of territorially organised *sancaks*. Finally, a characteristic feature of this privileged part of the Balkan *reaya* is that the majority of its members were Christians, whose numerous sub-sections were formally raised above the status of the *reaya* by the imperial regulations: as they did not fall under the jurisdiction of the *timariots*, they were only accountable to the state.<sup>2</sup> This theoretically very favourable situation was, of course, often weaken-

1 A few estimates and calculations are quoted, and further figures which provide a useful basis for calculations are published, by Elena Grozdanova, 'Bevölkerungskategorien mit Sonderpflichten und Sonderstatus – nach unveröffentlichten osmanisch-türkischen Dokumenten der Orient-Abteilung der Nationalbibliothek "Kyrill und Method" in Sofia', in Hans Georg Majer (Hrsg.), *Osmanistische Studien zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte. In memoriam Vančo Boškov*. Wiesbaden, 1986, 46–67.

2 The most obvious legal manifestation of this was their exemption from the *cizye*, with which in terms of Islamic religious law non-Muslims expressed their loyalty to the state, and at the same time purchased their free practice of religion and security. The privileged ones achieved all this through their special services. Hamid Hadžibegić, *Glavarina u Osmanskoj državi*. Sarajevo, 1966, 2–12, 20–38.

ed. On the one hand, from the second half of the 16th century onwards the state itself started limiting the privilege of tax exemption; on the other hand various taxes were levied on them by the local apparatus and estate holders.

The group furthest away from actual military service was that of privileged mountain peasants who robbed the nests of birds of prey, especially falcons, that were required for the sultan's hunting, they nurtured their nestlings and transported the mature birds to the capital. They had numerous names, the most wide-spread of which was *doğancı*, meaning falconer (other variations of this were *şahinci*, *çakırcı*<sup>1</sup> and *bazdar*), and the *atmacacı*, or hawk. We might not expect them to have been very numerous, but in fact in 1491 in the Balkan Peninsula the 'body of falconers' (*cemaat-i bazdaran*) consisted of 17,634 households,<sup>2</sup> and in 1569 in the *sancak* of Vidin alone 468 falconers and 238 hawkers, altogether 706 heads of families and family members making a living out of birds of prey, were registered. These people, if they farmed free land, were exempt from regular and extraordinary state taxes and from the *resm-i kapı* due to the landlord,<sup>3</sup> while if they were the registered tax-payers of a *sipahi*, they had to pay the taxes due to the landlord, so they were not included in the class of the *askeri*.<sup>4</sup> (Muslim *doğancı*s often enjoyed a *timar*: in 1583 in the *nahiye* of Silistre along the lower Danube fifty of them did.<sup>5</sup>) The duties of the numerous Muslim and Christian sheep breeders, *celebs*, and rice farmers, *çeltikçis* who produced the two most important sources of food of the army (and of the urban population), live and dried mutton and rice in the vicinity of Edirne and Istanbul, mostly in Bulgaria and Thrace, were closer to military service.<sup>6</sup> Both the number of farmers and quantity of livestock were significant: in the second half of the 16th century 9,687 *celebs* were obliged to hand over 324,510 animals in 25 Balkan districts (*kaza*).<sup>7</sup>

Just as craftsmen were appointed among paid troops in larger fortresses, so there were privileged artisans—master builders, carpenters, masons, smiths,

1 On the fact they they were identity, see *Turski izvori za istorijata za pravoto v bolgarskite zemi II*. Ed. by Bistra Cvetkova. Sofia, 1971, 55.

2 Nikolaj Todorov-Asparuh Velkov, *Situation démographique de la Péninsule balkanique (fin du XV<sup>e</sup> s.–debut du XVI<sup>e</sup> s.)*. Sofia, 1988, 270.

3 Zirojević, *Tursko vojno uređenje*, 213.

4 Ahmed Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri ve Hukukî Tahlilleri. IV. Kanuni Sultan Süleyman Kanunnâmeleri. 1. Kısım: Merkezi ve Umumi Kanunnâmeler*. İstanbul, 1992, 385.

5 Grozdanova, 'Bevölkerungskategorien', 50.

6 Bistra Cvetkova, 'Les celép et leur rôle dans la vie économique des Balkans à l'époque ottoman (XV<sup>e</sup>–XVIII<sup>e</sup> s.)', in *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East from the Rise of Islam to the Present Day*. London, 1970, 172–192. Elena Grozdanova-Stefan Andreev, 'Dželepité iz centralnija i iztočnija djal na Balkanite prez XVI. v. – zadolženija, statut i socialen sostav', *Istoričeski Pregled* 1 (1994–1995) 3–31, 2 (1994–1995) 23–58. Zirojević, *Tursko vojno uređenje*, 214–216.

7 Grozdanova-Andreev, 'Dželepité', 12.

bow, arrow and shield makers, tar and pitch makers, in mountainous regions miners and salt miners, shipwrights in waterside places and so on—in the fortified towns, in surrounding villages as well as in settlements along the military roads of the army, who worked for the army in return for partial tax exemption.<sup>1</sup> (The duties of this class of craftsmen were not the same as the free labour that Hungarian settlements had to provide, within which they repaired fortresses, maintained bridges, hauled ships or made saltpetre; in general they received no tax concessions for these permanent or occasional duties. In the first decades of Ottoman rule, however, some villages were designated to do continuous work in certain fortresses in return for communal exemption from extraordinary state taxes.)

The most important bodies of privileged peasants who were assigned to unambiguously military tasks were those of the *voynuks*, the *martoloses* and the *eflaks*, all three of purely Balkan origin.<sup>2</sup>

The Slav word *voynuk* (its contemporary and present form in Bulgarian and Serbian and Croatian is *vojniki*) means warrior or soldier and meant the same when the Ottomans met it and borrowed it. It was used to refer to those usually high-born Slavs who accepted Ottoman rule, and undertook military service within it; in return a minority became Christian *timariots*, while most of them remained on their old estates, which in the Ottoman system became non-tax paying land, *baştina*, which in practice was inheritable. This upper section of *voynuks* became actual soldiers, warriors for the Ottomans: the main occupation of the 'armoured' *voynuks* was certainly fighting (in 1516 1,000 such men were registered in the *sancak* of Alacahisar).<sup>3</sup> Their now Ottoman corps was probably organised in 1376 (and abolished in 1878).<sup>4</sup> The other component of the organization consisted of privileged peasants. To begin with, they were given real military duties in whatever area happened to be the border at the given time, later their services were differentiated.<sup>5</sup> The vast majority were Bulgarians who, living close to Edirne and Istanbul, looked after the livestock in the sultan's stables: they scythed the meadows maintained by the treasury, dried and transported the hay to the designated places, looked after the horses and the smaller number of other animals: camels, mules and so on. They were ordered to muster in the capital on a given day by the sultan's decree, when they had to report with

1 Zirojević, *Tursko vojno uređenje*, 193–204. Stefan Andreev–Elena Grozdanova, *Iz istorijata na rudarstvom i metalurgijata v bolgarskite zemi prez XV–XIX vek*. Sofia, 1993, 168.

2 The earliest regulations from 1481 on all three military elements: Ahmed Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri ve Hukuki Tahlilleri. I. Osmanlı Hukukuna Giriş ve Fatih Devri Kanunnâmeleri*. İstanbul, 1990, 527–529.

3 İnalcık, *Fatih Devri*, 57, 175.

4 Ercan, *Osmalı İmparatorluğunda Bulgarlar*, 1–8.

5 İnalcık, *Fatih Devri*, 175–176.

horses and 'necessary equipment', presumably scythes.<sup>1</sup> In other parts of the peninsula fewer peasants were granted the status of *voynuk*, they, however, remained 'more military-like', defended the borders and kept order within them. The 1516 regulations of Bosnia list several fortresses and towns, and fixes the number of *voynuks* expected to settle at 20 in towns and 50 in fortresses, stating that they should have houses and "should guard the fortress located in border areas."<sup>2</sup> But this military section also had auxiliary services to perform: during campaigns their duty was to look after the animals of the army<sup>3</sup> (and to make matters more complicated, *voynuks* who can easily be confused with *celebs* appear in the sources as well; these bred and delivered sheep<sup>4</sup>) The *voynuks*, who were placed under the supervision of their own *bey*s, constituted a mass of several thousand people, at the beginning of the 16th century 1% of the calculated 832,707 Balkan Christians, 7,851 men, enjoyed *voynuk* status.<sup>5</sup> Their organizational units, *ocaks*, were made up of three to five people—usually three, who were obliged to report to service in rotation, taking turns. The place of a deceased or over-aged *voynuk* was taken by his close relative, his son, son-in-law or nephew, who also took over the tax-free land used by the family; in theory an outsider could only apply for this inheritance if no other relative was left. Officers took great care over the preservation of their organization: separate registers were kept not only of men already in service but also of their possible successors. The number of the latter was surprisingly high, in 1491 in the whole Balkan Peninsula 16,533 of their households (*hane*) were registered.<sup>6</sup>

The list of Bulgarian *voynuks* serving in the sultan's stables in 1548 has survived.<sup>7</sup> Unfortunately, the first few pages are lost, but even in its incompleteness it provides excellent material for the detailed study of the functioning of *voynuks*, and through their example that of all similarly structured military peasant organizations. The *voynuks*, who lived in Bulgaria both in villages exclusively inhabited by them and mixed with ordinary *reaya*,<sup>8</sup> made up four-member units, *ocaks* in the district of Silistre, in which they registered as the *voynuk* the member whose turn it was to take up service, and as *yamaks* those who stayed at home, but naturally they were all *voynuks*. In the incomplete list they number

1 Cvetkova, *Les institutions ottomanes*, 64. Kiel, *Art and Society*, 76.

2 Ahmed Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri ve Hukukî Tahlilleri. III. Yavuz Sultan Selim Devri Kanunnâmeleri*. İstanbul, 1991, 378.

3 Ercan, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bulgarlar*, 27–29.

4 Grozdanova–Andreev, 'Dželepite', 21–23.

5 Ömer Lütfi Barkan, 'Essai sur les données statistiques des registres de recensement dans l'Empire Ottoman aux XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 1 (1958) 32, 34.

6 Todorov–Velkov, *Situation démographique*, 89–91, 245–246.

7 *Izvori za bolgarskata istorija XX, Turski izvori* V. Ed. by Bistra Cvetkova. Sofia, 1974, 39–133.

8 Grozdanova, 'Bevölkerungskategorien', 56–58.

4,065 (1,340 *voynuks* and 2,725 *yamaks*). The first thing the reader notices is the care taken over the formal features and the content of the list. We find no man whose patrymonic or dwelling place is not recorded; identifying the registered people is child's play; of the almost 4,000 *voynuks* there were 19 who were found during a muster to have been registered earlier in two *ocaks*, two turned out to be tax paying *reaya* of *timariots* (this was only an administrative mistake of half a percent in a peasant population which was mobile up to a point). The mistake was swiftly corrected by recruiting 21 new men. Of the 4,065 *voynuk* places altogether two were vacant, as their holders had just died, in one place an over-aged man was waiting for his successor, and in three *ocaks* there was only one *yamak* instead of two: this was all the untidiness there was. On the other hand, they recorded every change with admirable precision and noted its reason (this was only neglected in 11 cases); if he had one, they registered the *voynuk*'s title and position: priest, foreman, new-comer, wanderer and so on.

The list indicates a stable, well-functioning organization, in which mobility was significant, this, however, was caused by the short life expectancy. Of the 4,065 *voynuks* 1,008 (which is precisely one quarter of those registered) were marked in this list as recruits, and in 997 cases we know why a man's predecessor left the organization. 84% of the 997 new recruits (835 men) came to replace deceased, over-aged, ill, disabled or blind predecessors, (the majority, 770 *voynuks*, had died), 2% were taken on in order to correct of administrative mistakes. Only the remaining 14% were recruited in the place of men who had fled or "were not present." The majority of the 141 who left were surely unmarried (unless we speculate that whole families escaped from their privileged position), and there were only two *voynuk* fathers leaving their families who were replaced by their sons. There was only one point on which the regulations of this stable system did not and could not work: they failed to keep succession within the immediate family. Of the 1,008 vacant posts only 395 were filled by close relatives: 332 sons, 52 brothers and 11 sons-in-law. 613 new *voynuks* seem to have come from outside, although cousins were rarely registered by scribes.

We now move on to the corps of *martoloses*, an organisation of purely Balkan origin (the name itself comes from the Greek *amartolos/armatolos*, meaning armed man.<sup>1</sup> A substantial class of soldiers was called this in the Balkan Ottoman military organization. Then, in the language of the Hungarians, who came to know the *martoloses* all too well, the word gained an increasingly pejorative meaning besides its military sense,<sup>2</sup> so much so that it was already syn-

1 Milan Vasić, *Martolosi u jugoslovenskim zemljama pod turskom vladovinom*. Sarajevo, 1967, 19–20. Summaries of Vasić's monography in foreign languages: 'Die Martolosen im Osmanischen Reich', *Zeitschrift für Balkanologie* 2 (1964) 172–189, and 'Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Martoloslar', *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi* 31 (1977) 47–64.

2 Kakuk, *A török kor emléke*, 43–45; 'nickname' from 1663: 'A Judas-like marauder bastard'.

onymous with 'bandit' in the Ottoman era. Originally, at the beginning of the conflict with Byzantium, they fought against the Ottomans, but having realized that they were on the losing side, they swiftly joined the stronger party. The establishment and integration of their organization into the Ottoman army was achieved during the 1420s and 1430s.<sup>1</sup> At the borders, they were primarily used as soldiers: from North Bulgaria along the Danube and the rivers Sava and Drava, from there across the border facing the Adriatic down to Morea they guarded the fortresses and the borders in general over a wide area. Up to the 1520s, northern Serbia and northern Bosnia, facing Hungary, gained an outstanding significance in this system, in the riverside fortresses of which numerous *martolos* units were stationed, serving in the fleets as well.<sup>2</sup> At the beginning of the 16th century, in northern Serbia in the *sancak* of Semendire 82,692(!) *martolos* and *eflak* families were registered, which is precisely one tenth of the presumed Christian households in the Balkan Peninsula.<sup>3</sup> When the conquering Ottomans crossed the Sava, the fortresses between the rivers were filled with them as well. In a pay list<sup>4</sup> finalised on April 27, 1541, which was before the launch of the Buda campaign, there were altogether 1,916 *martoloses* in fifteen fortresses in the lower Danube region, along the Sava, Drava and in Sirem and three fortified towns; the list contains the names of 5,240 paid soldiers, so the *martoloses* constituted 37% (even if we knew the number of soldiers with salary *timar*, they would still represent at least one third). The largest unit, 543 men, was stationed at the outpost of Ösek. The greater part of the *martoloses* in fortress garrisons served in the infantry, fewer served on horseback, but we can also find them on the Danube and the Sava, and less frequently in the Adriatic fleet.<sup>5</sup> Their duties were not limited to fortress defence and maritime service, but, as part of the ongoing war along the borders, also included raiding, taking prisoners and spying.<sup>6</sup>

In the inner parts of the peninsula there was at first a small number of *martoloses* entrusted with security and police duties, but from the second half of the 16th century their numbers increased, and although they still fulfilled the same duties, the role they played became more significant.<sup>7</sup> While their peers serving in fortresses were real men-at-arms, they were rather privileged military peasants. They too were soldiers in the sense that they were selected, and after a

1 Vasić, *Martolosi*, 29–31.

2 Ibid., 34–35, 57, 80–87.

3 Barkan, 'Essai sur les données statistiques', 34.

4 ÖNB Mxt 567.

5 Vasić, *Martolosi*, 63.

6 For more on marauders doing military service, see also Milan Vasić, 'Martolosi u periodu uspona osmanske države', *Godišnjak Istoriskog Društva Bosne i Hercegovine* 14 (1963) 11–65.

7 Robert Anhegger, 'Martoloslar Hakkında', *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 7–8 (1940–1942) 289, 298.



local and central procedure appointed with the sultan's diploma; a contract was drawn up with them, and they were military foremen. On the other hand, they were privileged peasants in that they lived in towns and villages, and under the supervision of local officers they looked after order and security, helped to conduct land surveyings, collect taxes, find runaway peasants, settle nomads and so on.<sup>1</sup> These last duties were identical with what was required by the Ottoman authorities of local foremen. *Martoloses*, performing either military or police service, and their families enjoyed numerous privileges. They were exempted from the *cizye*, from extraordinary state taxes, the *timariots'* *resm-i kapı*—or at least a part of them—as well as from a number of other services. Those who were allocated to mines could settle their tax affairs by paying an annual lump sum “according to old *eflak* tradition”.<sup>2</sup> It is not to be forgotten that most of them, besides exemptions which came with financial assets, were paid by the state as well, partook in the profits of raids, and were due gifts on the accession of a new sultan. According to the aforementioned order of things, a *martolos* was, if possible, succeeded by his son or his close relative in service.

Finally we have, among the military peasant elements, the *eflaks* (in European languages Walach, Valaque, in Hungarian *vlah*), who, according to Ottoman regulations, probably enjoyed the most obvious legal status, yet they are the hardest to define, especially if we want to differentiate them from the Balkan immigrants flowing into the southern part of Ottoman Hungary. This is because by this time the word had acquired three meanings. These, in the majority of cases, might have coincided, but we cannot always be sure. The first, original meaning referred to the ethnic group: the population that spread out across the whole peninsula from the ancient dwelling place—the heart of the Balkan Peninsula—of the Romanised, early Romanians who were engaged in sheep-herding.<sup>3</sup> Smaller or larger remnant groups of Romanians could be found up to recent times in northern Serbia, northern Greece and the area around Thessaloniki in Macedonia, as well as in Istria. In the 15th–16th centuries, however, significant concentrations of them lived all over the Balkans, including Greece in the mountains of Epiros and Thessaloniki, especially in Pindos, up as far as the Albanian border; so many of them that Thessaly in the 13th and 14th centuries was sometimes referred to as Wallachia or Great Wallachia. It was probably during the

1 Vasić, *Martolosi*, 113–118.

2 Ibid., 42–45, 128–130. Cvetkova, *Les institutions ottomanes*, 65. Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri*, I. 528. Idem, *V. Kanuni Devri Kanunnâmeleri. 2. Eyalet Kanunnâmeleri*. İstanbul, 1992, 354–355. M. Berindei–A. Berthier–M. Martin–G. Veinstein, ‘Code de lois de Murad III concernant la province de Smederevo’, *Südost-Forschungen* 31 (1972) 146, 153.

3 Lajos Tamás, *Romains, Romans et Roumains dans l'histoire de la Dacie Trajan*. Budapest, 1936. Ladislaus Gáldi–Ladislaus Makkai, *Geschichte der Rumänen*. Budapest, 1942. Gottfried Schramm, *Ein Damm bricht. Die römische Donaugrenze und die Invasionen des 5.–7. Jahrhunderts im Lichte von Namen und Wörtern*. München, 1997.

Ottoman occupation that they flooded across north-east Bosnia and reached Herzegovina<sup>1</sup> and Montenegro—if the word *Vlach* referred to the ethnic group here as well. The most important Vlach dwelling place, also the one mentioned most often in Ottoman sources, was located in northern Serbia, south-west of Vidin, in the Danube-Morava-Timok area,<sup>2</sup> where the Romanian population was estimated at 300,000 even at the beginning of the last century.<sup>3</sup>

The second meaning of the word *vlah* stemmed from the occupation that characterised this ethnic group: sheep-herding, and came to refer to transhumance pastoral groups irrespective of their ethnic origins. This extra meaning was becoming quite wide-spread from the 11th century in the Balkan Peninsula,<sup>4</sup> and it is most likely that some of the *eflaks* referred to in the Ottoman regulations were shepherds with *eflak* legal status who belonged to a variety of nationalities. The sources, however, do not make it possible to accurately sort them out. The way the word started referring to an occupation can be witnessed in the 16th century in the border areas of Hungary and its immediate neighbours: the migrating shepherds were called Vlach not only on the Hungarian side of the northern Carpathians, but also on the other side, on the Polish and Moravian hills and plains.<sup>5</sup>

Finally, the third meaning of the word refers to Vlach legal status, which, although in varying degrees, was to be found from the Carpathians to Thessaly. Every expert working in the field agrees that, although Selim I decreed in 1516 that “the foolish customary law known as the law of despots be abolished,”<sup>6</sup> the legal status of the Vlachs who came under Ottoman domination is presumably an Ottoman concoction made up of medieval Serbian regulations of Byzantine origin, *vlaški običaj*, or *ius valachicum*, which received the name of ‘*eflak* customary law’ from the Ottomans: *adet-i eflakiyye*.<sup>7</sup> Although the generic term

- 1 In 1469 in the *sancak* of Herzegovina 4,616 *eflak* heads of family and 198 young unmarried men were registered. İnalçık, *Fatih Devri*, 153.
- 2 Nicoara Beldiceanu–Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr, ‘Quatre actes de Mehmed II concernant les Valaques des Balkans slaves’, *Südost-Forschungen* 24 (1955) 103–118. Nicoara Beldiceanu, ‘La région de Timok-Morava dans les documents de Mehmed II et Selim I’, *Revue des Études Roumaines* 3–4 (1957) 111–129. (A new publication of the two studies: Nicoara Beldiceanu, *Le monde ottoman des Balkans (1402–1566). Institutions, société, économie*. London, 1976). Idem, ‘Sur les Valaques des Balkans slaves à l’époque ottomane (1450–1550)’, *Revue des Études Islamiques* 34:1 (1966) 83–132. Kiel, *Art and Society*, 86–87. Cvetkova, *Les institutions ottomanes*, 61–62.
- 3 Corneliu Diaconovich, *Enciclopedia Romana III*. Nagyszeben, 1904, 802.
- 4 Tamás, *Romains, Romans et Roumains*, 49–52.
- 5 István Kniezsa, ‘A tót és lengyel költözködő pásztorkodás magyar kapcsolatai [The Hungarian connections of the Slovakian and Polish transhumance]’, *Ethnographia–Népelet* 1–2 (1934) 1–12. Idem, *Pseudorumänen in Pannonien und in den Nordkarpathen*. Budapest, 1936, 218.
- 6 Halil İnalçık, ‘Adâletnâmeler’, *Belgeler* 2:3–4 (1965) 95–99. Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri*, III. 461.
- 7 For a summary of all that is known about the *eflak* legal status, see: Anca Tanaşoca, ‘Autonomia vlahilor din Imperiul otoman în secolele XV–XVII.’, *Revista de Istorie* 34:8 (1981) 1513–1530.

varies with the passing of time and in different territories, its gist is obvious. The *eflaks* are privileged peasants (mainly shepherds) obliged to do actual military service, who, besides being soldiers, fulfilled their obligations towards the state by paying very favourable lump sum tax; in their organisation, Ottoman principles, traditions and institutions were mixed with their own. The basic unit of the *eflak* community was the family (household). At the time when the system was emerging, in the last decades of the 15th century, in the Semendire–Vidin region five, in Bosnia and Herzegovina usually ten, occasionally fifteen families were obliged to keep one soldier permanently armed for the constant protection of the area, and in time of war from every family one cavalryman had to go into battle<sup>1</sup> (in the original sense of the word fighting *eflaks* were often also called *voynuk*). The greater part of the tax was also levied on families. Its basis was the florin-, or in Ottoman Turkish *flori*-tax. This is how *florici*, or *flori*-payer, became a synonym of *eflak*; each and every *eflak* household was obliged to pay one golden florin to the treasury, which was converted into *akçe*, and was complemented with a few smaller annual items: with the (also converted) value of a ram, and an ewe with lamb. The remaining duties were levied on the communities of the *eflaks* called *katun*; this concept prevailed from Albania across the Slav territories as far as Wallachia, and it referred to groups of shepherds migrating together and to their permanent dwelling places.<sup>2</sup> In 1476 in northern Serbia twenty *florici* households were considered as one *katun*,<sup>3</sup> while in the decades to follow the above-quoted Ottoman regulations took fifty households as one *katun*, and they levied further duties on these units: a tent, harness, two rams, cheese and other items. All this converted into cash came to an annual tax of 75–83 *akçes* (later 90) levied on every household, which was very considerate, as *eflak* legal status ensured exemption from any other form of tax.<sup>4</sup>

The main commander of the military *eflaks* was the *sancakbeyi* of the territory, who, as was the habit, kept in touch with them via his men, the *voyvodas* and *subaşı*.<sup>5</sup> The Ottoman regulations raised the *eflaks*' own foremen into the

1 The Herzegovinan and Semendire *kanuns* of Mehmed II in: Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri*, I. 494, 527–528. The *kanuns* granted by Bayezid II to the *eflaks* of Braničevo, Vidin, Semendire, Bosnia and Herzegovina in: Ahmed Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri ve Hukukî Tahlilleri. II. Kitap: II. Bayezid Devri Kanunnâmeleri*. İstanbul, 1990, 73, 380–381, 406–409. János Hóvári, 'Adalékok az eflak-kérdés történetéhez [Additions to the history of the Eflak-question]', *Keletkutatás* Autumn (1992) 86–88.

2 Gáldi–Makkai, *Geschichte der Rumänen*, 45, 87. Tamás, *Romains, Romans et Roumains*, 157. Schramm, *Ein Damm bricht*, 314.

3 Bojanić–Lukač, *Vlaši u Severnoj Srbiji*, 256.

4 The *kanunname* of Semendire from 1527 detailing their services can be found in: Ömer Lütfi Barkan, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Ziraî Ekonominin Hukukî ve Malî Esasları I. Kanunlar*. İstanbul, 1945, 324–325.

5 Occasionally, the *sancakbeyis* were involved in struggles with the central authorities over the right to command the *eflaks*, and it happened, in the second half of the 16th century, after the

system besides the usual leading triangle of local military-civilian administration: the *kenezes* supervising larger territories and the village *primikürs*.<sup>1</sup> The *sancakbeyi* decided over their appointment or dismissal,<sup>2</sup> their duties—cooperation in updating the register of men doing military service, tax collection, maintaining order—were determined by the sultan's regulations. For all these, the *kenezes* were owed prescribed, tax-like contributions from the community, as well as one tenth of all fines paid; they could employ labourers to cultivate their free land, *baştina*, and most importantly, many enjoyed *timars*, which passed from one *kenez*, whose activities satisfied the authorities, to his son, along with the post. For these advantages it was worth competing and founding *kenez*-dynasties. An undated document from the 16th century drafted in Saray, for example, tells us of the appointment of a new *kenez* dwelling in the village of Dolna Jasenica in the *sancak* of İzvornik, whose grandfather and father occupied the same post and held a tax-free *baştina*, and now it was his turn to inherit all this together with the duties: he must serve in the cavalry should a campaign take place and help to collect tax.<sup>3</sup>

Often it is very difficult to distinguish between the different groups of Balkan people who were engaged in actual military service. It is most likely that the Balkan men who were drawn into the Ottoman military machine, even if they had tasks which more or less 'belonged' to certain nationalities, did what they had to do wherever they were needed and wherever they were sent. The most important areas where they were employed were border defence and pillaging hostile neighbouring countries, and in these *voynuks*, *akıncıs*, *martoloses* and *eflaks* all participated, took turns and substituted for each other;<sup>4</sup> maybe at times they themselves did not know in what capacity. The regulations of Selim I and then Süleyman I decreed that the *eflaks* around Semendire were all to take part in raids, *akıns*,<sup>5</sup> and on such occasions they fought as *akıncıs*. Old 15th-century survey registers and *kanuns* usually dealt with the *voynuks* and *eflaks* of

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decline of the *eflaks*, that they won, as in the case of the *sancakbeyi* of Vidin in 1586. Dušanka Bojanić-Lukač, 'Negotinska krajina u vreme turske vladovine', *Glasnik Etnografskog Muzeja u Beogradu* 31–32 (1968–1969) 65–110.

- 1 For example, in the largest district run by the *kenez* in the *sancak* of Zvornik, which was equal to the *nahiye* of Krupanj, 38 *primikür* subdistricts belonged. Milan Vasić, 'Knezine i knezovi timarlije u Zvorničkom sandžaku u XVI vijeku', *Godišnjak Istoriskog Društva Bosne i Hercegovine* 10 (1959) 259.
- 2 Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri*, III. 460.
- 3 Branislav Djurdjev, 'O knezovima pod turskom upravom', *Istorijski Časopis* 1:1–2 (1948) 158–59.
- 4 We learn from a decree by the sultan of October 2, 1560, in answer to the submission of the *bey* of Semendire, that up to that point 600 *martoloses* had been tasked with border defence, but recently all duties were taken on by *kenez*-led *eflaks* in return for exemption from paying tax, and it was the responsibility of the *bey* to observe them and to choose the company which did a better job and keep it in service. 3 *Numaralı mühimme defteri*, No. 1585.
- 5 Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri*, III. 459, IV/I. 398.

the population of the area around Vidin, Semendire and Braničevo doing military service as if they were a single group; they applied the same regulations and referred to *voynuks* in *eflak* villages,<sup>1</sup> and researchers using sources also often call this population *eflak voynuks*, with full justification as the two categories merge. Some Serbian mines were worked and protected by *martoloses* paying tax according to 'old *eflak* custom'.<sup>2</sup> The 1537 decree of Süleyman I tasked the *eflaks* of Epiros with the same policing duties as were performed by the *martoloses* in the inner parts of the peninsula, and organised them into *amartolos* captaincies.<sup>3</sup>

Apart from the purely military officers of the *martoloses* and *akıncıs* serving in fortresses, every organisation was based on the military peasants' own foremen: the *kenez* and *primikür*. This is one of the characteristic features that make it easy to mix up the different groups. Clear understanding is further obscured by the military section called *harami*, which appears sometimes as a synonym for garrison *martoloses*, at other times as that of their border-defending peasant comrades and the *eflaks*. It is this latter function that we find among the Balkan people, presumably *eflaks* as we shall see below, settled for border service into the southern zone of Ottoman Hungary. It is obviously not surprising that the term also appears in references to Vlach border defenders employed by the Habsburgs. In the 1630 diploma of Ferdinand II the *harami* is the basic unit of organisation of the Vlachs engaged in military service, headed by the *voyvoda*; the *haramis* were organised into captaincies.<sup>4</sup> Finally, the word appears among the *akıncıs*, referring, in this case also, to a military peasant section assigned to border service. A medium-sized raid which was not led by *akıncı beyis* but which involved over a hundred participants was called *haramilik*.<sup>5</sup>

## 2. Military Peasant Organisations in the Southern Parts of *vilayets* of Buda and Temeşvar

Attempts at establishing the *müsellem* system in Baranya county inhabited by Hungarians

After the campaign of 1543 the Ottomans immediately set out to establish the privileged *reaya* class doing military service in Hungary as well. There were good reasons for this: a continuous chain of fortresses which would go at least some way towards sealing the borders of their new province had not yet been established in 1552, or even in 1566: nothing secured the fortresses standing by

1 Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri*, II. 73. Beldiceanu, *La région de Timok-Morava*, 112.

2 Vasić, 'Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Martoloslar', 57.

3 Nicoară Beldiceanu, 'Les Roumains à la bataille d'Ankara', *Südost-Forschungen* 14:2 (1955) 448.

4 Jean Nouzille, *Histoire de frontières l'Autriche et l'Empire ottoman*. Paris, 1991, 80.

5 Pál Fodor, 'Adatok a magyarországi török rabszedésről [Data on Ottoman captive-taking in Hungary]', *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 109:4 (1996) 136.

themselves and the areas around them, nor the towns and villages which had just been made to pay tax. The establishment of the organisation coincided with the date of the first tax assessments: registering the population was the first step towards selecting the section that would be designated for border defence.

It is strange, to say the least, and lacking in foresight, that while the southern part of the territory between the rivers Danube and Tisza had, by the 1520s, long since changed population as a result of the Ottoman campaigns and internal conflicts, and had been filled with people from the Balkans, the first privileged semi-military *reaya* border defence organisation was set up in Baranya county, whose population was purely Hungarian. This decision can be explained by several factors, and they presumably had a combined influence. From the military point of view it was indeed the south-western part of Transdanubia that was more vulnerable: while the territory surveyed in 1545–1546 and thus already taxable reached as far as Sighetvar, on the western border there was only one small Ottoman fortress, Göröşgal; the two great fortresses of Peçuy and Şikloş stood too far on the east. At this point it may not be too early to refer to the obsession which greatly influenced the Ottoman concept of defence: the prioritisation of the border territory facing the Habsburg provinces above all the rest, and the constant reinforcement of that area. Presumably the Ottomans were also aware that while in the southern part of the territory between the rivers Danube and Tisza the migration of Balkan settlers into the country and onwards was still very strong, in Baranya they could establish the system on a stable population that was bound to the land. It is also probable that the conquerors had not yet fully comprehended the novelty of the location, the permanent presence of raiding enemy soldiers who could not be kept out even by fortresses and garrisons, let alone by unarmed peasants—they still expected the peasantry to defend the territory, as if they were in Anatolia.

In the first detailed Ottoman survey of Baranya in 1545–1546<sup>1</sup> and in those carried out five and six years later,<sup>2</sup> villages located on the Western border of the county were teeming with privileged peasants, *müsellems*. Their villages framed the territory in two wide semi-circular zones. The northern arch started from below the not-yet reinforced *nahiye* centre, Senmartin, connecting it with the other *nahiye* centre located to the south, Senlörinç, then turned south-east from here, with its furthest points reaching Şikloş. The villages packed with *müsel-*

1 The survey register of the *sancak* of Mohaç: BOA Tapu 441. Its dating in: Káldy-Nagy, *A budai szandzsák 1559. évi összeírása*, 11.

2 In 1550–1552 the territory was divided into the two *sancaks* of Mohaç and Göröşgal, which together include the settlements that used to be included in the previous Mohaç *deFTER* alone. The register of the *sancak* of Mohaç in this period of time: BOA Tapu 443; they were dated to 1550–1551: Káldy-Nagy, *A budai szandzsák 1559. évi összeírása*, 12. The *deFTER* of Göröşgal: BOA Tapu 646; dated to 1552 by Fodor, 'The Way of a Seljuk Institution', 389–390: note 88.

lems were most dense on the section arching over Senlörinç, while around Şikloş they were sparser. The other, southern semi-circle started next to Göröşgal, going south as far as the Drava, then followed its northern bank towards the east. Its villages were most densely concentrated around two more unfortified *nahiye* centres, Sentmartin and Şelin. The only fortified place, Göröşgal, was encircled by relatively few *müsellem* villages; on this section defense was assigned to the fortress' small garrison of 105 men.<sup>1</sup>

In 1545–1546 altogether in 90 settlements were *müsellems* appointed; 69 in along the northern semi-circle, and 21 along the southern one. It is worth noting that of the almost one thousand settlements in the Mohaç *sancak*, except for two in the vicinity of Şikloş, the system was introduced only in villages on the border of the surveyed area. It shows what really mattered: they intended to secure the defence of the south-west border and the river Drava with the peasants selected to do military service.

Fortunately the *defter* describes clearly what the authorities expected from the Hungarian peasant soldiers in Baranya county; without this we would only be able to guess whether they were supposed to build roads, look after horses or fight. After a list of five heads of families and two of their unmarried sons in a small village, the following was noted: “part of the above-mentioned were *müsellems*, the other part were *müsellem-reaya* [see explanation below]; at the time of campaigns led by the sultan, or if the *beys* governing a *sancak* lead a campaign somewhere, in the place of their [waived] tithe and taxes they personally mount their horses, this is how they were registered in the sultan's new *defter*.”<sup>2</sup> Neither the number of tax units, nor the taxes, were recorded after the list of names and this sentence: the only obligation of the village was military service.

In the 90 villages, above the names of 543 men—mostly heads of families and fewer of them unmarried—*müsellem* was written, and above 78 it was noted that he was the *reaya* of a peasant with *müsellem* legal status (e.g. *raiyyet-i müsellem Csorba János*. This is certainly the correct reading, although the combination of words is unusual. I have not met this expression in the survey register of the Balkan men with privileged status, there, as we have seen, the stay-at-home supporters of those whose turn it was to perform military service were called *yamak*. In Hungary, however, the concept of *yamak* is unknown, thus it would make sense for the Balkan *yamak* and the Hungarian *müsellem-reaya* to be two names for the same thing. The problem is that the legal definition and the Anatolian and Balkan practices reveal a system in which behind the military

1 ÖNB Mxt 581, p. 55.

2 On page 144: “Mezkürlerin bazı müsellem ve bazı müsellem raiyyesi olup öşr-i rüsum mukabelesinde sefer-i hümayun vakı <sup>oldukça</sup> veya liva-i mezbureye vali olan beyler bir yere sefer ettikçe her müsellem kendi nefsile eşmek üzere defter-i cedid-i hakanide kayd olundular.”

peasant whose turn it was to do service there was a set number of *yamaks*, always more than one: three, four, five, ten, fifteen or even fifty of them. In Baranya, however, the registered 78 *reayas* were greatly outnumbered by the 543 *müsellems* who were obliged to fight.

In the Baranya survey register the scribe always named the *müselleme* to whom the *reaya* belonged; this is another difference compared to the Balkan practice. Of the 543 *müsellems* only 19 had registered *reayas*, some had 12, some only one; some had *reayas* in other villages as well, some had them only in their own settlement. We have seen how carefully the list of military peasants were kept in the Balkans and we have no reason to suppose that they would have been careless about mustering the members of a newly set up body in the very first survey of a new *sancak*. So if we presume that the scribe registered every *reaya* accurately, a system significantly different from the Balkan one unfolds. The vast majority of the Baranya *müsellems* had to pay their own military expenses in return for exemption from taxation; only a fraction had a helper assigned—perhaps to bear some of the costs. It will never be clear now how the members of this group were selected. It is apparent from the above quoted annotation on obligations that of the two types of military peasants only the *müsellems* were made to fight, not the *reayas*, so they did not take turns to perform military duties. The seemingly obvious equivalence between *yamak* and *reaya* is brought into doubt by the difference in exemptions. In the Balkan systems the peasants doing their turn of military service and the *yamaks* who stayed at home enjoyed the same tax allowances. In Hungary, however, this was not the case. The survey register leaves no doubt that the *müsellems* were granted complete exemption from taxation. The *reayas*, in contrast, were only exempt from the *resm-i kapı*.

Above the names of tax-exempted *müsellems* the size of the arable fields (*tarla*) and hay fields (*çayır*) they cultivated was noted, the yield of the former was given in sacks (namely *tobra*), the latter in cartloads (*araba*). (This resembles the free plot of military peasants, the *baştina*; it was presumably identical with it; however, the word itself is never found next to the names of Hungarian *müsellems*.) Knowing the yield of arable land and meadows, on the other hand, enables us to find out from which peasant class the privileged ones were selected. Tax exemption favoured both wealthy and poor, and indeed we find both kinds of peasants, though not in equal numbers; only the landless were not represented. Everybody owned arable land yielding one or two sacks of wheat, and fewer than two dozen did not have meadows as well. The majority of *müsellems* came from the poorer classes. The richest ones and those who had *reayas* working for them share many features. Half of the 32 *müsellems* producing the most wheat had no *reayas*. Those registered with *reayas*, however, with the exception



of three, can be repeatedly found among the wealthy ones. Thus the rich Hungarian *müsellems* with *reayas* suggest another Balkan analogy, but this is so distant that it can only be considered as a faint possibility. It was the legal right of the military Vlach *kenezes* endowed with *timars* to keep up to ten agricultural workers (*ratay*) to cultivate their land.<sup>1</sup> There is absolutely no direct correlation between south-Slav *kenezes* and rich Hungarian *müsellems*. It is possible, however, that the organisers of the system appointed *müsellem* foremen from among the richest village folk, who may have employed workers; in this sense the term *müsellem-reaya* would be closer to the sense of the word *reaya*. As we have no surviving source material on the structure of the military peasant system in Baranya, this is all hypothetical.

There are two more details that make the picture of 1545–1546 more vivid. Among the *müsellems* there were three new Muslims, which might leave us with the impression that recruiting military peasants for border defence started off a wave of conversions in Baranya. In reality, apart from them, there were no other converts among the 1,501 heads of families and their unmarried brothers and sons in the 90 *müsellem* villages in the register. The other detail of interest is that either because tax exemption was so attractive, or because they were simply appointed and had no choice, a certain part of the educated village population was also involved. Priests never became *müsellems*; they could not possibly have collaborated in this way, but at least half a dozen of the educated men who were registered did become members of the organisation.

Besides the *müsellems* who were expected to do real military service, the first villages ordered to do work connected to fortresses in return for tax allowances appeared in the earliest survey register. They were tasked with transporting wood for the maintenance of the ‘bridges and wharves’ (*köprüleri ve iskeleleri*) of a certain fortress. The relevant passages written above the names of villages followed a set formula: bridges and wharves were mentioned even if there was not a single stream in the vicinity of the fortress. In return for their work the inhabitants of the village were exempted from extraordinary state taxes (*avarız-i divaniyye ve tekalif-i örfiyye*), fortress construction (*hisar yapmak*) and occasional state socage services (*cerehor hizmeti*). Even in this sense the text is peculiar, as the two latter public duties were concerned precisely with maintaining fortifications. The formulaic text suggests that these villages were obliged to provide the nearby fortresses with continuous supplies of material and permanent labour. In return, they were exempted from extraordinary taxes—not yet introduced in Hungary—and the occasional, so not continual, fortress work. Ten villages were treated in this way: Peçuy, Döbrekös, Şimontorna and Sekçöy were served by one village each, Şikloş, Göröşgal and Donbo by two each.

1 Cvetkova, *Les institutions ottomanes*, 62.

Unfortunately it is impossible to estimate the extent to which the treasury deprived itself of income and funds that would otherwise have been distributed among the *sipahis*, when it established the organisation of the tax-free *müsellems*. What is certain is that the *müsellems* made up a significant part of the population of the villages they inhabited: more than one third of the heads of families, which means that by and large one third of the possible income from villages was wasted in the naïve hope that the villages would defend the southwest border of Baranya county, and that they would increase the sultan's empire in the spirit of true Ottoman soldiers.

Surveys made half a decade later, in 1550–1552,<sup>1</sup> indicate that the system did not come up to expectations. Following the years of the 1544–1545 conquest of the fortresses in Tolna county and especially the peace concluded for five years in 1547 there were no major campaigns in this region, only constant local conflict; the *müsellems* were able to enjoy their exemption from taxes in peace as they were unable to deal with either. The idea that the 44 *müsellems*, most of the inhabitants of the populous village of Nagyváty, would mount their horses and charge against Szigetvár with the blessing of their three priests also fell through. Within half a decade the system was withering away. In contrast to the 90 villages of the first survey, after half a decade *müsellems* were registered in only 59, and their numbers had fallen from 543 to 191. Furthermore, there were no longer any *müsellem-reayas*.

The 59 villages were again arranged in two semi-circular zones, but unlike five years earlier, they now followed the line of the border much more sparsely. The first arc was now made up of 46 villages, which only defended Senmartin from the south, the western approaches to Senlörinç were still thickly lined, while on the eastern edge towards Şikloş they had thinned out. 13 settlements belonged to the second zone of villages, around Göröşgal. The layout of this zone had not changed, but it was no longer anything like as dense: the edge curling along the banks of the Drava had almost disappeared. While in 1545–1546 on average six *müsellems* were registered in each village, by now this number was barely more than three. Of the 59 villages 20 had only one *müsellem*, 15 had two.

The rapid collapse of the system was surely not caused by massive extinction or migration. The comparison of the lists of names of the inhabitants indicates that the population stayed put; only the majority of the once untaxed peasants were now tax-payers. Only 16% of the 1,203 heads of families in the 59 villages enjoyed exemption from taxation, in comparison to the previous one-third.

As we lack sources we do not know exactly how fast the *müsellems* continued to decline over the next two decades; we can only evaluate the final result.

1 BOA Tapu 443 and 646.

In the register of the *sancak* of Peçuy from around 1570<sup>1</sup> we come across only three places with altogether five *müsellems*, three of whom lived in towns. Finally, by the time of the 1579 tax registration<sup>2</sup> none were left. By then in the Hungarian-populated Baranya the only villages that remembered the Balkan military peasant service were the few which were obliged to do fortress repair work both at the beginning of the 1550s and in the 1570s.

The organisation of the privileged Hungarian peasants doing military service as border defence and assault troops, an institution which was totally foreign to the area and its population, withered and disappeared. A system of military peasants functioning with Balkan efficiency would still have been needed, even though the Ottoman network of fortresses had been established on the western border of Baranya and in Somogy counties. In the 1550s, Senlörinç, Senmartin and Şelin were temporarily garrisoned—earlier, when they were still unfortified, they were surrounded by the villages of the *müsellems*. After 1566 strong fortresses, Sigetvar, Bobořa, Berzenç, Barça and Şegeş protected the border, forming the basis for one of the strongest defensive zones of Ottoman Hungary. However, if even this network of fortresses was unable to prevent the Hungarian soldiers from coming in to raid and tax Ottoman territories from Sigetvar until 1566, then following its fall from Kanija, what good could Hungarian military peasants possibly have done? When the relatives of ‘Turks’ slain and captured in the continuous Hungarian raids demanded the blood-money and rescue from the villages they defended themselves by claiming: “We are peasants, we cultivate land, pay *harac*, *ispence* and other taxes. We cannot possibly go against the despotic *hayduds* of [Hungarian] fortresses armed with guns and all kinds of weapons.”<sup>3</sup> They were right, and the fact that some of them were *müsellems* made no difference.

### Balkan population and military peasants of the southern territory between the Danube and the Tisza

The establishment of military peasant organisations promised better results in those territories where large numbers of Balkan people settled in the 16th century. I deliberately call them ‘Balkan people’, not Serbs, Bosnians or Vlachs, as it is impossible to separate these ethnic groups.<sup>4</sup> All my attempts to identify at

1 BOA Tapu 1012, dated by Gyula Káldy-Nagy. The three settlements are on pages 40, 101, 133 of the *deFTER*.

2 BOA Tapu 585.

3 *3 Numaralı mühimme defteri*, No. 714.

4 The mixed ethnicity of the settlers is emphasised in László Mészáros, ‘Délszlávok és cigányok a dunántúli hódoltság területén [Southern Slavs and Gypsies in the Transdanubian part of Ottoman Hungary]’, in *A Dunántúl településtörténete I. 1686–1768. VEAB Értesítő II. Veszprém, 1976*, 221–222. With the appearance of Islamisation the immigrant population became mixed in religious terms too, which, for example, transpires in their funeral habits. Erika Wicker, ‘A

least Vlach communities in the Ottoman survey registers of the southern part of the territory between the Danube and the Tisza and in other sources have come to nothing. If there is no birthplace or any other revealing information—change of post, *eflak* legal status—to indicate a man's origin, it is impossible to tell the southern Slavs and the Vlachs apart. Names alone prove nothing: Serbians, Bulgarians and Vlachs had lived side by side even in the North-Balkans, they borrowed each other's first names, and this mixture only intensified in Hungary. Furthermore, using Arabic letters Niku and Niko, Ilie and Ilije, and Ioan and Jovan were written in the same way, and in hand-writing there is usually no difference between names beginning with Drak- and Drag-. Parallel lists of names drafted close in time indicate that the name of the same man was written down in various forms; many names beginning with Rad-, Vuk-, Niko- and Drag-, which had different endings were happily used interchangeably.

In the list of names of villages taken over by Balkan people many Romanian names appear, including Drakul and Drakula, Ion, Radul, Avram, Vlad, Mircea, Barbul, Bogdan and Grigor, G'org'e (as opposed to G'ura and G'urit'), Mihail (as opposed to Mihal and Mihajlo, Petre (as opposed to Petar and Petri), and presumably many Vlachs bore the often-used names of Vuk, Ilije and Nikola. If only half of the people bearing the most wide-spread name of Ioan/Jovan were Romanians, even that means several hundred people. The problem is that south Slavs could have Vlach names and vice versa. The personal names of Balkan people consisted of two parts, the given first names of the man and his father; confusion is already apparent here, and is made worse if the recorded peasant's unmarried sons and brothers also appear on the list. The names of three-generation families complemented with unmarried family members show mixing: the grandfather was Vujič, his son, the present head of the family was Nikola, his unmarried sons were Bogdan and Iljje, or another, randomly selected generation chain is Skrasov, Nikola and Mircea.<sup>1</sup> In 1578 in the village of Szentlőrinc a large family was registered: the father Radul Mrela, his sons Vuk, Nikola, Bogdan and Doman (the latter could easily be Toman/Doman which arrived into Hungarian from Cumanian).<sup>2</sup> It is telling that names were mixed even in those rare cases when Hungarians and Balkan people lived together: the son of the Hungarian Ambrus Gáspár baptised his son Ivaniš, while Gál Borbás called his boy Živko.<sup>3</sup>

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Serb Cemetery from the Ottoman Era in Hungary', in Ibolya Gerelyes-Gyöngyi Kovács (eds.), *Archaeology of the Ottoman Period in Hungary*. Budapest, 2003, 237–248. Eadem, 'Muzulmán elemek a hódoltság kori rácok temetkezési szokásaiban [Muslim elements in the funeral habits of Serbians in the Ottoman era]', *Cumania* 18 (2002) 95–124. Eadem, *Rácok és vlahok a hódoltság kori Észak-Bácskában* [Serbs and Vlachs in North Bácska in the Ottoman period]. Kecskemét, 2008.

1 BOA Tapu 554, p. 223: Szentlőrinc, p. 243: Katymár.

2 BOA Tapu 570, p. 102.

3 Ibid., 105–106.

Studying the legal status of the Balkan men who settled in the southern part of the *sancak* of Segedin does not help to separate them either, as the military peasants here were not given *eflak* rights, but were made into even freer *müsellems*. The only clue to their being *eflaks* is that when they were assigned into a military company their name became *harami*, which, as we have seen, was the term used above all for *eflaks*. An Ottoman source written in Hungarian also speaks of their presence; in order to be able to evaluate it we need to know that the Hungarians, even Hungarian scribes in Ottoman employment, usually differentiated between Serbs, who were called *rác* and Vlachs, called *oláh*, and the names of these two ethnic groups were fairly consistently used. In 1576 Sokollu Mustafa Pasha of Buda protested in a letter written in Hungarian against the Hungarian soldiers of Eger “raiding some oláh [Vlach] village.”<sup>1</sup> The tentative conclusion we can draw from this is that in the ethnically mixed Balkan population settling in large numbers between the Danube and Tisza—just like among fortress soldiers—there must have been a substantial group of Vlachs whose members did military service without having *eflak* rights or belonging to *eflak* communities.

The new-comers first flooded the southern part of the *sancak* of Segedin, Bácska. The 1521, 1526 and 1529 campaigns of Süleyman I and the annihilation of the fifteen-thousand strong army of the Serbian peasant leader Černi Jovan following the battle of Mohaç<sup>2</sup> swept the Hungarian population out of the area; they were replaced by people of Balkan origin. The depopulation had been accomplished by the time of the first Ottoman surveying in 1546; the massive wave of resettlement lasted until around 1560. After that the process slowed down, but the continuous emigration, immigration and resettlement never ceased, at least until the end of the century, which is as far as we can trace the process in Ottoman survey registers. In 1546, of the two southern districts of the *sancak* of Segedin, in the 83 inhabited settlements of the *nahiye* of Baç and the 27 of the *nahiye* of Titel<sup>3</sup> in only one village did they register three Hungarian heads of families; in all the others the population was entirely of Balkan origin. North of these two districts only ten villages in the *nahiye* of Segedin along the banks of the Tisza were taken over by the settlers, here the last village populated by southern Slavs was the northern neighbour of the town of Zenta, which was inhabited by Hungarians and Serbs. After this, as far as Segedin and above, the

1 Takáts-Eckhart-Szekfű, *A budai basák magyar nyelvű levelezése*, 106.

2 Ferenc Szakály, ‘Honkeresők (megjegyzések Černi Jován hadáról) [Home-seekers (notes on the army of Černi Jovan)]’, *Történelmi Szemle* 21:2 (1979) 229.

3 On their registration, see Branislav Djurdjev–Olga Zirojević, ‘Obširni defter segedinskog sandžaka’, *Mešovite gradje* 17–18 (1988) 7–57. The authors put the undated register between 1545 and 1548. Its probable date, however, is 1546, which makes it one of the first *defters* of Çandarlızade Halil Bey.

settlements were Hungarian. The *nahiyes* of Çongrad and Kalaça were also Hungarian.<sup>1</sup>

The *nahiyes* of Baç and Titel are similar in the sense that their population had become completely Balkan by 1546; however they are quite different in terms of when this happened. The villages of the *nahiye* of Baç were small, their inhabitants were poor, and the register makes it clear that they had arrived recently. On average, only 7.5 heads of families were registered in one settlement, the average number of *hanes* obliged to pay *cizye* was 5, even fewer paid the *timariot's resm-i kapı*, 3.2 heads of families per settlement; no doubt the inaccuracies of the first survey greatly contributed to these incredibly low figures. The range of agricultural products after which tithe had to be paid was limited; the inhabitants were mainly livestock farmers. There were only ten villages where sheep owners were not registered, in the other 73 there were altogether 150, with 8,619 sheep between them; thus a farmer owned 57.5 animals on average, so the number of all tithe lambs was 668—which, for a population engaged in animal husbandry, indicates poverty. By comparison, in the same year in the *nahiye* of Hatvan, where at the meeting of the plain and the mountainous region the main branches of production were corn and wine, 102 villages were registered, and in 34 villages—exactly one third of them—, sheep owners and lamb tithes were recorded; in 34 villages 66 farmers owned 9,856 sheep, so the average flock consisted of 150 animals; the number of tithe lambs was 757.<sup>2</sup> During these two early assessments the flocks may have been registered inaccurately, but the comparisons are worth making, as they both may well contain inaccuracies.

The *nahiye* of Titel indicates a more consolidated situation than that of Baç, suggesting that resettlement started earlier here; by the time of the registration the population was becoming more stable. We do not meet flourishing economic life here either, but the villages are larger: on average 16 heads of families were registered in each, the average number of households obliged to pay *cizye* was 11.7, and the average number of gates was 6.7. Here sheep owners were not recorded in five villages, in the other 22 altogether 58 owners were registered, owning a total of 4,840 animals, 83.5 per flock on average, and the number of tithe lambs was 317. The incoming south Slavs were not yet properly organised. In both *nahiyes* one inhabitant was recorded as “a *sipahi* appointed with the sultan’s diploma (*ba berat*).” The Christian *sipahi* of the *nahiye* of Baç was one Vukan Radosav, presumably a Serbian. Titel’s is more interesting, he was called

1 Their publications: Előd Vass, ‘A szegedi és csongrádi nájije 1548. évi török adóösszeírása [The 1548 Turkish survey register of the *nahiyes* of Szeged and Csongrád]’, in *Tanulmányok Csongrád megye történetéből*. Szeged, 1979, 5–80. Idem, ‘A kalocsai nájije 1548. évi török adóösszeírása [The 1548 Turkish survey register of the *nahiye* of Kalocsa]’, *Cumania* 6 (1979) 7–62. Naturally, the 1546 dating refers to these as well.

2 Fekete, *A hatvani szandzsák*, 11–64.

Szücs Pál Mihal: a Hungarian at first sight, but as he gave his son the name Sava, and he was the foreman of a village inhabited exclusively by Balkan people, presumably he was being assimilated.<sup>1</sup> Although whoever prepared the survey register, did not note beside the two men whether they were *kenezes*, their status indicates something along these lines: the Ottoman authorities appointed one foreman from among the settlers in each *nahiye* in order to mediate between the inhabitants and the state offices. Apart from them, only one *primikür* appears in the district of Baç in the register, in Titel not even one. On the other hand, if we can believe what we read, priests arrived along with their congregations.<sup>2</sup> In the 83 Baç villages there were already 11 priests, in the 27 Titel settlements 13 priests and 6 Orthodox monks (*kaluđer*). These numbers also indicate the earlier repopulation of the villages in Titel. Furthermore, the first converts to Islam also appeared, and were followed by several more. Conversion, however, never reached or even approached the scale that it did in the Balkans, though it was higher here than anywhere else in Hungary. In 1546 in three villages of the *nahiye* of Baç three Muslims were registered, while in Titel five, in two villages.<sup>3</sup>

The next detailed register was taken one and a half decades later, in 1560–1561, and covers the *sancak* of Segedin,<sup>4</sup> which at this point already consisted of seven *nahiyes*. The population of the three southern ones (Baç, Titel, Zombor) was almost exclusively from the Balkans. Segedin, located further north was mostly, and Vaşarhel overwhelmingly Hungarian, while Kalaça and Şolt, the northern-most *nahiyes*, were entirely Hungarian. According to the survey made between 1546 and 1560 the powerful migration of ethnic groups continued in the southern half of the *sancak*: Balkan settlers repopulated 163 deserted villages within one and a half decades. The size of the Muslim population also increased. In 1560, apart from the natural Muslim population of Ottoman centres, converts lived in smaller or larger numbers in 24 villages in the three southern *nahiyes*, most of them in the large, newly founded village of Dienösfalva, where there were 69 households, all of them Muslim.<sup>5</sup> Among others, this village is the proof the Muslims of Bácska must have been converts of Balkan origin: at the head of the list of inhabitants there is not only a Ottoman village foreman, a *kethüda*, but also a *primikür* with a Muslim name. Further north, in the *nahiye* of Zombor

1 Djurdjev–Zirojević, 'Opširni defter', 24, 47.

2 The written form of the word 'pop' (priest) in Arabic without dots is absolutely identical with the name Ion, especially if the scribe elongates the last letter of the word. After a long struggle with myself I accepted the 'pops' of the 1546 *defter*, as two prominent Serbian Ottomanists read it in this way, I hope with good reason. In the other registers of which I use the original I do not undertake the task of differentiation, so in the following I do not count the priests.

3 Djurdjev–Zirojević, 'Opširni defter', 17, 25, 43, 45, 24.

4 BOA Tapu 332. Its date is H. 968 (= September 22, 1560–September 10, 1561).

5 Ibid., 135.

there were 14 villages (13% of the registered settlements) where a few Muslim families lived side by side with the Balkan Christians.

In 1560 the population of the *nahiye* of Segedin became less Balkan and more Hungarian as one goes from south to north along the same line as in 1546. Populous villages were usually Hungarian. Of the 21 settlements in the *nahiye* of Vaşarhel two were already inhabited by Balkan people, while the population of a tiny, newly registered village seems to be mixed. The inhabitants of the districts of Kalaça and Şolt were Hungarian at this time too.

By the 1570s the *sancak* had yet again been reorganised: now it was divided into nine *nahiyes*.<sup>1</sup> The districts of Baya and Sobotka joined the others. Now five *nahiyes* shared the southern, Balkanised half of the *sancak*; this, however, did not change the fact that the population had become almost exclusively Balkan: only in the town of Küllöd and in two villages do we find a few Hungarian families; in the list of inhabitants a Hungarian foreman was registered as the first inhabitant of Küllöd. Of the 29 inhabited places belonging to Baya only four Hungarian villages remained, the first three survived due to the large number of their inhabitants; however, in the following decade their population was also in decline.<sup>2</sup>

The best example of the advance of the Balkan population and the disappearance of the Hungarian one is the *nahiye* of Segedin. Going back to the beginning: in 1546 9, in 1560 11, in 1570 8, in 1578 26 south Slav-Vlach villages and one mixed, Hungarian-south Slav village were registered there. The great jump of the 1570s did not bring about a territorial expansion: the Balkan-populated area still did not extend above Segedin. The continuous zone of Balkan villages stretching south of this, following the bank of the river Tisza emerged in two ways. The first, rare case is that of larger villages: there the newcomers settled among the thinning Hungarian population and after a brief period of co-habitation the Hungarians disappeared for good. This is what happened to the inhabit-

1 Three detailed survey registers survive from this decade. The first one comes from the time of Selim II (1566–1574): BOA Tapu 554. Bruce McGowen, who published its pair, the *Sirem defter*, considers it most likely that both the surveys of Sirem and Segedin were made around 1568–1570 ('Food Supply and Taxation on the Middle Danube, 1568–1579', *Archivum Ottomanicum* 1 [1969] 143). The publication of the complete *defter* dated 1570: Gyula Káldy-Nagy, *A szegedi szandzsák települései, lakosai és török birtokosai 1570-ben* [The settlements, inhabitants and Turkish prebend-holders in the Segedin sancak in 1570]. Szeged, 2008. The second register is dated to 1578: BOA Tapu 570. The data on the settlements inhabited by Muslims was published by Halasi-Kun, *Sixteenth-Century Turkish Settlements*. The third *mufassal defteri*, BOA Tapu 572, is yet again undated. This also dates back to Selim II; the order of villages, the list of names of inhabitants, the amount of their produce and taxes is identical with those in the register from around 1570: a letter-by-letter copy. A few additions, however, seem to have been made later.

2 The registers of the four villages (Szeremle, Monostor, Csanád, Besnyő): Tapu 554, pp. 178–179, 181–183, Tapu 570, pp. 136–137, 131–133, 138.



abts of the town of Zenta, which in 1546 was mainly populated by Hungarians, while in 1560 the whole population was from the Balkans, and stayed so for as long as we can trace it.<sup>1</sup> The population of Martonoş was Hungarian in 1546, in 1560 and around 1570, but its recorded heads of families dropped from 33 to 19. In 1578 the almost completely different body of inhabitants were led by a *kenez*; only three of its 16 families were still Hungarian, and two of these had the family name Tót (which means they were from the territory between the rivers Drava and Sava).<sup>2</sup> The other pattern was more common: villages that were emptied at a blow in the course of wars or slowly deserted in peace time were taken over by newcomers, who may have moved on, leaving the place, yet again deserted, to newer migrants. The 11–8–26 number of Balkan populated villages reflect this repeated pattern of migrant-settling, where the Balkan villagers were not necessarily the same. The final outcome was that by 1578 the expanding zone of settlements along the Tisza south of Segedin had been filled up with people of Balkan origin.

It is not easy to reconstruct the network of settlements in the *sancak* of Segedin and trace the border between Hungarian- and Balkan-populated villages, partly because of the frequent changes in the territories of the *nahiyes* and partly because of the continuous mobility of the population, but mostly as a result of the fact that it is impossible to establish what the earlier, medieval history of villages with Slav names was, and thus to define their location. However, from the above description it is clear that the two ethnic groups were sharply divided at Segedin: along the border of the *nahiyes* of Baya and Kalaça some villages were inhabited by Balkan families, some by Hungarian. The *cizye defteri*<sup>3</sup> of the *sancak* sealed on November 20, 1591 indicates that the border had not changed again up to this point, it still stood on the Kalaça–Segedin line. The series of villages in which Muslims lived did not extend as far as Segedin, but was confined to the three southern *nahiyes*. By the 1570s the concentration of the converted Balkan population can be observed not only in Ottoman centres manned by garrisons but also in villages. There were Muslim populations in only 16 villages in the three southern *nahiyes* around 1570, compared to the 24 villages in 1560, while the number of mostly married, less frequently unmarried tax-paying Muslims grew from 117 to 230.

To sum all this up: by the 1570s between the Danube and Tisza the Balkans had encroached as far up as the Kalaça–Segedin line: the population consisted of Christian south Slavs and Vlachs, with occasional converted communities, some larger, some smaller. Here the establishment of the military peasant organisa-

1 Vass, 'A szegedi és csongrádi náhije', 59. Tapu 332, p. 23, Tapu 554, p. 48, Tapu 570, p. 26.

2 Vass 'A szegedi és csongrádi náhije', 53–54. Tapu 332, p. 29, Tapu 554, p. 39, Tapu 570, p. 24.

3 ÖNB Mxt 534.

tions which functioned so well in the Balkans stood better chances. We find no trace of them yet in the register of 1546; by 1560, however, many organisations and sections of populations engaged in military service had already appeared in the three southern *nahiyes*, namely those of the *müsellems*, *martoloses* and *eflaks*.

In 1560–1561 in the *nahiyes* of Titel, Baç and Zombor altogether 3,644 Christian tax-paying *hanes* were registered, 11% of which, 397 households, were privileged to a certain degree. The fewest of these were in the *nahiye* of Titel, which was populated earliest: 4% of the households. There are no traces of either *müsellems*, or *martoloses*: the 28 privileged peasants were all *primikürs*, which means that the majority of the 40 inhabited villages were headed by their own foremen. Military peasants make their presence felt more strongly in the *nahiye* of Baç, where 91 (6.1%) of 1,491 Christian households were privileged: 25 *müsellems* completely exempted from taxes, 4 *kenezes* also exempted and 62 *primikürs* usually exempted from *ispence*. Here foremen outnumbered the *müsellems* assigned to do military service. The ratio changes in the *nahiye* of Zombor, and is reminiscent of the situation in Baranya county. Of the 1,379 Christian households in the districts 278 (20.2%) privileged ones can be counted: 131 *müsellems*, 60 *martoloses*, 4 *kenezes* and 83 *primikürs*, which means 191 peasants ordered to do military service and 87 foremen, of whom only *kenezes* can be considered military commanders. Unfortunately it is impossible to identify among the *primikürs* those doing military service.<sup>1</sup>

The *müsellems* in Bácska, however, did not penetrate the villages even in the *nahiye* of Zombor as deeply as in Baranya; here there were only three villages where two in each were registered, in the others only one. The majority of the *müsellems*, 102, repopulated three deserted villages between Zombor and Baya. These villagers were registered in the *defter* at the end of the *nahiye*, as a separate item, as the inhabitants of three newly populated villages. At the beginning of the item the reason for the resettlement and the tasks assigned to the three villages were written down.<sup>2</sup>

“The cavalry *müsellems* of the fortress of Zombor and the *parkan* of Baya in the *liva* of Segedin. When the new survey of the above named *liva* was ordered, a noble decree arrived simultaneously as well to register the following into the new *defter*. In the named *liva* the territory between Zombor and Baya has been empty and deserted since the sultan’s conquest, at the same time it is the route

1 Comparing the numbers of heads of families with those who paid *cizye* and *ispence* indicates that the majority of *primikürs* paid *cizye*, but not *ispence*. Presumably in return for such minimal tax exemption no actual military service was demanded of them. The exemption was not, however, consistent. There are cases where they were registered as payers of both *cizye* and *ispence*, at other times as payers of neither. In these latter cases we can suspect duties beyond a foreman’s responsibilities, maybe military service.

2 BOA Tapu 332, pp. 249–252.

used by travellers going to Buda from the middle of the country and back. The cavalry and infantry *hayduds* of the enemy's fortresses: Eğri, G'ula, and Sigetvar [Eger, Gyula, and Szigetvár] are permanently lying in wait in this area, and insist on perpetrating their evil and foul deeds. It is essential that this region be repopulated and revived, and that from the vagrants living in tents and from various settlements some *reaya* people be brought into the above mentioned, deserted villages of Aranyas, Gara and Borsód.<sup>1</sup> A hundred of those who, having repopulated and revived these places, should serve as privileged cavalry (*muafiyet ile atlı hizmetini edip*). They should faithfully defend and protect travellers coming and going and the inhabitants of the vicinity from the raids of the *hayduds*, and they should prevent the latter from doing their damage and harm. It has been registered in the sultan's new defter that as long as the one hundred cavalymen assiduously strive to revive the region in question and to keep harm away from travellers, and show no negligence in the defence of the region, they are to be exempt and free from all taxes, tithes and extraordinary services ordered by religious and state laws (*hukuk-i şeriyye ve rüsum-i örfiyye ve avarız-i divaniyyeden ve tekalfiten muaf ve müsellemler olalar*).<sup>2</sup>

After this comes the list of *müsellems* with 102 heads of families and 41 unmarried sons and brothers. The married ones were divided into ten squads (*bölük*), registered under corporals (*seroda*). The company was headed by Selak Niko, "the commander of the aforementioned *haramis*" (*ser-i harami-i mezburun*), who was, at the same time, the corporal of the first squad. Although the company was exempted from paying taxes, at the end of the list of names the number was totted up: "altogether 102 *hanes*." Finally in the usual place of the list of taxes the possible fines of the *müsellems* (*niyabet*) were registered, the only such item that was levied by the state or landlord even on those who were exempt from taxes. The picture is clear: complete exemption from tax and strict military organisation. The same was also true of the *müsellems* registered individually in villages. They too were separated from the village tax payers (for example, at the end of the list of names, in the aggregate, in the following way: "*hane 9, müsellemler 2*"), and were allocated into squads and companies: this is in-

1 The three villages were situated north of Zombor, close to one another, Gara on the main road to Kalaça, Borsód on a crossroads, Aranyas between the two.

2 The settling is described somewhat differently by a sultan's decree issued on June 14, 1559. According to this, the Hungarian soldiers of Szigetvár continuously raid the road running from Zombor to Buda. Thus an earlier decree ordered fifty *müsellemler* families from among the 'tent dwellers' to be settled in the village of Harka, while this present decree ordered fifty *müsellems* with guns and a further thirty, altogether eighty, to settle in the place of the earlier lot to guard the road as far as Baya. (Between Zombor and Baya there was no settlement called Harka or any other village whose written name would fit without too much difficulty into the script; the names of smaller settlements were regularly misspelled in the decrees of the imperial council: this time presumably Gara became Harka.) 3 *Numaralı mühimme defteri*, No. 111.

licated by the fact that Ivaniš Dragin from the village of Kaja was their captain (*sermiye-i müselleman*).<sup>1</sup>

The *nahiye* of Zombor was also unique in that here alone were *martoloses* appointed from among the villagers in the *sancak*,<sup>2</sup> between one and three men in each of 32 villages, altogether 60. The appointment was laid down in a sultan's *berat*; presumably this was done each time, although in the register the note "martolos with an appointment" (*martolos ba berat*) was written above each name only the first time it appeared;<sup>3</sup> after that we find only the word *martolos*. These military peasants enjoyed tax concessions, but maybe not complete exemption. At the end of the list of villagers, in the sum totals of tax units, they too were consistently written as separate items ("*hane* 10, *martolos* 3"), but they were more often included among those obliged to pay *cizye* than not; however, they were presumably not obliged to pay *ispence* (in many villages several privileged people were recorded beside tax-payers, so it is often not clear which of them were exempt from which kind of tax).

When surveying the *nahiye* of Segedin neither *müsellems*, nor *martoloses* were registered, nor even *kenezes* or *primikürs*. In the south, among the villages populated by Balkan folk, at Perlek, however, an annotation similar to the above one can be found.<sup>4</sup> "The village had lain deserted and empty from the sultan's conquest until the year 967 (October 3, 1559–September 21, 1560), and is located on the roads coming from Varadin and Segedin." The first, formulaic half of the sentence—the same was written about the three villages—is not correct, as in 1546 at Perlek 12 heads of families and the same number of *hanes* were registered,<sup>5</sup> all the inhabitants paid *cizye* and *ispence*, so they were not vagabonds. It is a fact, however, that Perlek was located at the junction of the roads going to Segedin from the south and going west, towards the Danube. Following this, the note mentions that previously lighter taxes were levied on the inhabitants in order to populate the settlement, but even so only managed to attract 13 *hanes* of people—this seems to show that the village had been continuously inhabited since the first survey. "*Sancakbeyi* Derviş—may his authority last long—understood and reported that the population of the settlement is essential for the region, thus in the aforementioned year settlers with privileges should be brought from among people living outside the *vilayet* and from those who live in tents, who should settle down in the aforementioned place with the obligation that 50

1 BOA Tapu 332, p. 243.

2 The difference between cash-paid *martoloses* serving in fortresses and peasant *martoloses* was pointed out already by Mészáros, 'Délszlávok és cigányok', 226.

3 On page 198 of the *defter*: the last man in the list of names of the inhabitants of Szentkirály, Mihajlo Nikola.

4 The section on Perlek in the *defter*: pp. 30–31.

5 Vass, 'A szegedi és csongrádi náhije', 62.

privileged households (*elli hane muafıyyet üzere*) of them should serve as cavalry, and defend the travellers and the vicinity from the *hayduds* and foul infidel horsemen. This has been set down in a decree and registered in the new *defter*, so that with this condition 50 cavalymen should do service. Should the number of inhabitants surpass 50 households, the extra must pay the usual taxes of the *reaya*.” Then this condition was not taken too seriously; following the successful settlement 59 heads of families were registered in the *defter*, and they were divided into two groups in the sum total: “privileged ones 50 *hane*, *reaya* 9 *hane*,” but no tax was levied on the village either as a lump sum from the whole community or on individuals.

Although the people of Perlek were not arranged according to military peasant categories in the text, but were referred to with the neutral word ‘cavalrymen’, it is clear that here we are dealing with *müsellems* just like the ones who populated the three villages near Baya. The question is, rather, whether the *müsellems* and *martoloses* of Baranya and Bácska were equivalent to Balkan categories or adapted to suit Hungarian requirements.

By this time the *müsellems* transferred from Anatolia to the Balkan Peninsula and the south Slav, mainly Bulgarian *voynuks*, had mostly lost their real military duties, and had become auxiliary units in the Ottoman army. Those *martoloses* and *eflaks*, however, who lived along the line of the river Sava and the lower Danube, in the border area directly facing Hungary, were still soldiers. As soon as the border area was pushed forward into Hungarian territory, after 1521, they spread to the area between the Drava and Sava, then from 1526 to the territories above the Danube. It may seem strange that the military organisation should have been established in the lower, apparently best defended areas of the conquered part of the country: within Ottoman Hungary this is not considered a border zone. However, the failed attempt in Baranya county showed that in purely Hungarian regions—although, as border areas, they needed extra defence—Balkan military organisations could not take root. The only places where they became an organic part of the Ottoman military establishment were the settlements founded on the right basis: a Balkan population. In this sense Bácska—and the *vilayet* of Temeşvar—were, at this point, the ‘borderlands’: the northern border territory of the Balkan population of the Ottoman Empire. The military situation clearly required that this region be guarded as well by military peasants with border defence duties. While Szigetvár, Eger and Gyula were still in Hungarian hands, their soldiers went on levying Hungarian taxes even in this southernmost zone of the Ottoman part of the country.<sup>1</sup> In the orders issued to the three *müsellem* villages located between the Ottoman fortresses of Baya and

1 Szakály, *Magyar adóztatás*, especially 60–91.; the 1549, 1550, 1554, and 1559 Hungarian raids and taxation: 52–67, 100.

Zombor the soldiers of these three large Hungarian fortresses appear as constant raiders as well, and Perlek on the Tisza was also tasked with cavalry *müsellem* service against the incursions of the Hungarian troops. Both in reality and in the opinion of the Ottoman military leadership Bácska was just as endangered a border zone as the western confines of Baranya.

The establishment of the defensive system, the chains of Ottoman fortresses guarding the border and the river banks, lasted into the 1570s. As we have seen, soldiers of Balkan origin played a major role in the fortresses, and they also supplied the basis of the military peasant organisations. In the first decades, the Ottoman military leadership vested these organisations with important duties; otherwise it would not have given up one quarter to one fifth of the income to be expected from the western Baranya and Bácska villages. They were expected to do real military service and provide permanent border defence, and in return for this they were granted higher tax allowances, and the *müsellems* were given complete exemption. However, the plan was destined to fail in the *sancak* of Segedin as well, where the strengthening of the organisation was hindered, not only by the fact that they were outnumbered by the raiding Hungarian soldiery, but also by the constant mobility of the incoming Balkan population.

In 1570 there is already no trace of the peasant *martoloses* of Bácska: the register of this year does not mention a single one. It is possible that they still existed, but if they did whoever drew up the assessment no longer registered them. In 1560 26 men of their 60-member community lived still in their village, but only two are clearly privileged: one became a *primikür*, one a *müsellem*; the remaining 24 were ordinary tax-paying *reaya*. I failed in my attempts to find the missing men in the pay list of 1569<sup>1</sup> in the fortresses of the vicinity; fortress defending, cash-paid *martoloses* served only in Baya, Kalaça and Segedin then and earlier as well.<sup>2</sup> Their units did not increase in size around this time; indeed, the slow decrease of the period of peace continued. It is possible that some of the peasant *martoloses* who had lost their privileges were recruited for fortress service; still, the result is that after a few years of existence the body of privileged *martoloses* living in villages disappeared here too from the sources. After this we can only find traces of their comrades serving in fortresses, for wages.

The completely tax-exempt *müsellems*, on the other hand, survived for a while, although their number fell significantly, and they were considered soldiers even when in the inner parts of the empire they barely did any fighting. My impression is that the word *müsellem* regained its original, broader meaning and rank for a few decades in Ottoman Hungary: here it did not indicate the members of one of the privileged military peasant organisations, but referred in

1 ÖNB Mxt 642.

2 The pay lists of 1557–1559: ÖNB Mxt 614 and 633.

general to the tax-exempt military peasant, *müsellems*, *martoloses* and *eflaks* together. This is suggested by the fact that the Vlachs, who were surely here and obviously did military service, were never mentioned by name in the sources: the authorities did not organise them into separate *eflak* units. And this conclusion is also supported by the fact that by 1560 in the southern part of the *sancak* of Segedin a network of *kenezes* and *primikürs* had been established. It was similar to the Balkan version, with simultaneous military, policing and self-governing functions, and supervised all military peasant organisations. In 1560, 173 (63%) of the 275 Balkan-populated villages in the southern *nahiyes* were already headed by a *primikür*; most of them (79%) functioned in the *nahiye* of Zombor, where the majority of *müsellems* and *martoloses* lived. In the *nahiyes* of Baç and Zombor 4-4 *kenezes* were appointed; in those, however, in which no military peasants were recorded there were none. Seven *kenezes* held not very valuable *timars*.<sup>1</sup>

The military peasant organisations set up in the 1550s—even if they did not collapse as fast as they did in Baranya—shrank even in this territory which had been taken over by people of Balkan origin. A *defter* taken around 1570<sup>2</sup> registered 5,968 tax-paying *hanes* in the five southern *nahiyes*, of which only 181 (3%) were still privileged. The majority of these were foremen: 138 *primikürs* and 12 *kenezes*, which means that in contrast to the 150 foremen the *müsellems* numbered only 31.

Aranyas, Gara, Borsód and Perlek, the villages settled with a hundred, and with fifty cavalry *müsellems* were already regular tax payers. The comparison of the 1560 and 1570 lists of inhabitants offers an explanation of why, here as well, their organisation failed to achieve the significance it was originally supposed to. The population of the four villages changed almost completely in a decade. Only five of the original inhabitants still lived in Aranyos there, three in Gara, and five in Borsód: altogether thirteen of the original 102. Now *müsellems* were only registered in Gara: there were three of them, two were from the original group. Perlek outdid even them: here only one person remained of the 59 registered in 1560.<sup>3</sup> The others had moved on. To check, I compared the lists of names from several villages, but migration was just as strong elsewhere too. This mobility was characteristic not only before 1570, but later too. The register of 1578 is full of new-comers (*doselac*, less frequently *preselac*); there are no settlements where a few were not registered, and they often constituted the majority of the inhabitants of smaller villages. It was impossible to found an efficient and lasting military organisation which would have had any chance of resisting

1 BOA Tapu 333, pp. 17–19.

2 BOA Tapu 554.

3 Ibid., 171–172, 185–186 and 160 (in the order of occurrence).

the raiding Hungarian soldiers on the basis of a continuously changing population.

The military leadership, however, did not give up. In the next survey register of 1578<sup>1</sup> we meet a whole range of novelties—some of which unfortunately I cannot interpret with any degree of certainty.

By this time the number of *müsellems* had been reduced still further in the Balkan-populated territories. Whoever remained did not stay in the villages but were concentrated in two places: 36 were settled in the *sancak* and *nahiye* centre Segedin, 7 in the *nahiye* centre Baya—the two northernmost Ottoman centres of the Balkanised territory,<sup>2</sup> and only two lived in the country. So the first change was that the 45 men who remained out of the once numerous body of *müsellems* were concentrated in areas which were defended by fortresses; this forced move also indicates that they could not have been very efficient when they were spread out in villages. With them, the *primikürs* also almost completely disappeared: only in the *nahiye* of Sobotka were three of them registered, which is barely any in comparison to the 138 of a decade earlier. The change is difficult to understand, as up to that point their number had been steadily rising. There is one possible explanation—which seems to have been proved by detailed study—, that this time the surveyor did not register them (the foremen of the Hungarian villages also disappeared). However, in the majority of the villages we repeatedly find one *ispence* payer fewer than the *cizye* payers: behind the difference there are, in all likelihood, the village foremen, who did not disappear; on the contrary, their number probably increased, and they were to be found in almost all settlements.

However, in the place of the disappearing *müsellems* and non-registered *primikürs* two new categories appeared, which I have not encountered anywhere else either before or afterwards. The first one is the group of men above whose names the scribe wrote the word *mirî*, which means ‘belongs to the treasury, to the state’. Most of these people only had to pay *cizye*, a minority of them were exempt even from that. Above the names of those who belonged to the second new category we find the word *maktu*, meaning lump sum payment. True enough, next to the *maktu* they always registered the value of the sum: it ranged from 150 to 650 *akçes*, most often 200–300 *akçes*, which was never calculated into the *timariot*’s income from the village, so it was paid into the treasury as well. The source reveals neither what the difference between the two groups was, nor whether they were obliged to perform some form of auxiliary military service, though the further increase in the number of *kenezes* indicates that they were. In 1578 31 of them were already registered in the *defter*, which is four

1 BOA Tapu 570.

2 BOA Tapu 570, pp. 32, 139.



times as many as before, and which could only have been required by the survival of the military peasant class. If this presumption, laden with uncertainties, is correct, in 1578 in the five *nahiyes* of the *sancak* of Segedin inhabited by Balkan folk there were 45 *müsellems*, 65 men with *mirî* and 29 with *maktu* status, as well as 31 *kenezes*. So altogether there were 170 privileged peasants who lived there and served the army in one way or another. Presumably they were mostly given auxiliary duties, because if the 'full-time' cavalry *müsellems* who enjoyed complete exemption were found insufficient against the raiding Hungarian soldiers, their partially exempted fellow peasants serving 'part time' must have been even more so. The 170 military peasants may seem too few, but they were not: around this time, the number of professional paid soldiers was about 300 in the fortresses of the *sancak* disregarding the more numerous soldiery of Segedin, which befitted the centre.

### *Eflaks* in the counties of Somogy and Tolna (*sancak* of Kopan)

After this, in the southern half of the territory between the Danube and Tisza we have no Ottoman sources which would enable us to trace the fate of military peasants of Balkan origin. From 1570, on the other hand, an increasing number of settlers appeared in south Transdanubia, from Somogy county through Tolna county as far as Fedvar on the banks of the Danube, who were consistently called *eflaks* in Ottoman sources (or *oláh* if the authorities wrote in Hungarian). Beyond doubt, they were a mixed population with *eflak* legal status.

From the first decades of the Ottoman rule two registers survive for the *sancak* of Kopan, the greater part of which was situated in Somogy, while its eastern edge stretched into Tolna. The earlier assessment is from the turn of 1551–1552, the other from 1565.<sup>1</sup> At these two points the three *nahiyes* (Kopan, Donbo, Karad) most densely populated by the *eflaks* later, were still inhabited by Hungarians. Already then there were plenty of abandoned villages in them, in 1565 in the *nahiye* of Kopan besides 92 inhabited places 59 deserted areas (*mezraa*) were assessed, in the Donbo *nahiye* besides 36 inhabited settlements there were 21, in the Karad *nahiye* besides 38 inhabited places there were 16 *mezraas*. Some of these were already waiting empty for the Balkan settlers in 1551–1552, others were abandoned between the two surveys, presumably in the course of the struggles for control over the Somogy area in the 1550s. This is when, for example, the village of Egrös, later to become an *eflak* settlement, was abandoned: at the turn of 1551–1552 it was still assessed with a priest and ten heads of families, by 1565, however, it was already empty.<sup>2</sup> The area was then further devastated by Sultan Süleyman's campaign of 1566, in the wake of which

1 BOA Tapu 412 and 665. They were dated by Dávid, *Simontornya Sancağı*, 15–16.

2 BOA Tapu 412, p. 41. Tapu 665, p. 123.

rows of villages were left depopulated. In the 1565 *defter* these were still registered as inhabited.<sup>1</sup> They included both tiny hamlets and populous villages, and can in general be characterised by the fact that they do not seem to have been on the brink of becoming deserted: in many villages the young, unmarried men, the coming generation, outnumbered the heads of families. After 1570, however, they were already populated by people of Balkan origin.

In 1570, for the first time, a separate list of settlements populated by *eflak* communities (*cemaat-i eflakan*) was registered at the end of the land survey register of the *sancak*.<sup>2</sup> The list includes 29 villages with the farmsteads that belong to them, partly registering the inhabitants in the usual list, in some cases without the list of the inhabitants, only registering the number of *hanes*, indicating that the place was inhabited. 26 of the 29 *eflak* villages were part of the *hasses* of Hüseyin, *sancakbeyi* of Kopan, three were given to the foreman of the prebend-owning *sipahis*, Yusuf *miralay*.<sup>3</sup> The registration of the settling *eflaks* was still imperfect: this is indicated by the fact that the inhabitants of the 16 villages were not listed, and the scribe of the *icmal defteri* mentions three further settlements among the *eflak* villages granted to the *sancakbeyi*, recorded as a separate item, which do not appear among the villages of the *eflak* community in the tax register. Thus in the two *defters* altogether 32 villages were registered which in 1570 were already populated by *eflaks*.

Naturally they were *eflaks* not in the ethnic but in the legal sense. As a body, the settlers were granted *eflak* status, which, of course, had gone through a huge change both south of the Sava and the lower Danube, and north of these in comparison to the original state of affairs: a growing number of *eflaks* fell under the authority of the *sipahis*, and besides paying the state's *filori* tax they were increasingly made to pay the tithe as well. The regulations of Vidin from the second half of the 16th century refer to the fact that the local *filoricis* petitioned the sultan not to hand over their tithes and other taxes to the ruthlessly taxing *sipahis*, if their old privileges based on the *filori* tax were abolished, but to keep them among the sultan's revenues.<sup>4</sup> The situation of the *eflaks* in Sirem was also different in the mid 16th century from what it had been. A hastily prepared list survives from 1558 of the "tax paying households of the *eflaks* of the *sancak* of Sirem" (*haneha-i rüsum-i eflakan-i liva-i Sirem*).<sup>5</sup> Here the word 'taxes' (*rüsum*) presumably does not mean the *filori* tax due to the state, but the *timariot's* taxes which reduced the *eflak* privileges. The aggregate list distinguishes between five categories of tax units: those who pay 81, 64, 45, 41 and 6 *osmanis* respectively.

1 BOA Tapu 665, pp. 111, 113–114, 126, 128, 137, 149, 155, 160–161, 165–166.

2 BOA Tapu 563, pp. 81–84.

3 In the 1570 *icmal* of the *sancak* of Kopan: BOA Tapu 505, p. 4.

4 Cvetkova, *Les institutions ottomanes*, 63.

5 ÖNB Mxt 591, p. 67.

The *osmani*, rare both as real coin and as a unit of measurement, was worth approximately four fifths of one *akçe* in the middle of the 16th century,<sup>1</sup> so the above categories were roughly equivalent to 65, 51, 36, 33 and 5 *akçes*. The tax was set according to the payer's financial situation: widows paid the least. The source refers to a very large total of 10,018 *eflak* households. Unfortunately it does not mention the state's *filori*-tax; if the regulations drawn up at the beginning of the century were still in force in Sirem, we can calculate approximately 90 *akçes* on top of the burden of the taxes due to the *timariot*. For the richest, this added up to around 150 *akçes*.

The settlement of Balkan people in Somogy and their *eflak* status were originally regulated on the basis of the assumption that they were also expected to pay taxes to the *timariots*. The final result was the same as in Sirem: every tax unit, *hane*, was set at 150 *akçes*, which included both the *filori* tax and the payment of the tithes. The majority of settlements (all but seven villages) were obliged to pay two smaller taxes: bride tax and fines, both in one sum. The amounts of these latter taxes were somewhat adjusted to the number of inhabitants, but primarily it was part of a mathematical game by the end of which the total taxes paid by the village came to a neat figure ending in a zero. Without doubt the taxes of *eflak* villages were calculated and collected in one lump sum, which had to be paid in cash. This is also indicated by the standardised text written before the revenue sums: "income stemming from the lump-sum payment of tithes and *filori* tax, including bride tax and fines, in cash" (*hasil-i bedeli öşr ve filori ma resm-i arus ve bad-i hava ber vech-i nakid*). The sum to be paid by the *eflaks* was such an indivisible unit that even the *filori*, which was the state's due and could be considered the *cizye* of the privileged Christian military class, was not subtracted and kept in the treasury, although it was very rarely left in the hands of the *timariots*. Considering the newcomers' subjugation to the landlords, the authorities arrived at a sort of compromise. Although the *eflak* community was not subject to the treasury, they were not handed over to the *sipahis* either; the majority of villages became the property of the *bey*, the head of the *sancak*, while three were turned into the estate of the next in command, the *miralay*, as mentioned before. This in practice must have meant that within the framework of their service estates the *eflaks* were allowed to keep their privilege of paying in one sum.

The influx of Balkan people continued strongly after 1570 as well. In 1581 a separate list was made of the *eflak* settlements of the Kopan *sancak*,<sup>2</sup> and basic-

1 Fekete, *Die Siyāqat-Schrift*, 238. Ágoston, 'A magyarországi török végvárok fenntartásának', 329–330: note 50.

2 ÖNB Mxt 591, pp. 9–47. The list is for the year H. 989 (February 5, 1581–January 25, 1582), it "was submitted" (*amed fi*) on January 10, 1582.

ally around this time—a little earlier or later—they were also included in the next survey register of the *sancak* as a separate unit.<sup>1</sup> The two lists show a number of differences, some smaller, some greater. It is difficult to decide in what order they were drafted, as there are arguments in favour of both having been drawn up before the other. This, however, is not as important as the logic embedded in the changes. The treasury also used the new assessment to increase the taxes paid by the *eflaks*. It made a deal with them: a coerced agreement. The result of this was registered in a separate list of names of *eflak* settlements and of their inhabitants, with the new taxes also indicated in the new register. The order in which the two lists were drafted does not alter the fact that since 1570 substantial numbers of people of Balkan origin had arrived, who also received *eflak* status, and that their taxes were slightly higher.

The logic of the process requires us to start the overview of sources with the deal made in 1581. The title of the list calls the new inhabitants of Somogy *eflaks* and *filori*-payers, and at the same time also ‘tax payers’. Its title reads “the *filori* and tax register of the *eflaks* of the *liva* of Kopan in the year 989” (*defter-i filori ma rüsum-i eflakan-i liva-i Kopan vacib-i sene 989*). And to leave us in no doubt that the *filori* and the *rüsum* were really terms referring to taxes due to the treasury and *timaritots*, a few revealing sentences describing the agreement on taxation were added to the end of the list.<sup>2</sup> “When the *liva* of Kopan was newly surveyed [it turned out] that in a few farmsteads *eflaks* settled down, repopulated and revived them. In the representation of the community the majority agreed to pay the tax of four *guruş* to the *sipahis* and one *guruş* to the treasury. They have asked to be registered accordingly in the new sultanic *defter*. The registration was made. Dated in the last third of the month of *zilkade* in the year 989 [December 17–26, 1581].” The official value of the *guruş*, used as a collective name for various European silver thalers, was approximately 39–40 *akçes* around this time,<sup>3</sup> (the real rate in Buda was much higher), accordingly, every tax-paying *eflak* was assessed at 160 *akçes*, an increase of 10 *akçes* since 1570.

The wording of the agreement keeps very quiet about other taxes, which can only be estimated from the tax register. Bride tax and fines remained (sometimes called *bad-i hava*, sometimes *niyabet*), and were still determined by the amount of rounded up tax expected from the given village. For example, village Szentmárton, with one single *hane* and one head of family, was assessed at 40 *akçes* of bride tax and 200 *akçes* of fines, while Apáti, registered with 16 heads of families and 10 *hanes*, paid 50 *akçes* for each<sup>4</sup>). Apart from these two known tax categor-

1 BOA Tapu 676, pp. 61–100. Géza Dávid dated this register to 1580 (*Simontornya Sancağı*, 12).

2 ÖNB Mxt 591, p. 47.

3 Fodor, ‘Az oszmán pénzrendszer’, 36.

4 Tapu 676, pp. 83–84.

ies the usual fees and taxes were introduced on mills, and arable land in private use (*tarla*), meadows (*çayır*), plots (*baştina*) and manors (*çiftlik*) in private use. Finally, among the tax categories of every inhabited *eflak* village a new tax, which is can be interpreted in various ways but offers little that is certain, emerged. It appears to relate to shepherds who kept up their nomadic lifestyle in their new dwelling places: “income from tent-dwellers and tax on pannage on the outskirts of the aforementioned village (*mahsul-i haymanegan ma resm-i bellut der sinor-i kariye-i mezbure*);” as this is about sheep farmers, pannage here means grazing tax. This tax is usually moderate, most often between 10 and 200 *akçes*, but occasionally it shot up to 400, in one case to 540, with an average per village of 93 *akçes*. The item indicates a shepherd population which flowed continuously into Somogy county, then settled there. The decree recorded at the end of the register names them: “The pannage [grazing] tax of the *sancak* of Kopan. Those who have come from other *sancaks* or foreign villages and have settled in mountainous areas of the *sancak*, owned by no-one and not registered in the *defter*, and who build a sheep pen (*ağıl*), must pay as a new item 2-2 *akçes* of grazing tax and 6-6 *akçes* of sheep pen tax; and this has been registered in the new sultan *defter*.<sup>1</sup> The new tax was not considered as one of the taxes due to *sipahis*, but was kept by the treasury.

The lump sum tax, which had been raised to 160 *akçes*, and the other taxes, old and new, but not excessive, represented a bearable burden and privileged status, as the *eflaks* were still allowed to pay off the numerous taxes of the common *reaya* in one sum and in cash. However, there is no doubt that the tax increase, imposed in this case through small increments, was also part of the curtailing of *eflak* rights. The unfavourable change whereby the majority of villages had by 1580 fallen into the hands of *sipahis* and fortress soldiers is due to the same policy. Of the 89 villages, 41 were under the authority of great or medium landlords who held service estates, *hass*- and *ziamet*-holders, 48 were given to ordinary *sipahis* and to fortress soldiers with collective *timars*. The *mirliva* still received the highest income: 18 *eflak* villages and a farmstead were allocated to Kaya Bey, while the other *timariot* in 1570, the *miralay*, who at this time was called Sinan, was granted the income of 9 villages and a farmstead.<sup>2</sup>

Although the two registers do not supply us with identical answers, they do allow us to estimate the size of the huge influx of people from the Balkans who had filled the zone from the southern shore of the Balaton to about the Kapoşvar-Donbo line by the early 1580s. The list which records the agreement on the new tax shows that by this time the *eflak* communities had repopulated 81 deserted villages, while in the outskirts of three populated settlements they

1 Ibid., 99.

2 BOA Tapu 659, pp. 2-3.

founded 'parts of villages' (*mahalle-i eflakan der sinor-i kariye-i ...*). In reality, the 81 villages meant 86, as in five cases the newcomers settled in twin villages close to each other. Our other source, the survey register from around 1580, lists even more, 89 villages; among these only one *mahalle* was to be found, and in only one village did they record two Hungarian families alongside the *eflaks*.<sup>1</sup> The majority of the villages in the two lists are identical, but there are differences. Places registered as deserted in one survey appear as populated in the other. Neighbouring villages registered as a single unit in one are registered as two independent ones in the other. The greatest difference, however, lies in the fact that 18 settlements of the list from 1581 which records the agreement do not appear at all in the tax register, while 20 villages in the latter are nowhere to be found in the list. Taking everything into consideration, we can estimate that by 1580 people of Balkan origin with *eflak* legal status populated about a hundred villages in the *sancak* of Kopan. The biggest difference between the two lists of villagers is the *nahiye* to which villages were assigned. According to the tax register, which was prepared with more care, the majority (38) of the *eflak* settlements were situated in the *nahiye* of Kopan, 34 in that of Donbo, 13 in that of Karad, while in the *nahiye* of Lak there were altogether only 4. Interestingly, while in the southern half of the *sancak* of Segedin the Balkan population changed the names of settlements to suit its own language and names, here, except for a few cases, they took over the Hungarian village names.

1,110 *eflaks* were recorded in the 84 settlements registered in the 1581 list, but unfortunately their marital status was not indicated. The continuous nature of the immigration is indicated by the fact that although they were all 'settlers, newcomers', the scribe noted *doselac/preselac* or 'newly arrived' under 86 names: these might have represented the most recent wave. There were generally one or two of them in each village, sometimes none, but in a few settlements we find several, for example seven out of 25 inhabitants, or five out of 17. Studying the names one has the impression that numerous large families arrived and settled down together. I singled out the names written down next to each other whose patronymics are identical (if the fathers of four men in one village were called Dragoša but they were not registered in the same place in the list, I did not consider them as brothers in spite of the suspicious shared name). Using this conservative method I identified 37 such groups where the existence of large families was indicated: in 5 cases there are groups of three brothers, in 32 cases groups of two; if I had used a less strict method the figures would have been a great deal higher.

In the register 250 fewer people were registered than in the 'agreement list': 860. This causes problems, as the two sources date back to more or less the same

1 BOA Tapu 676, pp. 93, 95.

time (incidentally, this difference is the strongest argument in favour of dating the register earlier: the newcomers had to accept the higher taxes which had been forced on them). The difference presumably stems from the *eflak* legal status, specifically the fact that that obligatory military service did not depend on family status. Married or unmarried men were equally considered military peasants who paid *filori*, while it is possible that in the lists of names of recorded men only the married ones appear. Whatever may have happened, if we want to establish the number of military *eflaks* who were arriving we must start from the higher number.

Nor is the problem solved by looking at the number of *hanes*. When the authorities forced the *eflaks* to agree to the increased taxes, the 1,110 registered men were only valued at 516 *hanes*. Presumably the *eflaks* were misled: they created the impression that although the taxes had been raised, only half the households were considered as real tax-payers. Very different ratios were recorded in the parallel source, the tax register. As the villages were distributed among *timariots* on the basis of this, there could not be appeals against the numbers included here: the taxes from 707 *hanes* were levied on 860 recorded *eflaks*.

Only uncertain conclusions can be drawn from these contradictory figures. Around 1580 in the *sancak* of Kopan—mostly in Somogy, not so many in Tolna county—the Balkan settlers with *eflak* legal status who were engaged primarily in animal husbandry took over about one hundred deserted places. The number of the settled majority who appeared in the survey registers in person was about 1,100, but we do not know what the total would have been if family members had been included. Apart from this, an unknown number of migrating shepherds appeared in the region. They do not appear anywhere as individuals; we can only draw tentative conclusions from the final total of their taxes and estimate that there was a population of a few hundred migrating shepherds, certainly not more than five hundred, of whose marital status we know nothing (it is also possible that some of them were already registered in their permanent dwelling places, in some village, and only paid the grazing and the pen taxes at their summer residence). Taking everything into consideration, the *eflak* settlers in the *sancak* of Kopan—some of them easy to identify, others not—can be estimated at about one and a half thousand men, but we do not know the total number of people including family members.

Although in all the sources the settlers are called “the *eflak* community of the *sancak* of Kopan” (*cemaat-i eflakan-i liva-i Kopan*), yet again we cannot consider them Vlachs in the ethnic sense. The majority of double names are purely south Slav, fewer are mixed, and only a fraction are pure Romanian. Obviously, here too the collective name of *eflak* was used for an ethnically mixed Balkan population on the basis of their legal status.

Unfortunately none of the sources gives a direct answer to our main question concerning the military service of the Somogy *eflaks*, and the agreement on tax does not cover it either. We are left to presume that theoretically the decrees referring to the *eflaks* of Semendire and Vidin were valid here as well, obviously not as they were set in the 15th century, but with certain adjustments. This would mean that if necessary one fifth of the 1,110 *eflak* men went to war, and the whole community guarded the borders. Based on the lessons drawn from Segedin, we may presume that the change lay in the mobilisation of the *eflaks* of Kopan whenever they were needed. The southern shore of Lake Balaton, which represented the border between the Hungarian Kingdom and Ottoman Hungary for practically the whole duration of the ‘Turkish’ occupation, was at that time defended by only two Ottoman fortresses, which also manned their fleet on the lake. Privileged military peasants were badly needed to give support, to provide oarsmen and to maintain the harbours and ships, but there are no data on any such services being provided by *eflaks*. We are entitled to presume that they must have received and carried some sort of military duty, on the basis of their privileged position and the fact that in our sources it is at least possible to identify the structure of military service.

The newly arrived Balkan people either brought their own military organisations or immediately established them in their new dwelling places. In the register of 1570, when the *eflaks* as a separate ethnic group first appear, without exception the first men of their villages were *primikürs*, *serbölüks* or *kenezes*. Here too the *primikürs* do not seem to be any more than village foremen; the other two ranks, however, were unquestionably military. It is interesting that in our sources there are two types of *kenez*. Three were recorded as the first men of their villages: they were not counted among the tax-payers, but enjoyed complete exemption from taxation. Apart from them two further *kenezes* appear with estates worth 2,000 *akçes* each in the *icmal defteri*, also drafted in 1570, which contains estates and estate owners.<sup>1</sup> These men do not appear in the register. They must have been of higher rank, if only because they belonged to the highest, four-member group of *eflak* foremen, who were granted *timars*. This group was led by a religious dignitary, who was referred to in Hungarian, in the spirit of mixing names, as Püspök (bishop) István (İştvan), and whose services were rewarded with a *timar* yielding 10,000 *akçes*.<sup>2</sup> The second man was “the *voyvoda* of the *eflaks* settled in the *liva* of Kopan” (*voyvoda-i eflakan ki mütemekkinan şudend der livai-i Kopan*), who had a *timar* yielding 3,000 *akçes* and was called (yet again with the same Hungarian name) István Radič. The other

1 BOA Tapu 505, p. 16.

2 Ferenc Maksay, ‘István “koppányi püspök” [István, “bishop of Koppány”]’, *Történelmi Szemle* 12 (1869) 129–130.



two members of the leading quartet were the two *timariot kenezes*. Thus the military peasant organisation of the 32 *eflak* villages was headed by a *voyvoda*, two *timariots* and three tax-exempt *kenezes*, as well as two corporals—eight commanders for the *eflak* military peasantry which at this time made up only 126 tax units—, who were presumably also assisted by *primikürs* as well. The whole body of the community was under the protection of a ‘bishop’, raised above the rest by his income. Apart from these foremen, 16 members of the community certainly did military service. They were the fully tax-exempt *eflak müsellems* (*eflakan-i müselleman*), who were not registered in villages, but in a separate group.

The only changes that took place over the following decade were those caused by the reduction of *eflak* privileges. In the *icmal* made around 1580<sup>1</sup> the bishop is not mentioned; neither are the estate-owning *kenezes*. Only the *voyvoda* of the *eflaks* was considered worthy of a *timar* to honour his leading position: the post-holder did not change; his name, however, regained its decent Serbian form, from István it became Stojan Radič. Now the *eflak* community, which had grown significantly in size, was led by 15 *kenezes* compared to the five of ten years earlier, who can be added up from the tax register.<sup>2</sup> They seem to have been equal in rank; none of them was a *timariot*, presumably they were all tax-exempt. Apart from them, two more military foremen lived in the village of Lóta: Nikola Radoš *ser-i harami*, and Jovan Dragoša *sermiye*. So yet again we meet the term *harami* used for *eflaks* and *martoloses*, while the *sermiye* was the second man of the *martoloses* after the *ağa* among the officers of fortresses. In a village belonging to Donbo we also find a foreman, Vuk *seroda*. The *kenez*, and the terms *harami* and *sermiye* all indicate that the settlers in the *sancak* of Kopan performed the usual border guard service of *eflaks* and *martoloses*, organised on the Balkan pattern. (The study of the ‘agreement list’ of 1581 causes only temporary confusion because the—I repeat: careless—scribe registered 52 *kenezes*. This would mean that the first man in 60% of the villages was a *kenez*, thus the Kopan *eflaks* could boast a very large body of commanders which would have put their north-Balkan brothers to shame. What presumably happened here was that the scribe considered all the foremen, *primikürs* and *kenez*, as identical. Thanks to his generosity the traces of *primikürs* were preserved, who were not recorded in the survey registers made around 1580 either in the *sancak* of Segedin, or here.)

Within the organisation of the *eflak* military peasants the authorities also preserved the institution of the completely exempt *müsellems*. In the tax register we find a total of 53 *müsellems*, 9 in various villages, 44 in the list at the end of

1 BOA Tapu 659, the *voyvoda* is on page 14.

2 BOA Tapu 676.

the *eflak* chapter as a separate unit (*müselleman-i eflakan*).<sup>1</sup> The 1581 list of the agreement on taxes registered *müsellems* only in villages, 51 of them: considering the numbers the two sources coincide nicely. The only problem is that the *müsellems* of the two lists are only partially identical. The change of individuals in the organisation—unless the careless scribe can be blamed for this too—may indicate that from among the privileged *eflaks* a completely free section was selected, which performed ‘full-time’ military service, permanently on the alert; they were only part-time peasants, and they also took turns in doing service.

The border defence service of the *eflaks* in south Transdanubia was certainly needed even after the capture of Sigetvar (1566), since the area was still penetrated by soldiers of the Kingdom who continued to tax territories as far as Tolna, the Danube and Peçuy.<sup>2</sup> Ali Pasha of Buda complained in 1583 that György Zrínyi, captain of Kanizsa, raided, burned and extorted tax from villages which called themselves *eflak* (*oláh* in the text, which is written in Hungarian).<sup>3</sup>

To the east, the settlements of the Kopan *eflaks* continued into the *sancak* of Şimontorna. The community of *eflak* settlers (*cemaat-i eflakan*) appeared in 1570 here as well,<sup>4</sup> but they were far more modest than in Kopan. By then, they had populated seven farmsteads, by 1580 an eighth one too, the majority of which was located in the vicinity of Tomaşin. In their original seven villages 61 inhabitants were registered, 56 married and 5 single. As the number of tax-paying *hanes* was set at 62, it is possible that the recorded unmarried men were also privileged military peasants. Six villages were headed by foremen and two by *kenezes*, while the others had *primikürs*; there were no *timariots* among them.<sup>5</sup> (From the fact that the number of tax units exceeded that of the registered people we might conclude that the *kenezes* also paid tax. However, it is impossible to be sure, as it is obvious that not everybody was registered here either: in one of the villages the amount of tax for 11 *hanes* was levied on 9 registered inhabitants, so at least two men were left off the list.) In 1570 the *eflaks* in the *sancak* of Şimontorna paid 10 *akçes* less tax than those in Kopan: they settled the tithes and *flori*-tax with a payment of 150 *akçes*, to which here too a smaller sum, usually neatly rounded up, of bride tax and fines was added. Their situation was similar also in that settlements, except for one, were granted to the *sancakbeyi*. The exception, a village still referred here to as a farmstead, was allocated to the commander of the Ozora artillery.<sup>6</sup>

1 Ibid., 100.

2 Szakály, *Magyar adóztatás*, 102–105.

3 Takáts–Eckhart–Szekfü, *A budai pasák magyar nyelvű levelezése*, 290–291.

4 BOA Tapu 563, the *eflak* community pp. 117–118. Published in: Dávid, *Simontornya Sancağı*, 226.

5 Tapu 505, pp. 34–38: the *timariots* of the *sancak* of Şimontorna.

6 Tapu 505, pp. 32, 45.

In a decade, by 1580, the *eflak* community had taken over another village,<sup>7</sup> by 1590, however, one of their early villages had been abandoned, although it was still considered as belonging to the group.<sup>8</sup> The survey register taken at the same time as the Kopan one, around 1580, shows some differences in comparison to the situation of the Somogy *eflaks*. The tax of the Tolna *eflaks* increased from 150 to 180 *akçes*, on top of which the usual extras were added, already including the grazing tax on the tent-dwellers (the pen-tax is no longer mentioned here). The *eflak* community had grown to 81 people, but was obliged to pay tax only after 40 tax units. The records relating to villages are chaotic to a degree that is difficult to understand: the calculation of taxes is teeming with mistakes, with only two villages in order. (This happened in Kopan too, although to a lesser degree.) The registrar of 1590 only recorded the list of names of two villages in the *defter*, he only made sure to write down the total sum of tax demanded of every settlement. This procedure became widespread in the 1590s; the earlier disorder, however, can only be explained if we presume that here too the *eflak* villages made an agreement about their taxes, then paid them in one lump sum and in cash, so it was not worth paying attention to details other than the increments and the final sums.

In the *defter* from around 1580 neither *primikürs* nor *kenezes* were registered. The former were not indicated in other places either, but they still existed, while the lack of the latter may reflect the real situation: presumably, the *kenezes* really did disappear from the small *eflak* communities of the *sancak*.

### The population and military peasants in the *vilayet* of Temeşvar

The second province to be founded in Ottoman Hungary, the *vilayet* of Temeşvar, which was set up after 1552, was much smaller in area than that of Buda. However, as its population changed almost completely, it is much more difficult to trace the ethnic changes that it experienced than the influx of Balkan settlers into the smaller territories of Bácska and Somogy. The *vilayet* has excellent source materials: from the 1550–1570s onwards three *mufassal defteris* survive from each of the *sancaks* of Temeşvar, Modava, Lipova (the latter including Pankota/Yanova), and two each from the *sancaks* of Çanad and G'ula; what is more, some of them have been published.<sup>3</sup> The first survey registers of all the

7 Tapu 676, pp. 145–146.

8 Tapu 632, p. 122.

3 From the registers of 1554, 1569 and 1579 (BOA Tapu 290, 364, 579), the network of settlements of two *sancaks* were reconstructed by Pál Engel, *A temesvári és a moldovai szandzsák török kori települései (1554–1579)* [Settlements in the sancaks of Temesvár and Moldova in the Turkish era (1554–1579)]. Szeged, 1996. He made up an aggregate of the three *defters* called 'Lexikon', in which he indicated the name variations, locations and number of tax-paying households of inhabited and deserted settlements; in accordance with his aims he disregarded both the ethnicity of the population and the annotations written above the names. On the

*sancaks* of the *vilayet* survive from 1567–1569, and I made an attempt to estimate the population on the basis of these (naturally, going back to 1554 wherever possible).

The *vilayet* included the Temesköz, as well as the territory north of this between the Maros and Körös rivers. Following the campaign of 1566 six *sancaks* shared this region. Three were located south of the Maros: that of Çanad stretching far along the eastern banks of the Tisza (which in the north crossed the Maros), east of it the central one, Temeşvar, at the south-east end of this the *sancak* of Modava. The *sancaks* of Lipova, Yanova and G'ula shared the territory north of the Maros. To the west and north the *vilayet* bordered the *vilayet* of Buda, to the east the Principality of Transylvania.

By the mid 16th century the population of its southern part had almost completely changed (a great wave of migration started as early as the 15th century). The same mixed Balkan population arrived in the Temesköz from south and south west as we met in Bácska, then in Somogy, and which by the middle of the century had almost completely filled the territory between the Duna, Tisza and Maros rivers.<sup>1</sup> Since medieval times, Romanians had been arriving continuously in the eastern border area of the *vilayet*.<sup>2</sup>

In the Ottoman survey registers only personal names can be studied, as they contained no separate chapters on privileged villages. In most of the three southern *sancaks* we seem to be on familiar ground: the names recall the same Balkan population that settled in the southern zone of the Buda *vilayet* and the *sancak* of Kopan. The fact that it had a long local past transpires from the first *mufassal defteri* of Temeşvar in 1554, in which not only small, poor and obviously new settlements were listed, but also populous, well-established villages. The process of settlement was not yet over. In 1567, for example, in the *sancak* of Çanad 10 farmsteads were recorded which by 1579 had been occupied by people of Balkan origin. The only local novelty offered by personal names in the territory, which they took over in the second half of the 1560s, is that the scribes often added an *-it'* suffix to the patronymics of heads of families, so that they were not Živko Laze or Stepan Marko, but Živko Lazit' and Stepan Markovit', which strongly suggests that the registrars were Serbian themselves.

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basis of the original registers I paid attention to these, while in the identification of places I followed Pál Engel. The registers of Çanad and G'ula were published by Gyula Káldy-Nagy in complete translation: (*A csanádi szandzsák; A gyulai szandzsák*). I used the survey registers of the *sancaks* of Lipova and Pankota/Yanova (BOA Tapu 292, 457, 578) with the help of Pál Fodor's notes.

- 1 Ferenc Szakály, 'Szerbek Magyarországon—szerbek a magyar történelemben (vázlat) [Serbians in Hungary—Serbs in Hungarian history (a brief account)]', in István Zombori (ed.), *A szerbek Magyarországon*. Szeged, 1991, 20–22.
- 2 Béla Köpeczi (editor-in-chief), *History of Transylvania I*. Highland Lakes, New Jersey, 2001, 442–451 (chapter by László Makkai).

In the villages located in the eastern zone of the *vilayet* the names become partly or completely Romanian. In the villages of this border area mostly Romanian inhabitants were registered, who did not usually bear the names of Balkan Vlachs mixed with south Slavs, but the same Romanian names which we also meet in the Transylvanian Hungarian tax registers.<sup>1</sup> The village names themselves are often Romanian. In 1569 25 of the 54 inhabited settlements of the *nahiye* of Marjina (Hu. Marzsina) had names ending in the Romanian suffix *-ești* which indicates a settlement, and also in the other neighbouring *nahiyes* along the border one third of the villages on average bore Romanian names. A characteristic feature of this region is that the villages were small. Among the 54 settlements in the aforementioned *nahiye* of Marçina there were only five in which more than 20 tax-paying households were registered in 1569, and one of them was a town anyway, while in 25 the number of *hanes* was below ten. The border areas of the Lipova *sancak* as well as the parts of it that lay along the Maros were also characterised by small villages: in many places only two or three heads of families were registered. The settlement of the Romanians was a continuous process. In 1569 in the eastern border areas of the *sancak* of Temeşvar several villages were registered whose previous history is unknown and which received their name from their inhabitants. All three heads of families in the village of Maldeşt bore the name Maldeş, the seven heads of families in Perçeşt the name Perçe, two of Zideleşť's heads of families were called Zidele, three of the four heads of families in Golubeşt' were called Golub, and all three heads of families of the village of Uzyeşt bore the name Uze.<sup>2</sup>

On the other hand, we find barely any Hungarian villages or Hungarian inhabitants from the lower Danube to the Maros, from the Tisza to the eastern mountains. Their absence presumably reflects the real state of affairs; however, maybe the fact that scribes often 'Serbianised' the names of the remaining Hungarians plays some part in this too. As the simplest solution, the order of names was swapped, Christian names were put first, family names second. These cases pose no problems; nor do the Hungarian names to which the *-it'* suffix was added. The first certain starting point for identifying Hungarians is the existence of a Hungarian family name, irrespective of whether the scribe turned it into a Serbian name. In places where the inhabitants remained Hungarian or mostly Hungarian the family names survived; even in Temeşvar, which was full of Muslims and Balkan folk, it is easy to identify people who were certainly Hungarians.

The problems begin when family names cease to exist and the Balkan practice so characteristic of Romanians becomes predominant: the combination of

1 David Prodan, *Urbaniile țării Făgăraşului I. 1601–1650*. Bucureşti, 1970.

2 BOA Tapu 364, pp. 392, 399, 400–401, 415.

people's own names with their fathers'. Among first names there are many Hungarian ones, mixed with Slav and Romanian forms. The tax-paying head of the family, for example, is Mircea G'urit', his two sons have Hungarian names: János and Ambrus. What is to be done with such families, which appear in enormous numbers? Hungarian-looking names without family names give the impression that a significant part of the population remained Hungarian. In reality, the settlers, especially the ones who arrived from Transylvania, took over numerous Hungarian names. Furthermore, there were fashionable Hungarian Christian names borne by many. In cases when only a few of the south Slav or Romanian inhabitants had Hungarian Christian names I consider the village in question Balkan or Romanian. If there are several inhabitants whose family names are Hungarian or who have had Hungarian Christian names for two generations I assume that Hungarians were present and consider the village as being of mixed population. The method is somewhat arbitrary, but I could not find a more precise alternative. And in the whole *vilayet* I only go as far as to establish whether an area was predominantly populated by people of Balkan origin or Romanians, and where the line of Hungarian settlements started to the west and north of them.

The larger, southern and central part of the Temesköz (bordered by the lower Danube, the rivers Béga, Maros and Karas) was completely repopulated by people from the Balkans (its eastern edge included some Romanians); only in the vicinity of Temeşvar did two partly or completely Hungarian-populated enclaves remain. The first was located west of the town, on the northern edge of the extensive swamps that line the great bend of the Béga, and consisted of six villages, four completely Hungarian, and two with mixed populations.<sup>1</sup> The other patch of settlements was situated east of Temeşvar, along the river Béga, and consisted of five settlements with mixed populations.<sup>2</sup> Besides these two patches some Hungarians were still to be found in a few larger places, mostly in *nahiye* centres,<sup>3</sup> these, however, were places isolated from each other, so in their cases we cannot talk about Hungarian enclaves.

The larger, southern part of the *sancak* of Çanad located in the western zone of the *vilayet* also filled up with settlers. Only in the *nahiye* of Beçkerek did three purely Hungarian villages remain which, with a little license, can be considered a continuation of the patch of settlements west of Temeşvar. The Hungarian and Balkan ethnic groups were divided not so much by the river Maros, which runs east-west, but rather by an imaginary line running from south-west to north-east, which stretched from Törökkanizsa through Çanad above the

1 BOA Tapu 364, pp. 41–45, 69.

2 Ibid., 94–96, 113, 117.

3 Ibid., 80, 105, 142, 324, 373.

Maros. West of this line the Hungarian population remained, while to the east the number of mixed, and then purely Balkan-populated settlements increased. East of Çanad, along the Maros, stood a wide swathe of repopulated villages. In 1567 98 settlements in the *sancak* can be considered Balkan, 44 Hungarian and five mixed.

The northern half of the *vilayet* of Temeşvar, belonging to the Great Plain (*Alföld*), in which the overwhelming majority of the population remained Hungarian, started with the part of the Çanad *sancak* which lay above the river Maros. To the east, this zone reached across into the *sancak* of G'ula, the northern *nahiyes* of which were populated everywhere by Hungarians. Their villages survived in the *sancak* of Lipova as well, but became sparser, to become a strong minority south of the river Fehér-Körös, then north of this river they constituted the minority yet again. The concept accepted so far is somewhat modified by the finding that the Maros did not function as a border river separating ethnic groups. From Çanad to the eastern border of the *vilayet* the population changed not only along its southern bank but also to the north, and this northern zone was not bordered by the river bank. In the *sancak* of Lipova the northern bank ran along four *nahiyes*, and of the approximately 140 inhabited settlements we can only consider three as Hungarian, and 27 as Hungarian mixed with other ethnicities. This means that in the 1560s–1570s the Balkan population crossed the river Maros east of Çanad along its whole length, and took over the wide swathe of settlements north of it, as far as the region of the three Körös rivers.

The eastern border of the *vilayet* became the dwelling place of incoming Romanians. The eastern *nahiyes* of the central, Temeşvar *sancak* were still small both in area and in population. The villages located north of the Maros in the border areas of the *sancak* of Lipova were even smaller. As an example, I carefully studied the easternmost *nahiye*, Kapolna.<sup>1</sup> In 1567 51 inhabited places were registered in this *nahiye*, and even in the three most populous of these there were only 10, 11 and 12 families respectively. The majority, 38 villages, belonged to the 1–5 *hane* category; most often three families made up the whole population. On average, each of the 51 inhabited settlements had 4.2 households. In ten places the number of recorded people was so low that it was not worth investigating their names. Of the remaining 41 villages 16 were inhabited by Romanians, 17 by Romanian and Balkan people, and 8 by a mixture of Romanians and Hungarians; I have not come across Balkan-Hungarian co-existence. This has reinforced what I already found, which is valid from Somogy through Bácska as far as the Transylvanian border: the remaining Hungarians only very rarely lived together with the incoming Balkan people, especially the Serbians. Approaching the eastern end of the *vilayet* of Temesvár, in the Ottoman-Transylvanian border

1 BOA Tapu 457, pp. 113–129.

areas, on the other hand, we meet an increasing number of Hungarians who stayed on and lived together with Romanians,<sup>1</sup> as was increasingly the case in the Principality of Transylvania as well.

When the Ottomans conquered the Temesköz in 1552 they established the military peasant organisations of the *vilayet* on these ethnic bases, and—as is frequently mentioned in the ‘law books’ which introduce the survey registers—on the foundations that were laid in the times of King János Szapolyai and his councillor, Péter Petrovics ‘*ban* of Temes’. The first tax register of the *sancaks* of Temeşvar and Modava, prepared in 1554, indicates that the system had already been set up, later it only expanded, and its categories were partially modified.

The register includes various military peasant categories, which are dealt with in the *kanunnames* of the two *sancaks* at length as well (in Transdanubia and the territory between the Danube and the Tisza no regulations concerning military peasants can be found). The first group contains the Christian *sipahis*, the second the *kenezes* and *primikürs*, the third the *müsellems* and those whose privileges were not explained (*muafs*), the fourth group is that of the ‘hussars’, the fifth includes the falconers and the *martoloses*, and finally the sixth category contains the *derbendcis*.

Apart from the fact that they existed, the source reveals barely anything about the Christian *sipahis*: the *kanunname* does not deal with them either. Six Christian *sipahis* and one ‘*ex-sipahi*’ were recorded in the register, on the basis of which the *timars* were distributed in 1556. In the *icmal defteri*, which recorded this, two *zaims* and six *timar*-holders were mentioned.<sup>2</sup> Among the *sipahis* who appear in the two kinds of *defter* there is only one who features in both.<sup>3</sup> I presume the explanation is that in the lists of names of town- and village-dwellers only those *sipahis* were indicated who had no *timars* in order to register their tax-exemption, while the *icmal defteri* contained the real *sipahis*, who on the other hand did not appear in the registers. The duties of the altogether 15 Christian *sipahis* who appear in the two kinds of sources—apart from the obvious obligation of going to war in case of mobilisation—were apparently identical with the most important responsibilities of the *kenezes*: they supervised the resettling of the deserted villages. A sultan’s decree, drafted between January 14 and February 2, 1556 and copied into the *icmal defteri*, says<sup>4</sup> that one Petko Pavit’ *voyvoda* complained to the Porte that he was granted a *timar* worth an income of 10,000 *akçes* in the *nahiye* of Temeşvar. However, following the survey there

1 To illustrate this: the inhabitants of Musteş, a Romanian-Hungarian village registered first in the *nahiye*: Kara János; Muste Stan (after whom the village was named) and his son: János; Magyar Farkas; Saş Ioan and sons: Mika and Ivaniş. Tapu 457, p. 113.

2 BOA Tapu 298, pp. 24, 38–43.

3 BOA Tapu 290, p. 260. Tapu 298, p. 41.

4 Tapu 298, p. 38, the estate: p. 42.



were not enough estates available, so he was left out and put on a waiting list. The decree ordered Halil Bey, who supervised the survey and the distribution of incomes, to put together a *timar* for Petko that was worth ten thousand *akçes* from the deserted villages; he in turn should take care to repopulate them. And indeed, Petko Pavit' received four settlements which were called villages, although they were deserted, in the *nahiye* of Virşiç, which in 1554 were either not even recorded, or were registered as uninhabited. However, within one and a half decades, thanks to the *voyvoda*'s efforts, they had become populated.<sup>1</sup>

After the Christian *sipahis*, the most prestigious class of privileged *reayas* was that of the *kenezes*. In 1554 in the *sancaks* of Temeşvar and Modava there were altogether 25 of them,<sup>2</sup> four living in towns, the others in villages. The section concerning them in the law book gives a detailed description of their tasks.<sup>3</sup> "The *kethüdas* of the *nahiyes* in the *vilayet*, who are known as *kenez*, give assistance in the development of the country, the collection of *cizye* and other taxes on the *reaya*, so in the times of King János and Petrovics they were exempt from paying tax. The re-population and development of this region is by their merits. Should the *padişah*, the shelter of this world, or the governors of the *sancak* lead a campaign somewhere, the *kenezes* are obliged to join the campaign on horse-back, in appropriate apparel, with a spear, a shield and every military weapon, and as long as such need lasts they should serve in the traditional way, without negligence or irresponsibility. It has been registered in the new sultan's *defter* that they are to enjoy the same tax-exemption as the other *kenezes*."

While the *kanunname* refers to the *kenezes* as district foremen, the *primikürs* are called village foremen, and their privileges are traced back to the time of King János Szapolyai and Péter Petrovics. They were not obliged to organise settlers (though presumably they were involved), but according to the text they were to "take an active part in the collection of income due to the *padişah*, to track down the *hayduds* and robbers [who were plundering] in the *vilayet*, and to participate in campaigns." Considering their participation in warfare, we find the same stipulation as in the case of the *kenezes*; maybe the wording was no more than a standardised formula, as it is difficult to imagine how the shabby foreman of a small Serbian village would be able to do military service on horse-back, with the prescribed weaponry and clothing. The regulation concludes with the usual sentence that for all these services they will enjoy the usual tax-exemption of the *primikürs*. Compared to the *kenezes*, they were few in number: in

1 Engel, *A temesvári és a moldovai szandzsák*, 84, 28, 80, 68.

2 Possibly one or two more men. I had to identify them using the name lists of the tax registers, from annotations which often merge with names, and even after looking through the lists time and time again I cannot guarantee that I managed to find all of them. Sometimes the scribes themselves made mistakes when listing the military peasants separately.

3 BOA Tapu 290, pp. 7–8.

1554 they were registered in no more than 17 villages, with only one or two in each.

In the *vilayet* of Temeşvar we only occasionally come across the privileged military peasants we became familiar with in the Transdanubian region and between the Danube and the Tisza. The class is represented by ten *müsellems*, four, not very clearly explained privileged men (*muaf*), four *martoloses* living in villages and four falconers (*doğancı*), altogether 22 privileged peasants. At the beginning of their occupation, however,—once again as the heritage of the time of King János and Petrovics according to the *kanunname*—the Ottomans took over a substantial military peasant class, that of the hussars [*huszár* in Hungarian). These I have never encountered in the Balkans, or later in the *vilayet* of Temeşvar; their early, one-off appearance, on the other hand, proves that the Ottomans did indeed adapt easily to local conditions and took over local organisations, if they thought it sensible. On the other hand, it indicates that they only maintained existing arrangements as long as they did not find anything better in their own establishment. According to the *kanunname* “the infidel horsemen living in the *vilayet*” (*kâfir atlısı*) were called *hussars*, whose duties and privileges are the same as the *primikürs*,” so they supervised internal order in peace time and did military service in war, for which they apparently enjoyed complete tax exemption. In the tax register 89 hussars were registered in 32 settlements, mostly in villages; all of them, without exception, bore south Slav names.

The categories listed so far included 168 privileged peasants appointed with a sultan’s letter of appointment, completely or partially exempt from taxation. These men, who were individually privileged, were all heads of families, with one or two exceptions, and all of Balkan origin, except for four Hungarians. Three of these four lived in Temesvár, in a city quarter where ethnic groups were mixed, including Muslims; all three of them were *müsellems*. The fourth hypothetical Hungarian lived in a village, he “was a *sipahi* earlier” (whether he kept his exemptions is an open question).<sup>1</sup> In the spirit of respect for the local traditions, in two settlements of the *nahiye* of Bojor (Hu. Bozsor) the scribe added above the Hungarian names of six inhabitants the Hungarian word ‘*nemes*’, or noble. However, except for this single and certain fact we cannot establish whether this conferred any advantage on them. In the later registers of Temeşvar I did not come across a single privileged Hungarian.

The other general conclusion, which is further reinforced by later sources, is that the majority of Balkan military peasants lived in the southern half of the *vilayet*, especially in the villages in the *nahiyes* of Temeşvar, Çakova, Pançova and Virşiç/Şemlik; going further north we meet them less frequently.

In 1554 eight settlements enjoyed collective exemption. They guarded im-

1 Ibid., 9, 14, 18, 155.

portant and dangerous stretches of road, passes, bridges and harbours, which means that they fulfilled regular *derbendci* duties, although only three of them were vested with the status itself. Half of these places are towns, half are villages.<sup>1</sup> Their tax exemption is usually partial; there are already cases of settlements which paid certain taxes after fewer *hanes* than the number of families, and paid the difference in a lump sum, while they were granted exemption from other obligations (as in the case of Paŋcova).

In 1554 in the *sancaks* of Temeşvar and Modava, which covered the greater part of the Temesköz, 11,620 *hanes* were registered,<sup>2</sup> including the 168 tax-exempt men (who were not calculated into the number of *hanes* in the individual places); the total population increased to 11,788 households. In the eight settlements with *derbendci* legal status there lived altogether 476 tax-paying families; this, including the 168 individually exempted heads of families, gives 644 completely or partially tax-exempt households, which means that the privileged military peasants constituted 5.5% of the population.

In the same year the first survey of the *sancak* of Lipova was completed.<sup>3</sup> Here the basis was an immense number of tiny villages and the partly Romanian population. One's first impression is that in spite of the migration of Romanians, a process which had been going on for centuries, some of the populated settlements of this region were not real villages but rather temporary shelters offering dwelling places for a few families. Later surveys disprove this, as the majority of these little villages were still inhabited in 1579. Another indication of a stable population is that in 1554, in 50 settlements altogether 56 Orthodox priests were recorded (in Hungarian places a total of 5 Hungarian priests). Still, the preponderance of tiny villages gave a different character to peasant military activities and the fate of the privileged *reaya*, compared to the inner parts of Temesköz, with its large Balkan population.

In the 1554 Lipova survey only 20 privileged peasants (four Hungarians among them) were registered: a *sipahi* and a *kenez*, four *martoloses*, seven *müsellemes* and seven hussars. In the whole *sancak* only one place, a small town on the banks of the river Maros, was incorporated into the network of the *derbendci*: in return for partial tax exemption its inhabitants performed services stages.<sup>4</sup> Within the generally low number of privileged peasants the lack of *kenezes* is particularly noticeable. It is incredible that the Romanian *kenezes*,

1 BOA Tapu 290, pp. 92, 262, 266, 279, 289, 339, 350, 363.: Şarad, Denta, Leç, Paŋcova, Keve, Yasenova, Ujdiŋ, Kusit'. It seems that the picture of a double page is missing from the micro-film, so there might have been more than eight of them.

2 Engel, *A temesvári és a moldovai szandzsák*, 186.

3 BOA Tapu 292.

4 Ibid., 48–49.

who had long been employed by the Hungarian Kings partly as soldiers, partly as settlement supervisors, were not used by the Ottomans in the same way.

The privileged categories had gone through major changes by the next survey of the *sancaks* of Temeşvar and Modava in 1569.<sup>1</sup> The *sipahis* remained, but were divided into three parts. Above some of them the scribe simply wrote *sipahi* (in two cases *merd-i timar*), above another group he wrote that they were on the waiting list (*mazul*, 'dismissed'), so they were awaiting estates, above the remainder he wrote "son of a *sipahi*" (*sipahizade*). These two latter categories merge: the same man is *mazul* in the register, while in the separate list where the names of privileged people were recorded he is the son of a *sipahi* (or the other way round). This is hardly surprising, as the son of a *sipahi*, in theory, inherited his father's right to hold a *timar*, and while his request was being processed he was kept on the waiting list. I have the impression that in the case of Christians the authorities were not in a hurry to find available sources of income for them. The common feature shared by the three kinds of *sipahi* was that they all gained their status by the sultan's appointment (*ba berat*), and were all exempt from paying any form of tax. In the register 31 *sipahis* with these characteristics appeared, two further ones were registered in the *icmal defteri*,<sup>2</sup> so the total number was 33. The fact that in the one and a half decades since the previous *defter* the number of nominal Christian *sipahis* had doubled speaks for itself, while the number of actual *timariots* had fallen to one quarter of the original: in return for their services the treasury was happy to give up their personal taxes, but it was unwilling to waste estates on them. (In 1567 one *sipahi* and one *mazul* lived in two villages in the *sancak* of Çanad<sup>3</sup>).

We can count 27 *kenezes* at this time (among them four from towns again), so this group did not change in the *sancaks* of Temeşvar and Modava; from the district of Lipova,<sup>4</sup> however, they disappeared for good. The *primikürs* ceased to exist as well; the regulation does not mention them either. The number of *müsellems* and the ones with unexplained privileges (*muaf*) had also shrunk: only nine were left in the *sancak* of Temeşvar, and there are no *martoloses* either. In 1567 in the *sancak* of Lipova a further eight *muafs* appear, they enjoyed exemption in return for the maintenance of the fortresses of Şolmoş and Totinç.<sup>5</sup>

The greatest loss was suffered by the group that had been the largest one and a half decades earlier: the hussars. None of them were left; the authorities had had enough of respecting traditions. Instead of them a new category appeared, that of the border guards, called *krayniks* in south Slav; the word was

1 BOA Tapu 364.

2 BOA Tapu 552, pp. 42, 46.

3 BOA Tapu 365, pp. 354, 360. Káldy-Nagy, *A csanádi szandzsák*, 255, 266.

4 BOA Tapu 457.

5 BOA Tapu 457, pp. 175, 245.

borrowed by the Ottoman Turkish too. Their numbers are, however, insignificant. In the north-eastern parts of the *sancak* of Temeşvar which bordered Transylvania one was registered in each of six villages,<sup>1</sup> three in the central *nahiye* in the *sancak* of Lipova, and a further four along the Maros;<sup>2</sup> in the whole Transylvanian border territory there were 13 *krayniks*. After the disappearance of the *primikürs* and the hussars it was partly the fortress soldiers, partly the *kenezes* and *krayniks* who were made responsible for internal policing duties; the *kanunname* introducing the register also assigns this task to them. "Let the *kenezes* and the *krayniks* excel in the collection and gathering of the *cizye*, sheep tax and other taxes, in the development of the country and the resettlement of the fleeing *reaya* to their dwelling places, and let them strive to assist in the pursuit and capture of *hayduds* and other criminals [raiding] within the *vilayet*. And should there be a campaign anywhere, they should join it ready and prepared, with the appropriate weaponry."<sup>3</sup>

The most populous of the *vilayet's* military peasant organisations became the body of falconers (in this register they are called *şahinci*, in the next one mostly *bazdars*, less frequently *doğancı*). It seems their duties were no more than catching, raising and delivering young hawks, at least this is what emerges from the brief description in the *kanunname*: "and the falconers should do service concerning the hawks according to the regulation and tradition, in which there must be no negligence." The sultan's laws regulate their tax exemption: from the 15th century up to that time they enjoyed partial exemption in some places, full exemption in others.<sup>4</sup>

The allocations of all the falconers of the *vilayet* were included in a separate chapter at the end of the register.<sup>5</sup> Three falconers were assigned to each of the nesting places of the birds. Every nesting place (*aşıyan*) was given its own name, next to which the scribe noted the closest inhabited settlement, and listed the three falconers who guarded the nest, for example "The nest called Natra on the outskirts of Tikvan, Petre Koya from the village of Brestovit' belonging to Şemlik, Take Damyan from the village of Stari Şemlik belonging to Şemlik, Vukman Rayko from the village of Dolna Şaniça belonging to the same place." The allocation does not pay much attention to how the falconers were expected to get to the nesting places. The three men in the previous example had to collect the nestlings from a distance of twenty–thirty kilometers on the outskirts of Tikvan.

According to the register 42 falconers were allocated from the whole *vilayet* to serve 14 nesting places. 41 men lived in the villages and towns in the *sancaks*

1 BOA Tapu 365, pp. 352, 368, 375, 386, 406, 411.

2 BOA Tapu 457, pp. 17, 20, 32–33, 64.

3 Ibid., 7–8.

4 Ahmed Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri*, VI/II. 628.

5 BOA Tapu 457, p. 480.

of Temeşvar and Modava, one lived in a village in the *sancak* of Çanad.<sup>1</sup> Most of their dwelling places were located in the completely Balkan-populated *nahiye* of Virşiç. (Presumably the scribe singled out the falconers from the tax register, when drafting the separate list, and he missed out three; in the register we find a total of 42 falconers in the *sancak* of Temeşvar, 2 in the *sancak* of Modava, and one in that of Çanad; altogether 45).

A new development was the binding of individually privileged peasants to their dwelling places. The *kanunname* decreed that their exemption from paying tax was effective only as long as they lived in the settlements indicated in the register. "It was also included in the *defter* that those who lived in a village different from where they had been recorded because they had set off and moved to other places, should return to *reaya* status, and should pay all their taxes just like the others."

As a result of the disappearance of the *primikürs* and hussars the number of peasants who were granted privileges in return for individual services in the two southern *sancaks* decreased from 168 in 1554 to 119 in 1569. The number of settlements with *derbendci* legal status located in these two *sancaks*, on the other hand, increased from 8 to 15, and since half of them were still towns, whose tax-paying households multiplied, partly due to the population growth, partly to the extension of what was included in the *hane*, the number of households privileged according to these collective rights more than doubled. The register in the *sancaks* of Temeşvar and Modava counted 15,170 *hanes*,<sup>2</sup> which, with the 119 individually privileged ones, gives a total of 15,289 *hanes*. The number of completely or partially exempted military peasant households was 1,510, which already constituted 9.9% of the population. The *derbendci* places, which most often defended roads and fords located on them, less frequently Danube landing stages, appear in the register in the following order: Varyaş (Hu. Varjas), Çudahaz (Csudaház), Şarad, Çofrona (Csofronya), Rudna, Denta, Pañçova, Köfin, Virşiç, Gatay (Gatáj), Voyvodinç (Vojvodinc), Mira, Kusit' (Kuszity), Yasenova (Jaszenova) and Haram-i atik. Their inhabitants enjoyed partial tax exemption here too. The enlarged system involved armed members of 1,391 families from 15 settlements with *derbendci* status in internal policing and peasant military service.

Thanks to the survey registers, it is possible to reconstruct the whole *derbendci* structure of the *vilayet* in 1567–1569. The above-mentioned settlements in the two southern *sancaks* were complemented with three settlements with *derbendci* status in the Çongrad *sancak*, and one each in the *sancaks* of G'ula and Lipova, so all together the organisation consisted of 20 towns and villages.

1 BOA Tapu 365, p. 337.

2 Engel, *A temesvári és a moldovai szandzsák*, 186.

The majority of the *derbendci* communities defended the roads radiating out from Temesvár. The two most important roads led to the south. The first ran through Pañcova to Belgrade, and was guarded by five *derbendci* settlements: Çudahaz, Rudna, Modoş, Çenta (Hu. Csenta) and Pañcova. The second one ran from Temeşvar to the fortress of Haram; its staging posts were Mira, Denta, Virşiç, Voyvodinç and Yasenova, the latter two also guarded the bridges over the Karas. This road had a branch forking off towards Modava, whose guard post on the banks of the Néra was Kusit'. The northern road between Temeşvar and Lipova was guarded halfway along its length by a single town with *derbendci* status, Şarad. (In 1579 two more towns, Kesinç and Ostrova were also tasked with the defence of the area and the road, but apparently without *derbendci* rights<sup>1</sup>). The road continued towards the Körös rivers, but on this section the Lipova registers do not mention guard posts. It is worth noting that apart from the initial and final points, of the places listed as guarding the roads Virşiç was the only one where fortress soldiers were stationed; the privileged military peasants were indeed responsible for the safety of traffic and travellers.

The other guard posts defended the fords and landing stages on the rivers. The great harbours of the lower Danube, like the destinations of the roads leading to them, were defended by the guards of Pañcova, Köfin and Haram, as well as the *derbendci* inhabitants of their towns. The road running along the southern bank of the Maros and the harbours were guarded by the inhabitants of Varyaş, Çofrona and Seredin. There was no main road along the marshy eastern bank of the Tisza; here only the inhabitants of Vinçahid guarded one bridge, which was presumably built on some backwater.<sup>2</sup> The inhabitants of Gatay on the banks of the Berzava river, at the foot of the eastern mountains, also enjoyed *derbendci* rights; the register does not mention their duties, but they must have guarded the traffic on the secondary road running east along the little river.

The last surviving *mufassal* and *icmal defteris* from the *vilayet* of Temesvár date from 1579,<sup>3</sup> and they show no great changes, only a slight increase in the number of privileged peasants, and some movement between categories. The settled nature of the system and its more or less unchanged survival is indicated by the fact that the parts of the regulations at the beginning of the register which are concerned with military peasants are identical with those of ten years earlier, except for a few stylistic modifications.

1 BOA Tapu 578, pp. 29, 140.

2 Useful for the reconstruction of the *derbendci* organisation: László Blazovich, 'Az Alföld 14–16. századi úthálózatának vázlata [Sketch of the 14th–16th-century network of roads in the Alföld]', *Tanulmányok Csongrád megye történetéből* 26 (1998) 51–61.

3 The register of the *sancaks* of Temeşvar and Modava: BOA Tapu 579, their *icmal defteri*: Tapu 674. The register of the *sancak* of Çanad is published in: Káldy-Nagy, *A csanádi szandzsák*, that of G'ula: Idem, *A gyulai szandzsák*, Lipova's BOA Tapu 578.

In the *sancaks* of Temeşvar and Modava 60 *kenezes* were recorded, twice as many as ten years earlier (in the other *sancaks* there were no *kenezes*, as *primikürs* were not mentioned either). The number of Christian *sipahis* was 22; 17 of them can be found in the tax register (one *sipahi*, 4 *mazuls* and 12 *sipahizades*), a further 5 *timariots* appear in the *icmal*; again, the names in the two lists do not match. The number of *müsellems* was on the rise again: there were 24 of them, while there were 4 of those whose exemption was not explained (*muaf*). Of the *krayniks* only one remained in the *nahiye* of Marjina (a further four in the *sancak* of Lipova). Yet again the most numerous group was that of the 47 falconers. All together, the men listed above number 158, individually privileged peasant foremen and soldiers whose villages were once again concentrated in the central areas, the *nahiyes* of Çakova, Pañcova and especially Virşiç.

This time, the scribe made two separate lists of the individually privileged peasants of the whole *vilayet*, both dated September 27, 1579. According to the title, the first is the list of names of the *kenezes* and *müsellems*, but in it we come across *sipahis*, sons of *sipahis* and *krayniks* as well, so the term *müsellem* is to be understood here in its original, 'privileged' sense. The list includes 101 *kenezes* and privileged military peasants in the whole of the *vilayet*, the majority of whom, 85 men, lived in the *paşa's sancak*, Temeşvar (more than half of them, 44, in the *nahiye* of Virşiç). In the *sancak* of Modava 8 men were listed: 6 *kenezes* and 2 *müsellems*, in Çanad a single *sipahizade*, in G'ula one *müsellem*, and in the border *sancak* of Lipova four *krayniks* and two *müsellems*.

The other list groups the *vilayet's* 44 falconers in units of three per nesting place, as described above (yet again the scribe left out a few men, although they were registered as falconers). They were all inhabitants of the two southern *sancaks*, none were left in the other ones. If possible, the units were now put together in an even more arbitrary way than ten years earlier. For example, the nesting place next to Mali Karaşova, on the eastern border of the territory, was assigned to falconers from villages 40–50 kilometres to the west.

The list of names of towns and villages with *derbendci* legal status did not change.

Yet again I can only calculate with the *sancaks* of Temeşvar and Modava. In these 15,455 *hanes* were registered in 1579,<sup>1</sup> which, with the 158 individually privileged peasants, increases to 15,613. The total number of individual privileged men and *derbendcis* was 1601, which was 10.3% of the whole population. In the *sancaks* located further north the proportion of military peasants was insignificant.

This geographical distribution of the privileged class was identical with the location of fortresses, the *vilayet's* defensive concept: the majority of all military forces were concentrated in the central territory of the Temesköz, defending

1 Engel, *A temesvári és a moldovai szandzsák*, 186.



Temeşvar; the defence of the Danube, the Maros and the roads complemented this. By the time the military peasant organisations had been stabilised, about one tenth of the population of the central territory was involved in them, and the leading roles—like everywhere else—were played by the *kenezes*: they assisted the authorities in settling, collecting tax, maintaining internal order and, if necessary, in the mobilisation of military peasants. The majority of the men with privileges served in the organisation of the *derbendcis*.

### 3. The Balkan Population and its Military Activities in the 17th Century

Little is known about the conditions of the population and the military peasant organisation of the Balkan-populated zone at the turn of the century and in the 17th century, as the Ottomans gave up surveying the population in Hungary too.<sup>1</sup> The occasional items of data, a few small signs here and there, lead us to suspect that the influx of the Balkan population continued, affecting areas which they had not yet reached in the previous century.

In the decades around the turn of the century, maybe also as a result of the Fifteen Years' War, the Balkan population of south Transdanubia spread out towards Tolna and south Fejér in the north, while in the south it spread towards Baranya county. We cannot trace the process, as from the 17th century we know of only a few accounts of the Buda treasury, which contain only aggregate, unreliable numerical data on this question as well, yet they paint a credible picture of massive settlement by Balkan people with *eflak* status. The 1613 account of the *vilayet* of Buda sums up the *hanes* of each *sancak* and the *cizye* levied on them as well.<sup>2</sup> Its title is "The *cizye* of the infidels of the *vilayet* of Buda, Hungarian and *eflak* *hanes*" (*hane-i Macaran ve eflakan*). The total was calculated with 800 Hungarian and 500 *eflak* tax units in the *sancak* of Kopan, 260 and 300 in the Şimontorna *sancak*, and 350 and 200 in the Seksar *sancak* respectively; it levied a *cizye* of 180 *akçes* on the Hungarian *hanes* and 120 on the *eflak* ones. This is already not the same as the 16th century *cizye hane*, usually associated with a small family household, but the extended *hane* or *avarız-hane* which contained several families and had been in use since the turn of the century. We do not know, even approximately, how many hearths it comprised in Hungary; consequently we cannot estimate the size of the population from it. The data only indicate that in these three *sancaks* the treasury counted on 1,410 Hungarian and 1,000 *eflak* tax units, meaning a population that was approximately three fifths Hungarian and two fifths *eflak*. Within the three *sancaks* the total indicates a radical population change. In the *sancaks* of Seksar and Kopan, where the

1 Fodor, *Vállalkozásra kényszerítve*, 207–256.

2 BOA MAD 4133, p. 34.

great Balkan influx happened earliest, there were still one and a half times as many Hungarians, but in the Şimontorna *sancak* the people of Balkan origin outnumbered the Hungarians.<sup>1</sup>

Along the middle reaches of the Danube the *eflak* element continued to grow. The account of the Buda treasury dated November 13, 1662<sup>2</sup> includes an expected tax revenue of 300,000 *akçes* from the *eflaks* living in the district of Fedvar (*havass-i eflakan-i Fedvar*) among the few revenues managed by the treasury. The paucity of this sum is well illustrated by comparison with the sum of other treasury revenues: considering the Danube crossings the treasury expected 784,281 *akçes* in customs duties from the busy Buda bridge, 393,330 from the ford at Vaç, and 328,000 from the one at Fedvar. The accuracy of these figures cannot be taken for granted either, as the treasury scribes had been copying almost the whole account for decades and went on doing so for at least another decade without changing an *akçe*, simply altering the dates. Still, they do leave us with the impression that in the financial calculations drafted in Buda they counted in Tolna on the basis of a very substantial Balkan population, still called *eflak*, whose taxes, maybe still moderate, equalled three quarters of the customs revenues from Vaç.

The settlers found their way into Baranya as well. Although the county—it seems—was still mostly inhabited by Hungarians; what is more, the Catholics around Peçuy remained, its population was swollen by Orthodox settlers, alongside the Catholic Croatians and Bosnians who arrived in the territory between the Drava and the Danube and along the banks of the Drava.<sup>3</sup> In 1657 the abbot of Pécsvárad (Ott. Peçvar) had 58 villages belonging to the abbey inspected. The delegates also included notes on the ethnic composition of 29 villages in their report (the majority of these were located south and south-east of Pécsvárad, two south of Mohaç by the Danube, four in the second row of settlements along the Drava). 19 of the 29 villages were populated by Hungarians, 8 by Serbs, one by Croatians, and in one village the Hungarians and Croatians lived together.<sup>4</sup> The Serbian sermons delivered by Máté Benlich, bishop of Belgrade, were understood by the congregation not only in the territory of the Temes, but also in Peçuy and several villages in Baranya.<sup>5</sup> In 1688 the Jesuits in Peçuy baptised 200

1 The Hungarian sources indicate a Balkan advance in the counties of Tolna and Fejér as well, in which 'at least half of the population consisted of Serbs'. Szakály, 'Szerbek Magyarországon', 22.

2 BOA Bab-i defteri, Budun hazinesi kalemi 16727 and 16728, in both p. 6.

3 Antal Molnár, *A katolikus egyház a hódolt Dunántúlon* [The Catholic Church in Turkish-ruled Tansdanubia]. Budapest, 2003, 33.

4 Pécsi Egyetemi Könyvtár, Number 16, copy book No. 67035.

5 Iván Borsa-István György Tóth, 'Benlich Máté belgrádi püspök jelentése a török hódoltság katolikusairól, 1651–1658 [The report of Máté Benlich, Bishop of Belgrade on the Catholics in Ottoman Hungary]' *Levéltári Közlemények* 60:1 (1989) 88.

devout Orthodox believers, in two years they converted to Catholicism the Greek parishes of Ístolni Belgrad, Šimontorna, Sigetvar, Ozora, Mohaç, Šikloš, Kapošvar, Donbo, Döbrekös and Šaş, along with their priests.<sup>1</sup>

The population of Bácska was increased by the Catholic Bosnians and Dalmatians in the 17th century,<sup>2</sup> but the Orthodox inhabitants still constituted the majority. “This region is mostly populated by followers of the schismatic Greek faith, and compared to them the Catholic Christians are few in number”—wrote Bishop Benlich in 1653 in his report on south Hungary.<sup>3</sup> He also informs us that in the territories on the eastern side of the river Tisza people of Balkan origin were now appearing in towns and villages located north of the *vilayet* of Temeşvar as well. This is what he reported to Rome: “These settlements are in great need of parish priests who can speak both Illirian and Hungarian.”<sup>4</sup>

Only morsels of information on the military activities of the privileged section of the Balkan population which still filled the southern zone of Ottoman Hungary are to be found in the Ottoman sources of the 17th century. We come across their commanders, now living on state salaries, in the officer corps of a few fortresses in the pay lists. In the earlier chapter on the ‘revealing’ names in the registers I listed those officers with the second name Branik, who had no subordinates, in Modava and Bečkerek (here there were two) from around 1621 who I suspect of being the commanders of military peasants; in Virşiç, which was the centre of the subdistrict most densely populated by military peasants in the 16th century, a whole *branik* cavalry unit was registered. Between 1621 and 1634 Piri and Hasan, the *ağas* of the *martoloses*, served in Beçey. The fortress, however, had no unit of *martoloses* who received wages: the two *ağas* might have been the leaders of the privileged peasant *martoloses*.

Around the turn of the century and in the first half of the 17th century, the number of small *palankas*, in which only a few squads of *martoloses* served, increased. Most of these too were situated in the completely Balkan-populated *vilayet* of Temeşvar, at Çonbol, Rudna, Šarad, Radna and Drenkova. Three *palankas* were built in the area lying between the Balaton and the Danube, which was full of *eflaks*, at Bogar (whose lone unit consisted of *azabs*), Pinçehel and Koni. Putting these poorly fortified and inadequately manned places in a war

1 László Velics, *Vázlatok a magyar jezsuiták múltjából II.: 1610–1690* [Sketches from the history of the Hungarian Jesuits]. Budapest, 1913, 136.

2 Molnár, *Katolikus missziók*, 106. Idem, ‘A kalocsai érsekség a török korban [The bishopric of Kalocsa in the Turkish era]’, in László Koszta (ed.), *Kalocsa történetéből*. Kalocsa, 2000, 119–120. Idem, ‘Felekezetek és identitás Közép-Európában az újkorban [Denominations and identity in Central Europe in the modern age]’, in Pál Attila Illés (ed.), *Sentire cum Ecclesia I*. Péiliscsaba–Budapest, 1999, 38.

3 István György Tóth, *Misszionáriusok levelei Magyarországról és Erdélyről (16–17. század)* [Letters of missionaries about Hungary and Transylvania (16th–17th centuries)]. Budapest, 2004, 242.

4 Ibid., 245.

zone would have made no sense at all without the support of the military peasants of Balkan origin who inhabited the area. The existence of this support is proved by the example of the *palanka* of Ígal in Somogy county. When it was raided in 1641, the Hungarian soldiers led by the commissioner of the Kingdom also pillaged four neighbouring villages and took the inhabitants prisoner. The villages “were populated only by paid Serbians,” meaning Balkan military folk.<sup>1</sup>

Although we lack sources, we can suppose that even if Vlachs were employed en masse by the Hungarian Kingdom, partly on state pay, partly in the private armies of the nobles,<sup>2</sup> their military activities must have continued in the Hungarian border provinces of the Ottoman Empire. After all, the system was perfected by this empire, and in this border area they were still needed in the 17th century. Naturally, this hypothesis cannot be considered as certain, so in what follows I shall only speak of facts that are proven by large amounts of data: in the first half of the 17th century fortresses in the southern, Balkan-populated part of Ottoman Hungary were full of Christian men-at-arms. Although they were professional, salaried soldiers, the fact that they became the majority in the garrisons in the area indicates that this population remained militarily active.

As we have already seen, almost all of the ‘Turkish’ fortress soldiery in Ottoman Hungary came from the Balkan Peninsula, although the majority had already converted to Islam. In the first few decades of Ottoman rule Christians served in a few branches according to clear and general rules: many of them in the artillery and among the fortress craftsmen (they soon disappeared from the artillery, while the body of craftsmen only survived in larger fortresses). A few Christians made their way into the cavalry as guides, very rarely they make an appearance among the infantry *azabs* too, but they constitute practically the whole branch of *martoloses*, which hardly ever included Muslims. This clear-cut arrangement first began to disintegrate among the *martoloses*. In 1553 seven of the 25 *martoloses* serving in Šimontorna were Muslims, as were nine of the 20 *martoloses* in Endrik; in 1588 almost half the Ciğerdelen *martoloses* were Muslims. Tata is an example of a change in the opposite direction, here in 1557 12 of the 99 *azabs* were Balkan Christians. Although Tata was not in the part of Trans-

1 Fenyvesi, ‘Az igali portya’, 201.

2 Vera Zimányi, ‘Adatok a dunántúli hajdúk történetéhez [Data on the history of the Transdanubian *haidus*]’, *Századok* 94:1–3 (1960) 286–302. István N. Kiss, ‘Katonaparasztság. (Földesúri hadszervezet a Zrínyiek és a zágrábi püspökség birtokain – XVII. század.) [Military peasants. (Landlords’ military organisation in the estates of the Zrinyis and the bishopric of Zagreb–17th century)]’, *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 20:2 (1973) 321. Idem, ‘Nemes katonák és katonaparasztok a Zrínyiek muraközi uradalmában, 1638–1720 (Adatok a magyarországi uradalmi hadszervezet kérdéséhez) [Noble soldiers and military peasants in the Muraköz estate of the Zrinyis, 1638–1720 (Data on the question of the landlords’ military organisations in Hungary)]’, *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 30:3 (1983) 351. Idem, *Monumenta Zrinyiana. Pars oeconomica. II. Insula Muraköz (1635–1720)*. Budapest, 1991, 262–308.

danubia which was populated by Balkan people, its garrison was hurriedly set up in the early summer of 1557 from men who were transferred from other fortresses. These 16th century changes, however, are not significant: the established religious make-up of the branches remained basically the same until the 1580s.

However, by the beginning of the 17th century this distribution had altered. Christians arrived in large numbers to replace soldiers slain in the war, primarily in Balkan-populated territories, but the change is obvious elsewhere too. Following the peace treaty of 1606, while order was being restored, Christians were removed from those branches in larger fortresses which had previously been reserved for Muslims. Presumably some of them hastily converted, fearing for their posts. The change took place in 1613, and in this year the scribe added some interesting annotations to the list of the garrison troops in Buda. Altogether only 38 Christian soldiers served in the fortress, but 24 of them were dismissed in the following year; the 14 Christians who stayed were the remainder of the *martoloses* who had been transferred here from Vaç; two were Christian guides, who had been tolerated in the previous century as well. That the dismissed soldiers did not leave voluntarily is proved by the note "dismissed, sent away" (*ref şud*) written above most of their names. The decree sent from the imperial council to the *beylerbeyi*, *defterdar* and *ağa* of Kanija, also drafted in 1613, on July 30, stated that it was dangerous to have Christians in each branch of the garrison, as they might collaborate with the enemy and even hand over of the fortress; thus the decree ordered the addressees to send them outside the fortress.<sup>1</sup> Presumably the endangered men were encouraged by the decree to convert to Islam, as in 1619 only half of the *martoloses* were Christian, while 18% of all Kanija soldiers were new Muslims.

A similar process was taking place in some medium-sized fortresses. By 1619, for example, the artillery and cavalry in Mohaç and the *azabs* in Donbo had been purged of Christians; they were dismissed from Foka as well, although at the beginning of the century its garrison had been three-quarters Christian.

Smaller fortresses, however, were packed with Balkan Christians. I shall continue to quote the pay list of the Buda *vilayet* in 1613, taking the *palanka* of Val as the first example. The commander of the garrison, the *ağa*, as well as his deputy and the *imam* of the *mescid* are naturally Muslims, like the seven *müştahfizes* and the seven artillerymen. Of the 49 cavalymen, however, only four are Muslims; the rest are all Orthodox Christians, which would have been unheard-of half a century earlier. Two of the 18 *azabs* were Christians. 47 of the 84 man garrison, or 56%, were Christian, and the percentage would have been higher if there had been *martoloses* serving there.

The vast majority of the *palankas* on the western bank of the Danube, set

1 BOA Kepeci 71, p. 374.

approximately a day's march from each other, were predominantly manned by Balkan Christians. In 1613, going from north to south, they constituted 63% of the defenders in Hamzabey sarayı, 36% in Fedvar, 58% in Pakşa, 26% in Tolna, 52% in Batasek, 67% in Mohaç, and 41% in Baranvar. Naturally we find counter-examples, but relatively few. Among the 122 soldiers in Korkmaz, one of the most important staging posts on the Danubian line of defence, located in the southern corner of Csepel Island, there was not a single Christian, and the situation was the same with Sekçöy's 44-man garrison and the 27 soldiers in Darda on the bank of the Drava. It is a general feature that the Christians who had served in low-prestige units in the previous century pushed their way in the greatest number into the ranks of the cavalry.

The situation was similar in the fortresses in Somogy and Tolna. In two important *sancak*-centres the proportion of Christians was more moderate: 38% in Kopan, 22% in Şimontorna. In the majority of their subordinate fortresses, however, the ratios resemble those of the *palankas* along the Danube: 52% in Bolondvar, 31% in Lak, 38% in Karad, 56% in Donbo, 57% in Foka, 35% in Hidvig, and 24% in Döbrekös. There are no extreme counter-examples of fortresses without any Christian soldiers at all; but there are a few where their numbers were very low: 10% in Endrik, 16% in Tomaşin.

The smaller fortresses and *palankas* of the *vilayet* of Temeşvar, mainly located along the lower Danube, were characterised by similar ratios. In 1621 (in a few places in 1634) 68% of the defenders in Irşova were Balkan Christians, as were 91% in Lupkova, 41% in Haram, 60% in Haram-i cedit, 88% in Köfin, 55% in Mehadia, 43% in Çanad, and 34% in Beşenova.

If we consider the part played by south Slavs and *eflaks* moving into Ottoman Hungary in military affairs in broader terms, at this point we find some clues even from the beginning of the 17th century, which is so poor in source material. The Balkan population continued to have an important role in the Ottoman defensive system in the territories where they had settled down even after, as a result of the disappearance of their actual military duties, the widespread military peasant organisations that had been established in the Balkan Peninsula began to disintegrate. Besides the border service of the *eflaks* and the *martoloses*, which I believe survived and continued, this population supplied sometimes smaller, sometimes larger numbers of fortress soldiers, and after they had settled down the Ottoman fortress garrisons in the south no longer had to rely only on replacements from Bosnia and Serbia. The area of Ottoman Hungary into which the Balkans overflowed, as it were, became self-sufficient as far as the supply of soldiers was concerned. The immigrants could be counted on to perform all kinds of duties, whether occasional or regular, as privileged peasants or in return for payment.

## VII Descriptions of Fortresses and Garrisons (Database)

## Preface

It is enough to glance through the table of contents to see how unbalanced the surviving archive material on fortress garrisons is: more than three quarters of it comes from the province of Buda, while the other seven *vilayets* share what remains. The reason for this is not that the *vilayet* of Buda was under Ottoman rule for the longest period, or that it had the largest territory or the most fortresses; it is thanks to Count Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli, who rescued medieval Hungarian manuscripts and Ottoman documents from the recaptured, burning castle of Buda. The disproportion also indicates clearly that the pay lists for the fortress garrisons of the provinces, which were continuously in use, were kept at the *vilayet* centres: only copies of the general roll-call registers, the *icmal defteris* and the summarised treasury accounts were sent to the capital. By far the greatest part of the Buda source material consists of local pay lists rescued by Marsigli and taken to Vienna (and a few to other European cities) as booty; a smaller part remained in Istanbul, while the material on the other *vilayets* comes almost exclusively from Istanbul, and as a result is very limited.

Variability in territorial coverage is matched by variability in content. After salary *timars* became widespread, it was sometimes the sources on cash-paid units, sometimes those on units paid with *timars* that came down to us. If both kinds, referring to the same time, survived, it would be possible to size up the whole garrison, but this is very rare. After much thought I decided to publish even fragmentary data, if it is usable. The rational explanation for this decision was that the degree of change or stability in a unit, even if we can only catch a glimpse of it, does give us an idea of the situation of the whole garrison. The other, more personal reason was that I would have been very sorry to discard even the incomplete, less valuable results of a whole decade of work.

The original, Hungarian version of the database covers of 1,215 pages. This had to be reduced to a fraction of its size while keeping all the important content. I squeezed several thousand items of data into tables, each of which is followed by the small-print list of officers and daily wages (or annual income).

The tables clearly indicate the structure and division of the garrison and within that the individual units. It takes more detailed investigation to see if the planned number of men was successfully turned into an actual garrison (this rarely happened), whether it came with the usual losses (we can consider this typical), or if it was a complete failure (there were such cases). The 'Pay list heads / Present heads / Paid heads' columns in the tables show us what was missing, the 'Vacant posts / Recruits heads' columns show exactly the number and proportion of vacant positions and substitutions in the whole year (with the proportions expressed in percentages: the vacancies in proportion to the total number of soldiers registered, the substitutions to the number of soldiers present). The fig-



ures in the 'Units' and 'Present' columns tell us how complete the units were. From the list of 'Officers, pay' we can see how often the officers changed, and how the payments that were made changed; and here is where employees with 'special status' appear. I consistently strove to distinguish clearly, both in the tables and in the 'Officers' paragraphs, between soldiers who were expected to fight and civilians working for daily wages, especially those with religious duties.

The pay lists of the 1540s to 1570s are very richly annotated; I tried to put as much of their data as possible into the tables, which, as a result, grew gigantic, often too large for a single page. In desperation I abused grammar and spelling ruthlessly, leaving out both Ottoman Turkish and English plural forms (thus *müshafiz-i baruthane*, or 4 *ağa*, 40 *riyaset*, 120 *oda*). As pay lists became more and more empty, the tables shrank, but I kept the singular forms for the sake of consistency.

Publications on the fortresses of Ottoman Hungary have not only been written by Hungarian authors, but by foreign ones as well,<sup>1</sup> and their data do not always coincide with mine. Up to a point, these differences are natural. If we study a pay list and take careful notes about its content, paying attention to roll-call marks and annotations, we almost always get a higher number of soldiers than we find in the pay accounts: using the two different kinds of sources causes contradictions. Naturally, as sources the detailed pay lists are more valuable. They are, however, more difficult to handle, and how they are dealt with may differ from one author to another, or even in different studies by the same author. Several times I only understood all the irritating habits of a scribe halfway through the list, and I had to go back to the beginning to start all over again. Without continuous self-checking one can easily make mistakes, so earlier and later results contradict each other.<sup>2</sup> I have checked everything included in this database at least twice, the calculations even more. Some mistakes are bound to remain, but I hope no more than is unavoidable.

The data about fortresses are arranged by *vilayets*, and within that by *sancaks* (the *sancak*-division of the two 16th-century *vilayets*, Buda and Temeşvar had stabilised by 1570, so this is what I followed). The *vilayets* follow each other in the chronological order of their emergence (Budun, Temeşvar, Yanık, Papa, Eğri, Kanija, Varad, Uyvar). Within the *vilayet*, in the first place stands the central *sancak*, which is followed by the others in alphabetical order. Within the *sancak*, the first place belongs to the fortress which served as the centre; the other fortifications follow in the order in which they were captured or built.

1 The two most recent: Mark L. Stein, *Guarding the Frontier. Ottoman Border Forts and Garrison in Europe*. London–New York, 2007. Sadık Müfit Bilge, *Osmanlı'nın Macaristanı. Osmanlı Hâkimiyetindeki Macaristan'ın Tarihi Coğrafyası ve İdarî Taksimâtı (1526–1718)*. İstanbul, 2010.

2 This is what happened to some of the data of an earlier summary of mine: Klára Hegyi, 'The Ottoman Network of Fortresses in Hungary', in Géza Dávid–Pál Fodor (eds.), *Ottomans, Hungarians, and Habsburgs in Central Europe*. Leiden–Boston–Köln, 2000, 163–193.

## VİLAYET-İ BUDUN

This was Ottoman Hungary's chronologically first and largest province, and the one whose territory changed the most, reaching its widest extent with the campaign of 1566. Its first *sancaks* were those of Buda (1541), Mohaç (1542) and Segedin (1543).<sup>1</sup> The *sancak* of Mohaç, whose centre later became Peçuy, was vested with a task that was essential to the building of the empire. Its first *sancak-beği*, Kasım, was a key figure in the establishment of Ottoman rule: he oversaw the construction of the military road without which Buda could not have been held or provisioned, as well as laying the foundations for the military security and administration of south-east Transdanubia.<sup>2</sup> The *sancak* of Segedin was established on the lower reaches of the river Tisza, at a strategic point from which it was possible to advance towards the northern and eastern parts of the country. The importance and organisational duties of the *sancakbeyi* here were second only to those of the *sancakbeyi* of Mohaç,<sup>3</sup> and only to the extent that the river Tisza was less important than the Danube.

By the time Süleyman died the Ottomans had conquered a huge swathe of territory on which rows of *sancaks* could—and had to be—set up. At the time of the peace treaty of Adrianople, and indeed up to the capture of Eğri and Kanija, the *vilayet* of Buda was divided into fifteen *sancaks* (Buda, Estergon, Filek, Hatvan, İstolni Belgrad, Kopan, Novigrad, Peçuy, Segedin, Sekçöy, Seksar, Siçen, Sigetvar, Şimontorna and Solnok). As time went by and as new *sancaks* were established, the borders of the old ones were sometimes redrawn, at other times the borders of the old and new *sancaks* were allowed to merge into each other.

After 1596 the *vilayet* of Eğri, and after 1600 the *vilayet* of Kanija, were set up at the expense of the *vilayet* of Buda. To the north-east, Hatvan and Solnok were placed under Eğri, and theoretically the *sancak* of Segedin as well. The fortresses and garrisons of the latter, however, continued to be supplied from Buda, and as a result throughout this volume it is considered as part of the *vilayet* of Buda. To the south-west, the *sancaks* of Peçuy and Sigetvar were put under Kanija; only the fortresses from Ösek to Mohaç (Darda, Baranvar, Feleşmart) were left under Buda: the unified supervision of the military road along the Danube was left intact.

In the *vilayet* there were two fortresses which were transferred in the 16th century. The more important of the two is Şikloş, which started its career in the *sancak* of Mohaç / Peçuy. In 1566 it was handed over to the first *sancakbeyi* of Sigetvar, then the imperial council decreed that the fortress and its district (*kaza*) should remain part of the *sancak* of Sigetvar.<sup>4</sup> Since for most of its Ottoman period Şikloş belonged to the *sancak* of Sigetvar, in this volume it appears there throughout. The other place is Val, which was always registered in the Buda *san-*

1 Káldy-Nagy, *A budai szandzsák 1559. évi*, 9.

2 Szakály, 'Az első dunántúli szandzsák'. Géza Dávid, 'Kászim vojvoda, bég és pasa I-II [Kasım voyvoda, bey and pasha]', *Keletkutatás* Autumn (1995) 53–66; Spring (1996) 41–56. Idem, 'Mohács–Pécs 16. századi bégjei [Beys of the sancak of Mohaç–Peçuy in the 16th century]', in Ferenc Szakály (ed.), *Pécs a törökkorban*. Pécs, 1999, 57–62. Idem, 'Kászim [Kasım]', in József Szentpéteri (ed.), *Szürke eminenciások a magyar történelemben*. Budapest, 2003, 58–59.

3 Géza Dávid, 'Az első szegedi bég, Dervis életpályája [The career of Dervish, the first sancak-beyi of Szeged]', *Aetas* 4 (1999) 5–18.

4 12 Numaralı mühimme, No. 667.

*cak* by the *mufassal defteris*. However, its palisade, which was constructed in 1550, was listed among the auxiliary fortresses of İstolni Belgrad for two decades. This indicates that there was at some point a plan to establish a regular fortress district, which came to nothing. Val returned to the Buda *sancak*, and I discuss it there as well.

Some fortresses, which were constructed after 1630, do not appear in the database because of the lack of sources. Such are, for example, İgal (Hu. Igal) in south Transdanubia, Pentele (Hu. Pentele) on the banks of the Danube, Yankovçe (Hu. Jánoshalma) between the Danube and the Tisza, or Zenta (Hu. Zenta) on the banks of the Tisza.

## LİVA-İ BUDUN

### Kale-i BUDUN / BUDİN (Hu. Buda)

Ottoman possession 1541–1686

The capital of the Hungarian Kingdom prior to 1541, later Budun was not only the seat of the largest *vilayet*, but also the most important administrative, diplomatic and cultural centre of Ottoman Hungary, the base for operations against the royal border area located north of it. In 1541, when it stood on its own, it was manned by a garrison of almost 7,000 soldiers. In the 1540s and 1550s this number was significantly reduced due to the fact that a protective ring of almost twenty fortresses had been constructed around it. By this time the division of labour between Buda and Pest on the opposite side of the Danube had been established: the *martoloses*, the base of the Danube fleet, the shipyard and its workers were transferred to Pest. The war at the turn of the century and the Christian sieges of Buda (1598, 1602, 1603) wore down the garrison, which had to be reinforced with Porte troops. The local soldiery slowly recovered its strength; the troops of the Porte, however, represented a more significant force throughout the 17th century than they had in the 16th.

**1541–1542** (ÖNB Mxt 557. Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi D 7557, pp. 1–2)

The first source contains the troops transferred from the fortresses of the Lower Danube–Drava–Sava (1541), the second those soldiers who received payment in cash between September 6, 1541 and January 17, 1542. The two differ at many points; the table contains mostly the data from the second, complemented by some data from 1568, according to which in 1541 1566 *yeniçeris* were commanded to Buda (7 *Numaralı mühimme defteri*, No. 1846); this late data source may or may not be accurate. The pay of ordinary soldiers transferred from the south rose by 2–3 *akçes* in Buda.

LİVA-İ BUDUN

Branch	Transferred to Buda	Paid heads	Absent %
Müstahfız, cebeci, topçu, arabacı, kumbaracı, demirci	836	646	22.7
Gönüllü	803	732	8.8
Beşli (=faris)	1024	878	14,3
Azab, kalafatçı	1014	879	13.3
Azab, topçu, martolos	1931	1076	44.3
Martolos	1241	1000	19.4
Total (yerlüyan)	6849	5211	23.9
Yeniçeri	1566(?)	1566(?)	
<b>Total</b>	<b>8415(?)</b>	<b>6777(?)</b>	

**1543** (ÖNB Mxt 566, pp. 1–56: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Paid heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	653	647	604	65 bölük	99 (15.2)	93 (14.4)
Cebeci	12	10	10	–	5 (41.7)	3 (30)
Haddad, neccar	4	3	2	–	1 (25)	–
Mehter	4	2	2	–	2 (50)	–
Neccaran-i gebran	9	9	9	–	–	–
Topçu	128	112	102	10 bölük	48 (37.5)	32 (28.6)
Kumbaracı	10	10	10	–	2 (20)	2 (20)
Arabacıyan-i top	36	25	23	4 bölük	12 (33.3)	1 (4)
Neccaran-i arabacıyan	10	9	5	–	1 (10)	–
Gönüllü	702	665	650	70 bölük	117 (16.7)	80 (12)
Faris	495	486	443	5 ağa, 50 oda	74 (14.9)	65 (13.4)
Azab	801	575	526	24 riyaset, 96 oda	390 (48.7)	164 (28.5)
Mehter	4	2	1	–	2 (50)	–
<b>Total</b>	<b>2868</b>	<b>2555</b>	<b>2387</b>		<b>753 (26.3)</b>	<b>440 (17.2)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Hasan Mihaliç dizdar 100, Ali İbrahim kethüda 25, Mehmed Mahmud kâtib 17, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 6–7. Cebeci: Nasuh çavuş ser 20, Hasan Bosna kethüda 13, ordinary soldiers 8. Haddad, neccar: 7. Mehter: 6–7. Neccaran-i gebran: G'org'i küçük halfa 13, ordinary soldiers 8. Topçu: Hasan Timurhan ser 20, Yusuf Sofia kethüda 10, Süleyman Ali kâtib 8, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 6–7. Kumbaracı: Mehmed Ali ser 9, ordinary soldiers 6–7. Arabacıyan-i top, neccaran-i arabacıyan-i top: ser 8, ordinary soldiers 6–7. Gönüllü: Veli ağa 100, Mesih kethüda 43, serbölük 11–16, ordinary soldiers 10–13. Faris: Sinan ağa 52, Yahşi ağa 52, Barak ağa 42, Ali ağa 42, Hasan Divane ağa 25, seroda 10–11, ordinary soldiers 9. Azab: Kasım ağa 90, Hamza İlyas kethüda 21, Hacı Sinan kâtib 15, reis 10–16, seroda 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Mehter: 8–10. 9 Christians.

VİLAYET-İ BUDUN

**1549** (ÖNB Mxt 562, pp. 2–34: pay list. Velkov–Radushev 2v–34r, 353–394)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	586	581	65 bölük	45 (7.7)	40 (6.9)
Cebeci	11	11	–	–	1(9.1)
Haddad	3	3	–	–	–
Mehter	2	2	–	–	–
Topçu	108	107	10 bölük	6 (5.6)	5 (4.7)
Arabacı	14	14	4 bölük	–	–
Neccar	8	8	–	–	–
Kumbaracı	11	11	–	–	–
Gönüllü	361	342	37 bölük	32 (8.9)	47 (13.7)
Faris	148	138	2 ağa, 20 oda	25 (16.9)	15 (10.9)
Azab	645	637	25 riyaset, 97 oda	50 (7.8)	42 (6.6)
<b>Total</b>	<b>1897</b>	<b>1854</b>		<b>158 (8.3)</b>	<b>150 (8.1)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Mehmed Ustrumca dizdar, Ali İbrahim kethüda, pay unchanged. Cebeci: no change in officers and pay. Topçu: Yusuf Sofia ser, Karagöz Trabzon kethüda, pay unchanged. Haddad, mehter, arabacı, neccar: no change. Kumbaracı: Ali Mehmed ser, pay unchanged. Gönüllü: Hüseyin ağa ser 100, Hasan kethüda 16, serbölük 10–14, ordinary soldiers 10–11. Faris: Yahşi ağa and Sinan ağa ba timar, pay unchanged. Azab: Gazanfer ağa ba timar, Hacı Ahmed kethüda, pay unchanged, the duties of the scribe was fulfilled by the 6<sup>th</sup> reis. Only one soldier is a Christian.

**1557–1558** (ÖNB Mxt 614, pp. 1–31: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	489	484	54 bölük	38 (7.8)	33 (6.8)
Cebeci	10	10	–	–	1 (10)
Haddad, neccar	3	3	–	–	–
Mehter	2	2	–	–	–
Topçu	106	104	9 bölük	7 (6.6)	5 (4.8)
Arabacı	14	14	4 bölük	–	–
Neccar	8	8	–	–	–
Kumbaracı	11	11	–	–	–
Gönüllü	302	283	37 bölük	34 (11.3)	15 (5.3)
Faris	199	182	2 ağa, 20 oda	28 (14.1)	11 (6)
Azab	566	554	15 riyaset, 56 oda	60 (10.6)	48 (8.7)
Mehter	2	2	–	–	–
<b>Total</b>	<b>1712</b>	<b>1657</b>		<b>167 (9.8)</b>	<b>113 (6.8)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Ahmed ağa dizdar 100, Mustafa Köprü kethüda 9(!), serbölük 7–8, ordinary soldiers 6–7. Cebeci: Hamza Abdullah ser 14, ordinary soldiers 6–8. Haddad, neccar, mehter, arabacı: pay unchanged. Topçu: officers and pay unchanged. Kumbaracı: Mehmed Mustafa ser 9, remaining pay unchanged. Gönüllü: Hüseyin ağa 100, Bali Aydın(?) kethüda 12, serbölük 10–13, ordinary soldiers 10. Faris: Ali ağa ba timar, Mehmed ağa zaim, pay unchanged. The many missing soldiers from among the gönüllüs and farises died or were captured in a raid which ended in defeat. Azab: Turali ağa zaim, Bekir kethüda 14, reis 8–12, seroda 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Mehter: 10, 7.

**1569** (ÖMB Mxt 617, pp. 3, 13: pay account. Mxt 642, pp. 1–45: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Paid heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müsthafız	462	457	461	50 bölük	33 (7.1)	28 (6.1)
Haddad	6	6		–	–	–
Mehter	2	2		–	–	–
Cebeci	10	10		–	–	–
Topçu	103	103	140	9 bölük	5 (4.8)	5 (4.9)
Arabacı	28	28		2 bölük	3 (10.7)	3 (10.7)
Kumbaracı	11	11		–	–	–
Gönüllü	302	302	297	30 bölük	–	–
Faris	199	198	196	2 ağa, 20 oda	13 (6.5)	12 (6.1)
Azab	547	542	538	16 riyaset, 61 oda	26 (4.8)	21 (3.9)
Mehter	2	2		–	–	–
Müsthafız-i baruthane-i cedit	19	19	19	2 bölük	–	–
<b>Total</b>	<b>1691</b>	<b>1680</b>	<b>1651</b>		<b>80 (4.7)</b>	<b>69 (4.1)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müsthafız: Yusuf ağa dizdar 60, İlyas kethüda 12, serbölük 7–8, ordinary soldiers 6. Cebeci, haddad, mehter: pay unchanged. Topçu: Karagöz Trabzon ağa 18, Yunus Abdullah kethüda 10, serbölük 7–8, ordinary soldiers 6–7. Arabacı: Yusuf Hüseyin ağa 9, Ali Musa kethüda 8, serbölük 7–8, ordinary soldiers 6–7. Kumbaracı: Mehmed Mustafa ağa, pay unchanged. Gönüllü: Piri ağa zaim, Hüseyin Divane kethüda 16, remaining pay unchanged, Necati(?) Şaban kâtib 10. Faris: Mehmed Turhan ağa 20, Kurd Divane ağa 20, seroda 9, ordinary soldiers 8–9. Azab: İsa bey ağa zaim, Bekir kethüda 14, reis 8–10, seroda 6–7, ordinary soldiers 5–6. Mehter: pay unchanged. Müsthafız-i baruthane: İbrahim Mahmud dizdar 15, serbölük 6–7, ordinary soldiers 6. Only one soldier is a Christian.

We know the number of yeniçeris of the Porte transferred to the vilayet of Buda between 1569 and 1590 (see the chapter on the yeniçeris of the Porte). Most of them served in Buda, but we do not know how many at what time.

**1573–1574** (ÖNB Mxt 626, pp. 1–44: pay list, BOA MAD 1561, pp. 140, 170: pay account)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Paid heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müsthafız	458	458	471	50 bölük	21 (4.6)	21 (4.6)
Cebeci	10	10		–	1 (10)	1 (10)
Haddad	6	6		–	–	–
Mehter	2	2		–	–	–
Topçu	103	103	139	9 bölük	4 (3.9)	4 (3.9)
Arabacı	29	29		2 bölük	2 (6.9)	2 (6.9)
Kumbaracı	11	11		–	–	–
Gönüllü	302	302	300	30 bölük	26 (8.6)	26 (8.6)
Faris	199	199	198	2 ağa, 20 oda	30 (15.1)	30 (15.1)
Azab	552	548	548	16 riyaset, 61 oda	11 (2)	7 (1.3)
Mehter	2	2		–	–	–
Müsthafız-i baruthane	41	40	25	4 bölük	3 (7.3)	2 (5)
Müsthafız-i cısır	42	42	42	4 bölük	2 (4.8)	2 (4.8)
<b>Total</b>	<b>1757</b>	<b>1752</b>	<b>1723</b>		<b>100 (5.7)</b>	<b>95 (5.4)</b>

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*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Hüseyin ağa [dizdar] 60, İlyas kethüda 12, ordinary soldiers 5–7. The pay of small units is unchanged. Topçu: Karagöz Trabzon ağa 15, pay unchanged. Gönüllü: Receb ağa zaim, the kethüda and the pay are unchanged. Faris: Mehmed Turhan ağa, Sefer Abdullah ağa, pay unchanged. Azab: Mehmed ağa, kethüda and pay are unchanged. Müstahfız-i baruthane: serbölük 6–8, remaining pay unchanged. Müstahfız-i cısr: İskender Mustafa ağa, his pay is unknown, Ali Hüseyin kethüda 15, serbölük 7, ordinary soldiers 6. 3 haddads Christians.

**1577–1581** (BOA MAD 1561, pp. 325–326, MAD 498, pp. 3, 12, 24, 45, 51, 112–113: pay accounts)

Branch	14.09.1577– 02.09.1578	03.09.1578– 23.08.1579	24.08.1579– 16.02.1580	17.02.1580– 04.02.1581
Müstahfız, cebeci, haddad	406	428	434	430
Topçu, arabacı, kumbaracı	135	137	137	137
Gönüllü	300	298	299	297
Faris	199	195	197	193
Azab	511	501	500	504
Müstahfız-i baruthane	26	25	26	26
Müstahfız-i cısr	41	40	42	41
<b>Total</b>	<b>1618</b>	<b>1624</b>	<b>1635</b>	<b>1628</b>

**1586–1587** (BOA MAD 156: list of yeniçeris)

In three quarters of the year 995, 660 yeniçeris of the Porte were stationed in Buda.

**1591** (BOA MAD 3762, p. 4: pay account)

Branch	25.04.–18.10.1591
Müstahfız, cebeci	462
Topçu	90
Gönüllü	301
Faris	193
Azab	483
Müstahfız-i baruthane	27
Müstahfız-i cısr	41
<b>Total</b>	<b>1597</b>

**1599–1600** (ÖNB Mxt 638, pp. 3, 9: pay account)

Branch	24.07.1599–12.07.1600
<b>Local troops</b>	
Müstahfız, topçu, arabacı, cebeci, kumbaracı	185
Gönüllü	411
Faris	37
Azab	146
Müstahfız-i baruthane	12
Barutçu	30
Müstahfız-i cısr	24
<b>Total of local troops</b>	<b>845</b>

Units of the Porte	
Yeniçeri	519
Topçu	212
Cebeci	381
Arabacı	69
Altı bölük halkı (sipahi, silahdar, gureba, ulufeci)	838
Veledan-i kul	873
<b>Total of units from the Porte</b>	<b>2892</b>
<b>Total at Buda</b>	<b>3737</b>

The decrease of the number of soldiers at Buda is illustrated by an undated pay list, which may have been written in 1593, and by an incomplete one full of notes on transfers from 1597 (BOA MAD 3370, pp. 1–36), which recorded, besides soldiers slain and captured in fighting, large numbers of deserters. Of the 326 known müstafizes 143 (44%), of the unit's 39 corporals 24 (62%), of the 96 known azabs 70 (73%), of the 200 farises 68 (34%) were no longer part of the corps.

**1607** (BOA MAD 5623, pp. 2–51: pay list, yoklama. MAD 4654, pp. 123, 128, 134: pay account)

Branch	Pay list heads	Units
<b>Local troops</b>		
Müstahfız	202	52 bölük
Müstahfız from Derbend	7	–
Cebeci	7	1 bölük
Topçu	38	9 bölük
Arabacı	5	–
Kumbaracı	21	2 bölük
Gönüllü	338	30 bölük
Faris	62	2 ağa, 5 oda
Faris from Derbend	9	2 oda
Azab	164	15 riyaset
Azab from Derbend	5	–
Azab in the town	103	2 riyaset, 10 oda
Martolos from Derbend and Vaç	22	4 oda
Müstahfız-i baruthane	4	4 bölük
Barutçu	20	5 bölük
Müstahfız-i cisir	11	3 bölük
<b>Total of local troops</b>	<b>1018</b>	
<b>Units of the Porte</b>		
Sipahi, silahdar	415	
Cebeci	355	
Topçu	88	
Arabacı	27	
Yeniçeri	?	
<b>Total of units from the Porte</b>	<b>885 +?</b>	

*Officers* (pay unknown). Müstahfız: Hüseyin ağa, Yuyuf Seydi kethüda. Müstahfız from Derbend: Murad Ali ağa, Musa Ali kethüda. Cebeci: İbrahim ağa. Topçu: Mustafa ağa, Mustafa kethüda. Arabacı: Keyvan ağa, Ferhad kethüda. Kumbaracı: Hasan ağa, Ali



# VİLAYET-İ BUDUN

Mustafa kethüda. Gönüllü: Receb ağa, Mustafa kethüda. Faris: Ahmed Ali ağa, Cafer ağa. Faris from Derbend: Abdülkadir ağa. Azab: Ömer ağa, 15 reis. Azab from Derbend: Hasan Divane ağa. Azab in town: İbrahim ağa, Memi ağa, Hasan kethüda, Süleyman kethüda, 2 alemdar, 2 reis. Martolos from Derbend and Vaç: Hasan Divane ağa. Müstahfız-i baruthane: 4 serbölük. Barutçu: Ali ağa, Ramazan Veli kethüda, İbrahim çavuş, kâtib. Müstahfız-i cısr: Tursun ağa, Cafer kethüda. At least one fifth of the remaining corps are officers or corporals. 52 Christians.

The number of yeniçeris is known from 1609: between April 6 and July 3, 1609 1,787 men, between July 4 and December 27, 1609 1,889 men.

**1612–1614** (BOA MAD 4133, pp. 2–3, 34, 40, 44, 64–65: pay account)

Branch	04.03.1612– 20.02.1613	21.02.1613– 16.08.1613	17.08.1613– 10.02.1614
Yeniçeriyân-i yerlüyan	1167	1306	1307
Müstahfız	229	216	211
Müstahfız from Derbend	12	18	16
Cebeci	12	11	11
Topçu	44	45	39
Arabacıyan-i top	5	5	5
Kumbaracı	21	21	19
Gönüllü	346	–	–
Azab	197	207	205
Azab from Derbend	12	16	16
Barutçu	22	22	21
Müstahfız-i baruthane	12	12	11
Müstahfız-i cısr	31	34	34
Azab in town	97	105	104
Müstahfız-i palanka-i cedit in town	12	23	22
Zuama ve sipahiyan-i liva-i Budun	55	54	50
<b>Total</b>	<b>2274</b>	<b>2095</b>	<b>2071</b>
Hademe-i cevami der Budun ve Peşte	32	34	34

The removal of the gönüllüs from the fortress was discussed several times in the 16th century, but they were only abolished following a sultan's decree in 1613 (BOA MAD 1002, p. 6). After this they do not appear in sources for six years; in 1619, however, their unit of 301 are part of the garrison yet again.—After the war of the turn of the century in many large fortresses, including Buda, some ziamet and timar owners were paid in cash, presumably those whose villages had become deserted.

**1613–1615** (BOA MAD 116: lists of yeniçeris)

During two years the following number of yeniçeris from the Porte served in Buda: masar 1022: 625, recec: 727 / 712, reşen: 695, lezez: 693; masar 1023: 424 / 620, recec: 1117, reşen: 1091, lezez: 814.

**1628–1630** (ÖNB Mxt 636, pp. 18–19. BOA MAD 5193, p. 5: pay accounts)

Branch	31.08.1628– 20.08.1629	10.08.1630– 29.07.1631
Yeniçeriyân-i yerlûyan	1943	2003
Müstahfız	295	295
Cebeci	21	24
Topçu	50	50
Arabacıyan-i top	4	4
Kumbaracı	22	22
Gönüllü	326	326
Azab	384	385
Barutçu	26	26
Müstahfız-i baruthane	15	15
Müstahfız-i cısr	37	37
Müstahfız-i palanka-i Hasan paşa	23	23
Müstahfız-i kapı-i ab	23	23
Azab-i kapı-i ab	16	16
Müstahfız-i kule-i Mehmed paşa	16	16
Zaim ve sipahi	28	28
<b>Total</b>	<b>3229</b>	<b>3293</b>
Hademe-i cevami	40	41

Besides those yeniçeris who were called ‘local’, ones from the Porte served in Buda as well, whose number between November 18, 1629 and February 13, 1630 was 248, while between May 14 and August 9, 1630 it was 255 (BOA MAD 7089, pp. 2–5, 74–79). In the 1610s and 1620s the fortress was reinforced with new defensive works (palanka-i Hasan paşa, kapı-i ab, kule-i Mehmed paşa).

*Both the division of troops and the officers and payments* are known from the pay list covering the year of August 10, 1630 to July 29, 1631 (ÖNB Mxt 621, pp. 2–48). Müstahfız: 52 bölük, Ali ağa 80, Ali kethüda 37, Mehmed kâtib 15, Mehmed mimar 30, serbölük 10–19, ordinary soldiers 6–15 (majority 8). Cebeci: 1 bölük, Şehsüvar ağa 29, serbölük 14, the majority of ordinary soldiers 8. Topçu: 9 bölük, Ali ağa 40, İskender kethüda 20, first bölük-başı 19, remainder 10–16, officer of unknown rank 31. Arabacı: Hüsrev ağa 20, ordinary soldiers 8. Kumbaracı: 2 bölük, Ali ağa 24, Keyvan kethüda 16, Durmuş kâtib 20, seroda 12–14, ordinary soldiers 8–13. Gönüllü: 30 bölük, Mehmed, after him Mustafa, after him Ömer ağa 80, Hasan kethüda 40, İbrahim Mehmed kâtib 24, 3 ağa-i mütekaid 40, 50, 30, first serbölük 28, remainder 20–24, the majority of ordinary soldiers 15. Azab: 13 riyaset, 58 oda, Hacı Ahmed ağa 100, Beşir Haydar kethüda 50, Mahmud kâtib 23, reis 15–32, alemdar 8–13, seroda 9–14, ordinary soldiers 7–15 (majority 8). Barutçu: 4 bölük, Ali ağa 33, other Ali ağa 30, Halil kethüda 25, serbölük 14–18, ordinary soldiers 10. Müstahfızan-i baruthane: 3 bölük, Ferruh ağa 27, Ali kethüda 20, serbölük 10–13, ordinary soldiers 8. Müstahfız-i cısr: 4 bölük, Rizvan ağa 29, Uruc kethüda 15, serbölük 9, ordinary soldiers 8. Müstahfız-i palanka-i Hasan paşa: 1 bölük, Uruc ağa 40, Abdi kethüda 12, 3 officers of unknown rank 12, 15, 17, serbölük 15, ordinary soldiers 8. Müstahfız-i kapı-i ab: 2 bölük, Ali Kurd ağa 34, Ali kethüda 16, serbölük 10–12, ordinary soldiers 7–8. Azeban-i kapı-i ab: 3 bölük, Hasan ağa 30, first serbölük 11, others 8. Müstahfız-i kule-i cedid-i Mehmed paşa: 2 bölük, Hızır, after his death Zülfikar ağa 15, serbölük 9–10, ordinary soldiers 8. Sipahiyan: 10–30.

*Hademe-i cevami*: total 31 heads. Cami-i kebir der kale: mevlânâ Hayrullah imam, hatib, sermahfil 83, Ali halife müezzîn-i evvel 19, Mehmed halife müezzîn-i sani 26, Halil halife müezzîn-i salis, kayyum, devr-han 35, Ahmed halife enam-han, sala-han 26, Mehmed halife kayyum, devr-han 13, Zülfikar halife siracı, enam-han 13, El-hac Salih enam-han 5, Mahmud çelebi enam-han 4. Cami-i vasat der kale: mevlânâ Mehmed hatib 46, mevlânâ Hüseyin imam, enam-han 25, Hudaverdi halife müezzîn-i evvel 14, El-hac Salih müezzîn-i sani 14, İbrahim halife muarraf, sermahfil 11, Ahmed halife devr-han 3, Abdulkirim kayyum 7, Hudaverdi siracı 6. Cami-i enderun der kale: Mevlânâ Hasan hatib, sermahfil 24, Ali halife imam 20, Ahmed halife müezzîn-i evvel 16, İbrahim halife müezzîn-i sani 17, Halil halife muarraf, devr-han 8, Ahmed kayyum 10. Cami-i kasaba: Mevlânâ Kaya hatib, enam-han, devr-han 37, Hüseyin halife imam 20, Bayram halife müezzîn-i evvel 12, Ali halife müezzîn-i sani, devr-han 18, Zülfikar muarraf 7, Ahmed kayyum 10, Abdalbaki enam-han, siracı 21, Hüseyin saati 11.

*Mütekaid, dua-gu*: total 27 heads. 6 mütekaidin 5–35, 9 duaguyan 5–29. 12 heads with various functions: Seyyid Feyzullah bey vaiz 80, mevlânâ Mehmed muhaddis 30, mevlânâ Mehmed vaiz 20, mevlânâ Hacı Sefer vaiz 35, mevlânâ Mustafa müderris 25, Abdurrahman efendi 40, Rızvan efendi kâtib 25, Elhac Bekir müteferrika 40, Mehmed efendi tezkereci 30, Mustafa hekim, Saniha hatun and Hadica hatun daiye 20–20.

*Çavuşan-i divan*: total 43 heads. Ömer kethüda 40, 42 çavuş 6–35.

**1662** (BOA Başmuhasebe, Budun hazinesi kalemi 16727–16728, p. 7. MAD 6909, pp. 14–17: pay accounts)

Branch	Heads
Yeniçeri	3311
Müstahfız, cebeci	573
Topçu, kumbaracı, arabacı, müstahfız-i cısır, kasaba, kule, kapı-i ab ve Gürzilyas	226
Gönüllü	568
Azab	755
Barutçu, müstahfız-i baruthane	90
<b>Total</b>	<b>5523</b>

It would be unwise to believe the numerical data of the accounts dated November 13, 1662, two copies of which survive. The very same numbers appear fifteen years later, (Budun hazinesi kalemi 16729, pp. 9–10), and it is possible that numbers which had been preserved for decades were copied into this aggregate as well. Even so, the source indicates the number of soldiers the treasury calculated with in Buda and in Gürzilyas, the majority of whose pay was covered by its Balkan income. Between 1658 and 1664 war was raging in Hungary again, and the garrison in Buda was reinforced.

#### Kale-i PEŞTE (Hu. Pest) Ottoman possession 1541–1686

The ‘fortress’ of Pest meant in reality a town encircled by walls and bastions. The structure of its garrison had taken shape by 1543. All troops which served the security of the Danube, the Danube fleet, the harbour and the arsenal were transferred here from Buda. Up to the 1570s the garrison had exceeded one thousand men, after this natural loss was insufficiently replaced. The war at the turn of the century took a heavy toll on the garrison; its number fell to less than half of the

original. In order to strengthen the defences, part of the soldiers of several lost fortresses were moved here, and cavalymen were detached to the fortress: two of their units were transferred from Buda, one consisting of Tatars. (The lack of cavalry was highlighted by bad experiences during the war. In the winter of 1602 part of the Christian army besieging Buda spent the winter in Pest, and kept raiding Buda across the ice of the frozen Danube. They went as far as scaring the female visitors to the spas on the river bank.) Even with reinforcements, the 17th-century garrison of Pest did not reach the size of the 16th century one, but in the six decades of peace there was no need for more men.

**1541–1542** (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi D 7557, p. 2)

Branch	Pay list heads	Paid heads	Absent heads
Azab, topçu	398	365	33
Martolos	516	317	199
<b>Total</b>	<b>914</b>	<b>682</b>	<b>232</b>

The first garrison of Pest arrived from the same sources as Buda's did: from the fortresses along the Danube, Sava and Drava, and its deficiencies were similar to those.

**1543** (ÖNB Mxt 566, pp. 57–82: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Paid heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	653	616	616	65 bölük	179 (27.4)	142 (23.1)
Müteferrika	10	5	5	–	7 (70)	2 (40)
Neccar	10	4	4	–	7 (70)	1 (25)
Haddad	5	2	2	–	5 (100)	2 (100)
Kumbaracı	11	3	2	–	10 (90.9)	2 (66.7)
Tupçu	13	13	11	2 bölük	4 (30.8)	4 (30.8)
Gebzan (kalafatçı)	30	28	27	3 bölük	16 (53.3)	14 (50)
Azab	392	211	184	11 riyaset, 44 oda	198 (50.5)	17 (8.1)
Martolos	312	293	246	30 oda	23 (7.4)	4 (1.4)
<b>Total</b>	<b>1436</b>	<b>1175</b>	<b>1097</b>		<b>449 (31.3)</b>	<b>188 (16)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Cafer ağa dizdar ba timar, Kasım kethüda 21, Pir Mehmed kâtib 15, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 6–7. Müteferrika: Muharrem Ramazan çavuş 8, anbari 10, 2 bevvab (1 absent) 8, hekim el-cerrah 7, 5 mehter (4 absent) 7. Neccar: Alagöz İlyas 8, others 7. Haddad: 7. Kumbaracı: Yusuf İskender ser (absent) 15, others 7. Topçu: Ali Trabzon ser 15, Yusuf Abdullah kethüda 13, serbölük 8–9, ordinary soldiers 7. Gebzan (kalafatçı): İcvetko Todor kapudan 8, serbölük 7, others 6. Azab: Hızır Cafer ağa 35, Haydar Hızır kethüda 15, reis 12–16, ordinary soldiers 6. Martolos: Mehmed ağa 16, sermiye 8, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5. 282 Christians.

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**1549** (ÖNB Mxt 562, pp. 34–54: pay list. Velkov–Radushev 34v–54r, 395–420)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	406	399	46 bölük	32 (7.9)	25 (6.3)
Müteferrika	5	5	1 bölük	1 (20)	1 (20)
Neccar	9	9	–	–	–
Haddad	5	5	–	1 (20)	1 (20)
Kumbaracı	3	3	–	1 (33)	1 (33)
Topçu	32	32	5 bölük	1 (3.1)	1 (3.1)
Azab	305	300	11 riyaset, 44 oda	32 (10.5)	27 (9)
Kalafatçı	46	46	5 bölük	25 (54.3)	2 (4.3)
Martolos	286	273	2 ağa, 41 oda	48 (16.8)	35 (12.8)
<b>Total</b>	<b>1097</b>	<b>1072</b>		<b>141 (12.9)</b>	<b>93 (8.7)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Cafer ağa dizdar [ba timar], Bali kethüda 20, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 6–7. Müteferrika: 1 anbari 10, 2 bevab, 1 vezzan 7–8. Neccar: 7. Haddad: 7. Kumbaracı: 7. Topçu: Yusuf Abdullah ser 14, Seyyid Abdullah kethüda 13, serbölük 7–9, ordinary soldiers 6–7. Azab: Mehmed ağa ba timar, Hamza Osman kethüda 17, reis 11–15, serbölük 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Kalafatçı: 1–2. bölük: kalafatçı, 3–4. bölük: neccar, 5. bölük: transferred from Vişegrad, Receb ağa 21, serbölük 7, others 7. Martolos: Haydar ağa ba timar, Hasan ağa 11, sermiye 8–9, seroda 6–7, ordinary soldiers 5. 292 Christians.

**1557–1558** (ÖNB Mxt 614, pp. 32–50: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	390	384	39 bölük	27 (6.9)	21 (5.5)
Neccar	9	9	–	1 (11.1)	1 (11.1)
Haddad	5	5	–	1 (20)	1 (20)
Kumbaracı	3	3	–	–	–
Topçu	27	27	3 bölük	2 (7.4)	2 (7.4)
Azab	290	282	10 riyaset, 30 oda	53 (18.3)	45 (16)
Kalafatçı	46	46	5 bölük	3 (6.5)	3 (6.5)
Martolos	277	262	2 ağa, 28 oda	48 (17.3)	33 (12.6)
<b>Total</b>	<b>1047</b>	<b>1018</b>		<b>135 (12.9)</b>	<b>106 (10.4)</b>
Hademe-i cami	2	2			

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Receb Süleyman dizdar 21, Hasan Maksud kethüda 10(!), serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 6–7; one man is cerrah. Neccar: 6–7. Haddad: 7. Kumbaracı: 7. Topçu: Yusuf Abdullah ser 14, Yakub Hüseyin kethüda 13, serbölük 7–9, ordinary soldiers 5–8. Azab: Hüseyin ağa ba timar, Tur Bali Ali kethüda 15, reis 8–15, serbölük 7, ordinary soldiers 5–6. Kalafatçı: Sefer Abdullah ser 13, ser-i neccaran 10, serbölük 7–8, ordinary soldiers 7. Martolos: Mehmed Hüseyin ser 11, Ali ağa 10, sermiye 8, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 4–5. Hademe-i cami: Mevlana Hüseyin Veli, his rank and pay is unknown, Ali Hüseyin müezzin 7. 292 Christians.

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**1569** (ÖNB Mxt 617, pp. 3, 13: pay account. Mxt 642, pp. 46–69: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Paid heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	362	361	368	38 bölük	21 (5.8)	20 (5.5)
Neccar	8	7		–	1 (12.5)	–
Haddad	3	3		–	–	–
Kumbaracı	3	3		–	–	–
Topçu	28	28	28	3 bölük	3 (10.7)	3 (10.7)
Azab	333	331	318	11 riyaset, 33 oda	20 (6)	18 (5.4)
Kalafatçı, neccar	58	57	51	6 bölük	7 (12)	6 (10.5)
Martolos	260	249	221	2 ağa, 27 oda	79 (30.4)	68 (27.3)
<b>Total</b>	<b>1055</b>	<b>1039</b>	<b>986</b>		<b>131 (12.4)</b>	<b>115 (11.1)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Ahmed Bali dizdar 20, Hacı Ali kethüda 11, serbölük 7–8, ordinary soldiers 6–7. Neccar, haddad, kumbaracı: 7. Topçu: Şaban ağa 14, Yakub Hüseyin kethüda 13, serbölük 7–9, ordinary soldiers 6–7. Azab: Ali ağa ba timar, Hüseyin Haydar kethüda 13, reis 8–12, seroda 6–7, ordinary soldiers 5. Kalafatçı, neccar: Sefer Abdullah ser 16, Ali Abdullah ser-i neccaran 10, serbölük 8, others 4. Martolos: Cafer ağa 11, Bayezid Şahin ağa 12, sermiye 7–8, seroda 5, ordinary soldiers 4. 269 Christians.

**1573–1574** (ÖNB Mxt 626, pp. 45–69: pay list. BOA MAD 1561, pp. 141, 171: pay account)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Paid heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	360	360	393	38 bölük	7 (1.9)	7 (1.9)
Neccar	6	6		–	2 (33.3)	2 (33.3)
Haddad	3	3		–	–	–
Kumbaracı	3	3		–	–	–
Topçu	28	27	329	3 bölük	3 (10.7)	3 (11.1)
Azab	336	329		11 riyaset, 32 oda	10 (3)	3 (0.9)
Kalafatçı, neccar	57	57		6 bölük	1 (1.8)	1 (1.8)
Martolos	266	252		2 ağa, 27 oda	27 (10.1)	13 (5.2)
<b>Total</b>	<b>1059</b>	<b>1037</b>	<b>1018</b>		<b>50 (4.7)</b>	<b>29 (2.8)</b>
Hademe-i cami	2	2				

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Ahmed Bali dizdar 20, Hüseyin Bali kethüda 10, anbari 9, serbölük 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Neccar, haddad, kumbaracı: 6–7. Topçu: Yusuf Abdullah ağa, the kethüda and the pay are unchanged. Azab: the officers and the pay are unchanged, only the kethüda's pay increased to 16. Kalafatçı, neccar, martolos: no change. Hademe-i cami: mevlana Hasan Ahmed, rank is unknown 8, Ramazan Murad müezzin 7. 258 Christians.

**1577–1581** (BOA MAD 1561, pp. 326–327. MAD 498, pp. 25, 52–53, 113: pay accounts)

Branch	14.09.1577–02.09.1578	03.09.1578–23.08.1579	24.08.1579–16.02.1580	17.02.1580–04.02.1581
Müstahfız, topçu, haddad	354	353	356	354
Azab	310	307	296	293
Kalafatçı, neccar	56	54	52	55
Martolos	234	218	200	209
<b>Total</b>	<b>954</b>	<b>932</b>	<b>904</b>	<b>911</b>

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**1588–1589** (ÖNB Mxt 615, pp. 37–58: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	322	321	38 bölük	3 (0.9)	22 (6.9)
Topçu	20	20	2 bölük	–	–
Azab	293	292	10 riyaset, 30 oda	2 (0.7)	40 (13.7)
Kalafatçı, neccar	57	57	6 bölük	1 (1.8)	1 (1.8)
Martolos	204	198	2 ağa, 24 oda	9 (4.4)	8 (4)
<b>Total</b>	<b>896</b>	<b>888</b>		<b>15 (1.7)</b>	<b>71 (8)</b>
Hademe-i cami	1	1			

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Süca(?) Mahmud dizdar 20, Hüseyin Mehmed kethüda 20, serbölük 7–8, ordinary soldiers 6–7, 3 haddad 6–7. Topçu: Durmuş Evrenos ağa, the kethüda and the pay are unchanged. Azab: Nasuh ağa [ba timar], Cafer Haram kethüda 15, reis 8–14, seroda 6–7, ordinary soldiers 5. Hademe-i cami: Ramazan Murad müezzın 7. The scribe registered above the names of 67 people that they were ‘new’ (*cedid*). 258 Christians.

**1599–1602** (ÖNB Mxt 638, p. 9. Mxt 635, p. 28. BOA MAD 6770, p. 44: pay accounts)

Branch	24.07.1599– 12.07.1600	13.07.1600– 28.09.1601	29.09.1601– 14.12.1602
Müstahfız	214	206	192
Topçu			15
Faris	–	56	54
Azab	40	67	41
Kalafatçı	16		9
Martolos	35	42	14
Limancı from Estergon	–	–	7
<b>Total</b>	<b>305</b>	<b>371</b>	<b>332</b>

The Christian sieges took a heavier toll on the soldiery of Pest than on that of Buda, two thirds of the defenders were lost. I found no sources on their possible replacement with troops of the Porte. The source material of the next decade indicates that only a minority of the soldiers from fortresses retaken by Hungarians were moved here.

**1607** (BOA MAD 5623, pp. 51–71: pay list, yoklama)

Branch	Pay list heads	Units
Müstahfız	84	9 bölük
Topçu	20	2 bölük
Azab	37	3 riyaset, 8 oda
Kalafatçı, neccar	22	2 bölük
Martolos	89	2 ağa, 10 oda
Martolos from Estergon	90	2 ağa, 12 oda
Martolos from Canfeda	13	–
Faris from Novigrad	59	2 ağa
Faris from Böğürdelen	25	10 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>439</b>	

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*Officers* (pay unknown). Müstahfız: Abdurrahman Uruc dizdar, Derviş Mehmed kethüda. Topçu: Mustafa ağa, Süleyman kethüda. Azab: Ali Hüseyin ağa, Seyyid Mehmed kethüda. Kalafatçı, neccar: İbrahim Abdullah ağa. Martolos: Nikola ağa, Osman Hasan ağa. Martolos from Estergon: Receb ağa, Kurd ağa. Martolos from Canfeda: Živko ağa, alemdar. Faris from Novigrad: Ali ağa, Hüseyin ağa. Faris from Böğürdelen: Veli ağa. 217 Christians.

**1612–1614** (BOA MAD 4133, pp. 3–4, 44–45, 65–66, 81–82: pay account)

Branch	04.03.1612– 20.02.1613	21.02.– 16.08.1613	17.08.1613– 10.02.1614
Müstahfız	89	85	85
Topçu	22	20	17
Müstahfız, topçu from Ösek	47	41	42
Faris from Buda	88	87	92
Faris from Novigrad	71	73	71
Faris from Böğürdelen	25	25	21
Martolos from Canfeda	14	14	14
Faris-i tatar	54	55	59
Azab	39	40	39
Kalafatçı	29	31	31
Martolos	180	178	180
<b>Total</b>	<b>658</b>	<b>649</b>	<b>651</b>

*Officers, pay in 1613* (BOA MAD 4000, pp. 68–103: pay list). Müstahfız: Hüseyin dizdar 30, Derviş Mehmed kethüda 20, Süleyman Nasuh kâtib 37(!). Müstahfız from Ösek: Osman ağa 15, Memi kethüda 12. Topçu: Mustafa ağa 18, Süleyman Bosna kethüda 15. Topçu from Ösek: İbrahim ağa 9, Süleyman Musli kethüda 8. Faris from Buda: Ahmed ağa 40, Beşir ağa 40, Cafer ağa 35. Faris from Novigrad: Beşir ağa 30, Ali ağa 30. Faris from Böğürdelen: Veli ağa 35. Martolos from Canfeda: Süleyman ağa 20, Ünvan alemdar 12. Faris-i tatar: Aytan ağa 35, alemdar 12, Sufi Arslan el-dai 14. Azab: Ali ağa 35, Murad Mehmed kethüda 30. Kalafatçı, neccar: İbrahim ağa. Martolos: Nikola ağa 36, Osman Hasan ağa 26, İbrahim ağa 16, Kurd ağa 14. 243 Christians.

**1628–1629** (ÖNB Mxt 610, pp. 44–71: pay list. Mxt 636, pp. 19–20: pay account)

Branch	Pay list heads	Units	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	185	2 ağa, 29 bölük	45 (24.3)
Topçu	32	2 ağa, 3 bölük	9 (28.1)
Faris from Buda	131	2 ağa, 20 oda	21 (16)
Faris-i tatar	73	6 oda	14 (19.2)
Azab	89	10 riyaset	23 (25.8)
Kalafatçı	39	6 bölük	3 (7.7)
Limancı	15	2 bölük	2 (13.3)
Martolos	175	4 ağa, 21 oda	18 (10.3)
<b>Total</b>	<b>739</b>		<b>135 (18.3)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Hüseyin ağa 15, Mustafa kethüda 21, Mehmed Sefer kâtib 30(!), Mustafa ağa 15, Mehmed kethüda 12, serbölük 7–16, ordinary soldiers 7–8. Topçu: Ömer, after him İbrahim ağa 23, İbrahim, after him Mustafa kethüda 11, İbrahim ağa 9,



İbrahim kethüda 8, serbölük 7–9, ordinary soldiers 7–8. Faris: Ahmed ağa 40, Osman ağa 35, seroda 10–18, 20–25, ordinary soldiers 12. Faris-i tatar: Aytan ağa 35, alemdar 12, seroda 12–14, ordinary soldiers 10–12. Azab: İbrahim ağa 30, Seyyid Mehmed kethüda 30, 2 ağa-i mütekaid 30, 20, reis 14–23, seroda 8–13, ordinary soldiers 8. Kalafatçı: Süleyman ağa 20, serbölük 8–12, ordinary soldiers 7–8. Limancı: Mustafa ağa 14, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 6. Martolos: Ali ağa 36, Osman ağa 26, Lazar ağa 25, Ali ağa 14, sermiye 9–12, seroda 7–9, ordinary soldiers 7. 184 Christians.

**1631–1632** (ÖNB Mxt 610, pp. 149–166: pay list)

The structure of the garrison is identical to what it was three years earlier, the total number is also unchanged, 738 soldiers. Then, in one year 18% of the personnel changed, now 10%. Both lists show that vacant posts were quickly filled; they did not let numbers fall.

**1662** (BOA Başmuhasebe, Budun hazinesi kalemi 16727, 16728, p. 7: pay accounts)

The problem with the account is the same as in the case of Buda: it is possible that the data were copied from one account into the next unchanged for decades. All we can take for granted is that in Pest the treasury calculated with 847 people paid in cash or daily wages: with 253 müstafizes and artillerymen, and with 594 cavalymen, azabs and martoloses. The accounts of 1677–1678 contain the same figures (Budun hazinesi kalemi 16729, p. 10).

### Kale-i VAÇ (Hu. Vác)

Ottoman possession 1543–1596, 1620–1684

The town of Vác, situated north of Buda and poorly fortified, was captured and ransacked by every army campaigning along the Danube (between 1595 and 1605 it changed hands at least 11 times). At the beginning of the Ottoman era it defended Buda towards the north together with Vişegrad, thus it was manned by 400 soldiers. This number was beginning to fall as early as the first decade; then, following the establishment of the ring of fortresses defending Buda, it fell below 150. It was in Hungarian hands between 1602 and 1620. After its Ottoman re-occupation in 1620, the town was given back its original importance, its garrison was stabilised above 450 men. Besides its military roles it was invested with administrative tasks as well: the beys of the lost sancak of Novigrad, who continued to be appointed, resided here and supervised the local centre which also managed Balkan income.

**1543** (ÖNB Mxt 566, pp. 143–151: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	102	72	10 bölük	46 (45.1)	16 (22.2)
Topçu	6	6	–	1 (1.7)	1 (1.7)
Neccar	2	2	–	–	–
Faris	99	94	1 ağa, 10 oda	13 (13.1)	8 (8.5)
Azab	89	67	3 riyaset, 9 oda	28 (31.5)	6 (9)
Martolos	110	99	12 oda	14 (12.7)	3 (3)
<b>Total</b>	<b>408</b>	<b>340</b>		<b>102 (25)</b>	<b>34 (10)</b>

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*Officers, pay* (akçe): Hasan, after his death Abdulvehhab dizdar 25, Hasan Sinan kethüda 20, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 6. Topçu: Hüseyin Mustafa ser 12, ordinary soldiers 6–7. Neccar: 6–7. Faris: Hamza ağa, his pay is unknown, seroda 10–11, ordinary soldiers 9. Azab: Mehmed ağa 25, Abdulvehhab, after him Mehmed Ahmed kethüda 20, reis 14, seroda 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Martolos: Behram ser 20, sermiye 9, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5. 100 Christians.

**1544** (ÖNB Mxt 568, pp. 61–69: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Paid heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	83	68	68	10 bölük	28 (33.7)	13 (19.1)
Topçu	6	5	5	–	1 (16.7)	1 (20)
Neccar	2	2	2	–	–	–
Faris	99	95	94	1 ağa, 10 oda	5 (5)	1 (1)
Azab	89	66	66	3 riyaset, 9 oda	36 (40.4)	13 (19.7)
Martolos	111	91	88	12 oda	26 (23.4)	6 (6.6)
<b>Total</b>	<b>390</b>	<b>327</b>	<b>323</b>		<b>96 (24.6)</b>	<b>34 (10.4)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe): No change. 90 Christians.

**1549** (ÖNB Mxt 562, pp. 76–81: pay list. Velkov–Radushev 76v–81v, 449–456)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	82	82	10 bölük	2 (2.4)	2 (2.4)
Topçu	5	5	–	–	–
Neccar	2	2	–	1 (50)	1 (50)
Faris	83	82	1 ağa, 9 oda	12 (14.5)	11 (13.4)
Azab	56	55	3 riyaset, 9 oda	6 (10.7)	5 (9.1)
Martolos	39	37	11 oda	12 (30.8)	10 (27)
<b>Total</b>	<b>267</b>	<b>263</b>		<b>33 (12.4)</b>	<b>29 (11)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Faris: Çirkin Divane ağa 18. Azab: Kasım Mahmud ağa 20, Mustafa Abdullah kethüda 14, reis 12. Martolos: Behram ağa 18. The other officers and pay are unchanged. 36 Christians, one neccar is Tatar.

**1557–1558** (ÖNB Mxt 614, pp. 101–104: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	27	27	3 bölük	4 (14.8)	4 (14.8)
Topçu	4	4	–	–	–
Faris	68	63	7 oda	9 (13.2)	4 (6.3)
Azab	30	29	3 oda	3 (10)	2 (6.9)
Martolos	27	27	3 oda	3 (11.1)	3 (11.1)
<b>Total</b>	<b>156</b>	<b>150</b>		<b>19 (12.2)</b>	<b>13 (8.7)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Yakub dizdar 15, sorbölük 7–8, ordinary soldiers 6–7. Topçu: Ali Kasım ser 9, ordinary soldiers 6–7; one man is bevvab. Faris: Çirkin, after his death Ferruh ağa 18, seroda 10, ordinary soldiers 8–9. Azab: Hasan Bayezid ağa 14, seroda

VİLAYET-İ BUDUN

7, ordinary soldiers 6. Martolos: Dagomir(?) Damjan [ağa or ser] 15, Vuk Radosav sermiye 7, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5. 28 Christians.

**1569** (ÖNB Mxt 617, pp. 4, 13: pay account)

Branch	20.12.1568– 15.06.1569	16.06.– 09.12.1569
Müstahfız, topçu	32	32
Faris	68	65
Martolos	26	25
<b>Total</b>	<b>126</b>	<b>122</b>

**1577–1581** (BOA MAD 1561, pp. 328–329. MAD 498, pp. 26, 53, 116: pay accounts. Tapu 590, pp. 59–61: icmal)

Branch	14.09.1577– 02.09.1578	03.09.1578– 23.08.1579	24.08.1579– 16.02.1580	17.02.1580– 04.02.1581
Müstahfız				29
Topçu				3
Faris	70	70	70	70
Martolos	27	27	26	27
<b>Total</b>				<b>129</b>

After 1570 the first two branches were paid with salary timars, the number of soldiers in them is only known from 1580.

*Officers, incomes* (akçe). Müstahfız: Osman Yakub dizdar 5400, Mustafa İsa kethüda 3200, serbölük 1800–1900, ordinary soldiers 1700. Topçu: Ali Kasım ser 2600, others 1700.

**1621** (BOA MAD 4843, pp. 1–15: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Units
Müstahfız	74	7 bölük
Topçu	18	2 bölük
Faris from Pest (primarily in Novigrad)	104	2 ağa, 10 oda
Faris from Pest (primarily in Böğürdelen)	37	1 ağa, 4 oda
Faris from Mohaç	18	3 oda
Azab	153	5 riyaset, 15 oda
Martolos from Hamzabey sarayı	45	1 ağa, 5 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>449</b>	

The officers of the müstafizes and artillerymen, as well as one of the reis of the azabs, had not yet been appointed. *The other officers and pay are as follows.* Müstahfız, topçu: seroda 9, ordinary soldiers 8. Faris from Novigrad: Kubad ağa 30, Ali ağa 30, seroda: 11–15, ordinary soldiers 10–12. Faris from Böğürdelen: Veli ağa 35, seroda 14, ordinary soldiers 12. Faris from Mohaç: Malkoç ağa 20, seroda 11, ordinary soldiers 10. Azab: Cemşah ağa ba timar, Timur kethüda 20, reis 11–14, ordinary soldiers 8. Martolos: Radul ağa 20, sermiye 10–14, seroda 7, ordinary soldiers 6. 62 Christians.

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**1628–1631** (ÖNB Mxt 636, p. 19. BOA MAD 5193, p. 5: pay accounts)

Branch	31.08.1628– 20.08.1629	10.08.1630– 29.07.1631
Müstahfız	75	75
Topçu	18	18
Faris	165	161
Azab	154	154
Martolos	61	61
<b>Total</b>	<b>473</b>	<b>469</b>

**1662, 1677–1678** (BOA Başmuhasebe, Budun hazinesi kalemi 16727–16728, p. 8, 16729, p. 10:

pay accounts)

On both dates the treasury registered 474 soldiers in Vaç, without detailing the troops.

## Kale-i VİŞEGRAD (Hu. Visegrád)

Ottoman possession 1544–1684

(it changed hands several times during the Fifteen Years' War)

The fortress consisted of two parts: the tower and palace on the Danube bank, which the Ottoman called lower fortress (kale-i zir), and the upper fortress (kale-i bala), which stood on the crest of the mountain towering above it. The Christian population of the civilian town on the river bank was expelled.

**1544–1545** (ÖNB Mxt 568, pp. 70–97, Mxt 583, pp. 184–190: pay listes. Mxt 590, pp. 16–17:

pay account)

Branch	Planned soldiery 22.06.–17.09.1544		Actually in service 05.04.1544–14.03.1545		Paid	
	1. pay list heads	Present heads	2. pay list heads	Present heads	18.09.– 15.12.1544	16.12.1544– 14.03.1545
<b>Kale-i bala</b>						
Müstahfız	103	97	94	90	83	84
<b>Kale-i zir</b>						
Müstahfız	103	101	100	95	117	121
Müteferrika	9	3	7	7		
Neccar	8	3	3	3		
Haddad	2	–	–	–		
Topçu	33	32	27	23	63	63
Neccar, haddad	3	2	–	–		
Azab	104	64	62	61		
Neccar	4	2	3	3		
Kalafatçı	4	4	4	4	–	–
Haddad	2	–	–	–		
Martolos	103	101	99	99	79	80
<b>Total</b>	<b>478</b>	<b>409</b>	<b>399</b>	<b>385</b>	<b>342</b>	<b>348</b>

The garrison was planned excellently: the four big divisions were given four companies each, and auxiliary workers were allocated to each. The actual imple-

mentation, however, was not carried out well: the azabs and the auxiliary units, which consisted of only a few men, collapsed, the remaining soldiers were distributed into fewer squads.

*Officers, pay* (akçe): Kale-i bala, müstahfız: Hacı Musa ağa dizdar 26, Hüseyin Semendire kethüda 16, Piri Musa kâtib 10, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 7–8. Kale-i zir, müstahfız: Mehmed dizdar, Mehmed Şaban kethüda, Veli Hüseyin kâtib 13, the other payments are the same as those in the upper fortress. Müteferrika: Muhyiddin imam 8, Mahmud müezzın 7, Mustafa Hızır kayyum 7, anbari 8, bevvab 7, 4 mehter 7. Neccar: Miloš Raduja ser 8, others 6. Topçu: Aydın Yusuf ser 15, Sefer Kasım kethüda 10, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 6–7. Azab: İnehan Hamza ağa 25, Cafer Divane kethüda 16, Yusuf İsmail reis 12, seroda 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Neccar: Yusuf Hersek ser 8, others 6. Kalafatçı: 7. Martolos: Sefer Bali ser 20, sermiye 8–10, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5. 11 Christians.

**1549** (ÖNB Mxt 562, pp. 54–58: pay list. Velkov–Radushev 54v–58v, 420–425)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Kale-i bala					
Müstahfız	77	75	10 bölük	3 (3.9)	1 (1.3)
Kale-i zir					
Müstahfız	89	88	10 bölük	5 (5.6)	4 (4.5)
Müteferrika	7	7	–	–	–
Topçu	13	12	2 bölük	6 (46.2)	5 (41.7)
Azab	50	49	2 riyaset, 6 oda	5 (10)	4 (8.2)
<b>Total</b>	<b>236</b>	<b>231</b>		<b>19 (8)</b>	<b>14 (6.1)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Kale-i bala, müstahfız: Hacı Musa dizdar, Hüseyin Abdullah kethüda, pay unchanged. Kale-i zir, müstahfız: Ali, after him Aydın Yusuf dizdar 20, remaining pay unchanged. Müteferrika: Osman imam, Mahmud, after him Behram Bayezid müezzın, Derviş Veli anbari and kâtib, bevvab, 2 mehter, neccar, pay unchanged. Topçu: Aydın Yusuf, after him Sefer Kasım ser 12, Sefer Kasım, after him Turhan Ali kethüda 8, remaining pay unchanged. Azab: İnehan Hamza ağa 25, Firuz kethüda 13, remaining pay unchanged. 2 Christians.

**1554** (Berlin Ms. or. fol. 432, pp. 50–54: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Kale-i bala					
Müstahfız	59	59	7 bölük	10 (16.9)	10 (16.9)
Kale-i zir					
Müstahfız	75	75	8 bölük	10 (13.3)	10 (13.3)
Müteferrika	7	7	–	–	–
Topçu	13	12	1 bölük	1 (7.7)	–
Azab	44	42	4 oda	12 (27.3)	10 (23.8)
<b>Total</b>	<b>198</b>	<b>195</b>		<b>33 (16.7)</b>	<b>30 (15.4)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Kale-i bala, müstahfız: Aydın dizdar 20, Mehmed Hasan kethüda 8, remaining pay unchanged. Kale-i zir, müstahfız: Seyyid Mehmed dizdar 19, Ferhad Semen-

dire kethüda 8, remaining pay unchanged. Müteferrika: Osman İvaz(?) imam, Behram Bayezid müezzın, anbari, bevvab, 2 mehter, neccar, pay unchanged. Topçu: Sefer Kasım ser, Hamza Alacahisar kethüda 9, remaining pay unchanged. Azab: İlyas ser 12, remaining pay unchanged. 95% of soldiers are of Balkan origin.

**1557–1558** (ÖNB Mxt 614, pp. 104–107: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Kale-i bala					
Müstahfız	28	26	4 bölük	5 (17.9)	3 (11.5)
Kale-i zir					
Müstahfız	40	35	8 bölük	5 (12.5)	1 (2.9)
Müteferrika	5	5	–	–	–
Topçu	10	9	1 bölük	1 (10)	–
Azab	45	43	4 oda	7 (15.6)	5 (11.6)
<b>Total</b>	<b>128</b>	<b>118</b>		<b>18 (14.1)</b>	<b>9 (7.6)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Kale-i bala, müstahfız: the dizdar post vacant, Mehmed Hasan kethüda 8, serbölük 7–8, ordinary soldiers 6–7. Kale-i zir, müstahfız: Seyyid Mehmed dizdar 18, a kethüda and the remaining pay unchanged. Müteferrika: İneşah müezzın, anbari, bevvab, neccar, pay unchanged. Topçu: no change. Azab: İlyas ağa, Hamza kethüda, pay unchanged.

**1569** (ÖNB Mxt 617, pp. 4, 14: pay account, Mxt 642, pp. 69–74: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Paid heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Kale-i bala						
Müstahfız	29	29	29	4 bölük	–	–
Kale-i zir						
Müstahfız	35	35	52	5 bölük	3 (8.6)	3 (8.6)
Müteferrika	6	6		–	–	–
Topçu	11	11		1 bölük	–	–
Azab	45	45	44	4 oda	3 (6.7)	3 (6.7)
<b>Total</b>	<b>126</b>	<b>126</b>	<b>125</b>		<b>6 (4.8)</b>	<b>6 (4.8)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Kale-i bala, müstahfız: Ferhad Semendire dizdar 15, İsa Ferhad kethüda 8, Mehmed Kasım siracı, kayyum 6, serbölük 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Kale-i zir, müstahfız: Cafer Abbas dizdar 16, Ali kethüda 10, seroda 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Müteferrika: müezzın, bevvab, 2 mehter, neccar, anbari 7. Topçu: Malkoç Nasuh ser, pay unchanged. Azab: Kaya ağa 12, Ali kethüda 9, seroda 6–9, ordinary soldiers 5. Christians disappeared from the garrison.

**After 1580** for almost a hundred years only fragments of the garrison appear in the sources. In 1580 the upper fortress was guarded by 28 müstafizes led by dizdar Ferhad and kethüda Hasan Abdullah (BOA Tapu 590, pp. 56–57). In 1609 33 azabs received payment here, who had been transferred from Sekçöy (BOA MAD 4654, p. 155). What we know from 1612–1613, 1615 and 1619 is that the azabs were

divided, and most of them were relocated to the upper fortress (BOA MAD 4133, pp. 4, 45, 66, 82, 98. MAD 4000, pp. 108–110. MAD 7321, pp. 86–87).

**1675** (Dresden E 356, pp. 29–35: icmal)

The timar-paid garrison was registered on the list because its income was reduced to a lower level, corresponding to the norms of the time: the corporals' to 1400, ordinary soldiers' to 1300 akçes. The list of the garrisons' names was presumably copied from a late 16th-century icmal. If this assumption is correct, the source reflects the situation of *a hundred years earlier*.

Branch	Paid with timar	Units
Kale-i bala		
Müstahfız	15	2 bölük
Kale-i zir		
Müstahfız	39	4 bölük
Topçu	11	1 bölük
Azab	45	4 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>110</b>	

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Lower fortress, müstahfız: Bayram dizdar 5200, Salih Abdullah kethüda 3011, serbölük 1750, ordinary soldiers 1400. Topçu: Mahmud Mehmed ağa 4200, Muharrem Hüseyin kethüda 2500, serbölük 1800, ordinary soldiers 1736. Azab: Sefer Ali ağa 5000, Hasan Mehmed kethüda 3000, seroda 1700, ordinary soldiers 1350. There were no officers in the upper fortress, serbölük 1800–2000, ordinary soldiers 1314.

#### Kale/parkan-i **SANDA** / SONDA (Hu. Szanda)

Soldiers served here between 1546 and 1594

This small fortress was significant for only a decade: once the fortress system defending Buda had been established, first the martialoses, then the cavalry and the azabs were withdrawn from it. Although its cavalry were later returned, the garrison remained insignificant. Following the Fifteen Years' War, neither the Ottomans nor the Hungarians used the fortress again.

**1546–1547** (ÖNB Mxt 592, p. 108. Mxt 583, pp. 194–206: pay lists)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present, paid heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	52	47	5 bölük	7 (13.5)	2 (4.3)
Topçu	11	10	1 bölük	1 (9.1)	–
Faris	87	76	1 ağa, 10 oda	14 (16.1)	3 (3.9)
Azab	52	48	5 oda	4 (7.7)	–
Martolos	78	71	8 oda	?	?
<b>Total</b>	<b>280</b>	<b>252</b>			

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Ali Trabzon ağa 23, Ferhad Abdullah kethüda 12, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 6–7. Topçu: Hasan ser 14, serbölük 10, ordinary soldiers 7. Faris, temporarily transferred from Estergon: Kubad ağa 35, seroda 10, ordinary soldiers 9. Azab: Mehmed ağa 25, Bali Faik kethüda 15, seroda 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Martolos, transferred from Vişegrad: Sefer Bali ser 20, sermiye 8–10, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5. 60 Christians.

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**1549** (ÖNB Mxt 562, pp. 58–62: pay list. Velkov–Radushev 59r–62v, 425–430)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	51	51	5 bölük	12 (23.6)	12 (23.6)
Topçu	11	9	1 bölük	2 (18.2)	–
Faris	56	52	1 ağa, 6 oda	6 (10.7)	2 (3.8)
Azab	50	45	5 oda	8 (16)	3 (6.7)
Martolos	67	56	8 oda	16 (23.9)	5 (8.9)
<b>Total</b>	<b>235</b>	<b>213</b>		<b>44 (18.7)</b>	<b>22 (10.3)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Mehmed ağa 20, remaining pay unchanged. Topçu: Mehmed Ali ser 11, serbölük 8, remaining pay unchanged. Faris: the whole company was relocated to Estergon, the new troop was headed by Hubyar ağa 25, remaining pay unchanged. Azab: Mehmed Ali ağa, Cafer Yusuf kethüda, pay unchanged. Martolos: Mehmed ağa ba timar, pay unchanged. 50 Christians.

**1554** (Berlin Ms. or. fol. 432, pp. 55–58: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	48	43	4 bölük	15 (31.2)	10 (23.3)
Topçu	9	8	1 bölük	2 (22.2)	1 (12.5)
Faris	52	49	1 ağa, 5 oda	10 (19.2)	7 (14.3)
Azab	43	39	4 oda	18 (41.9)	14 (35.9)
<b>Total</b>	<b>152</b>	<b>139</b>		<b>45 (29.6)</b>	<b>32 (23)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Haydar Abdullah dizdar 8, remaining pay unchanged. Topçu: no change. Faris: Mehmed ağa 25, seroda 9–10, ordinary soldiers 9. Azab: Mehmed ağa, there is no kethüda, pay unchanged. 90% of soldiers are of Balkan origin.

**1557–1559** (ÖNB Mxt 614, p. 107. Mxt 633, p. 73: pay lists.)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	27	26	2 bölük	4 (14.8)	3 (11.5)
Topçu	5	5	–	–	–
<b>Total</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>31</b>		<b>4 (12.5)</b>	<b>3 (9.7)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Haydar dizdar 8, serbölük 6–8, ordinary soldiers 6. Topçu: Bali Hamza ser 10, ordinary soldiers 7.

**1577–1581** (BOA MAD 1561, p. 329. MAD 498, pp. 25, 55, 116: pay accounts. Tapu 590, pp. 64–66: icmal)

Branch	14.09.1577–02.09.1578	03.09.1578–23.08.1579	24.08.1579–16.02.1580	17.02.1580–04.02.1581
Müstahfız				30
Topçu				2
Faris	41	41	41	41
<b>Total</b>				<b>73</b>



# VİLAYET-İ BUDUN

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Hasan Abdullah dizdar 3110, Süleyman Abdullah kethüda 2000, serbölük 1800, ordinary soldiers 1700. Topçu: Turhan Yusuf ser 3000, ordinary soldiers 1700.

After this we know only of cavalry paid in cash: in 1591 39 men (BOA MAD 3762, p. 7), in 1593 41 men (MAD 3370, pp. 111–112).

## Kale/parkan-i **CANBEK** (Hu. Zsámbék)

It was manned by a garrison between 1546 and 1549,  
Ottoman possession to 1686 (in 1599 in Hungarian hands)

Standing before Buda, Canbek, both as a member of the north-west group of border fortresses and line of the fortresses defending Buda, had a real task to perform. The fortification itself was of medium importance. The military leadership found it difficult to decide what to do with it: the farises, azabs and martolos were withdrawn, only to be put back again time and again. In the peaceful first part of the 17th century the number of soldiers stabilised at 110 to 120 men.

**1549** (ÖNB Mxt 562, pp. 62–67: pay list. Velkov–Radushev 63r–67r, 431–437)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	32	31	3 bölük	5 (15.6)	4 (12.9)
Topçu	7	6	–	1 (14.3)	–
Faris	80	75	1 ağa, 9 oda	21 (26.2)	16 (21.3)
Azab	74	63	3 riyaset, 9 oda	30 (40.5)	19 (30.2)
Martolos	62	50	7 oda	22 (35.5)	10 (20)
<b>Total</b>	<b>255</b>	<b>225</b>		<b>79 (31)</b>	<b>49 (21.8)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Mustafa dizdar 22, Mehmed kethüda 15, after his death Mehmed Ali kethüda 13, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 6–7. Topçu: İbrahim Abdullah ser 10, ordinary soldiers 6. Faris: Hüsrev Divane ağa 15, seroda 10, ordinary soldiers 9. Azab: Ali ağa 20, reis 12, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5. Martolos: Pervane Divane ağa 12, Jovan Radić sermiye 9, seroda 5, ordinary soldiers 4. 48 Christians.

**1557–1558** (ÖNB Mxt 614, pp. 51–52: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	31	29	3 bölük	4 (12.9)	2 (6.9)
Topçu	6	6	1 bölük	–	–
Martolos	39	38	4 oda	3 (7.7)	2 (5.3)
<b>Total</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>73</b>		<b>7 (9.2)</b>	<b>4 (5.5)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Bali Hamza dizdar 10, serbölük 7–8, ordinary soldiers 6–7. Topçu: Yusuf Bosna ser, pay unchanged. Martolos: Mustafa Cafer ser 10, Dimitri Radul sermiye 9, seroda 5, ordinary soldiers 4. 33 Christians.

# LİVA-İ BUDUN

**1569** (ÖNB Mxt 617, p. 37: pay account. Mxt 642, pp. 79–82: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Paid heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	31	31	37	3 bölük	–	–
Topçu	6	6		1 bölük	–	–
Faris	81	81	80	1 ağa, 11 oda	10 (12.3)	10 (12.3)
Martolos	38	38	38	4 oda	12 (31.6)	12 (31.6)
<b>Total</b>	<b>156</b>	<b>156</b>	<b>155</b>		<b>22 (14.1)</b>	<b>22 (14.1)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: no change. Topçu: no change in officers or pay, ordinary soldiers 7. Faris: Gazanfer Timur ağa 10, seroda 8–10, ordinary soldiers 8. Martolos: Ali ağa 8, Yusuf Aydın sermiye 7, seroda 5, ordinary soldiers 4. 32 Christians.

**1573–1574** (ÖNB Mxt 626, pp. 75–80: pay list. BOA MAD 1561, pp. 141, 172: pay account)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Paid heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	31	31	36	3 bölük	2 (6.5)	2 (6.5)
Topçu	6	6		1 bölük	1 (16.7)	1 (16.7)
Faris	81	81	81	10 oda	–	–
Martolos	39	38	–	4 oda	–	–
Azab	–	–	56	–	–	–
<b>Total</b>	<b>157</b>	<b>156</b>	<b>173</b>		<b>3 (1.9)</b>	<b>3 (1.9)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Mustafa Abdullah ağa dizdar, pay unchanged. Topçu: no change. Faris: Mustafa Cafer ağa 15, remaining pay unchanged. Martolos: Ali Abdullah ağa 10, Mehmed İskender sermiye, pay unchanged. The martoloses were withdrawn in this year, and were replaced by azabs. 29 Christians.

**1577–1581** (BOA MAD 1561, p. 327. MAD 498, pp. 26, 53, 114: pay accounts)

Branch	14.09.1577–02.09.1578	03.09.1578–23.08.1579	24.08.1579–16.02.1580	17.02.1580–04.02.1581
Müstahfız, topçu	37	36	36	35
Faris	82	77	75	81
Azab	52	49	48	51
<b>Total</b>	<b>171</b>	<b>162</b>	<b>159</b>	<b>167</b>

For some unknown reason the infantry units of the fortress did not receive timars, they were payed in cash throughout.

**1588–1589** (ÖNB Mxt 615, pp. 66–72: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Paid heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	31	31	31	3 bölük	2 (6.5)	2 (6.5)
Topçu	6	6	6	1 bölük	–	–
Faris	82	82	74	10 oda	6 (7.3)	6 (7.3)
Azab	52	52	48	5 oda	8 (15.4)	8 (15.4)
<b>Total</b>	<b>171</b>	<b>171</b>	<b>159</b>		<b>16 (9.4)</b>	<b>16 (9.4)</b>

VİLAYET-İ BUDUN

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Ferhad Abdullah ağa 10, Veli Abdullah kethüda 7, seroda 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Topçu: Abdürrahman ağa 10, seroda 8, ordinary soldiers 6–7. Faris: Ömer Turhan ağa 20, seroda 9, ordinary soldiers 8. Azab: Ali Abdullah ağa 10, Mehmed İskender kethüda 7, reis 7, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5.

**1607, 1609, 1612–1614** (BOA MAD 5623, pp. 79–83: pay list, yoklama. MAD 4654, p. 155. MAD 4133, pp. 4–5, 45, 66–67, 83: pay accounts)

Branch	1607	04.07.– 27.12.1609	04.03.1612– 20.02.1613	21.02.– 16.08.1613	17.08.1613– 10.02.1614
Müstahfız	16	19	23	20	24
Topçu	5	7	7	7	7
Faris	19	20	21	21	21
Azab	10	15	10	10	11
Martolos	14	18	18	17	17
<b>Total</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>80</b>
Hademe-i cami	3	2	?	?	?

**1619** (BOA MAD 7320, pp. 87–91: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Units
Müstahfız	20	2 bölük
Topçu	7	1 bölük
Faris	61	6 oda
Azab	10	2 oda
Martolos	17	4 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>115</b>	
Hademe-i cami	3	

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Mehmed ağa 35, Ali kethüda 12, alemdar, bevvab, seroda 8, ordinary soldiers 7. Topçu: Yusuf Keyvan ser 12, seroda 8, kâtib, ordinary soldiers 7. Faris: Osman ağa 30, seroda 12–14, ordinary soldiers 9–12. Azab: Hüseyin ağa 20, Ahmed Turak kethüda 12, alemdar 10, reis 9, seroda 8, ordinary soldiers 7. Martolos: Hasan Hüseyin ağa 27, sermiye 8, alemdar 7, seroda 7–8, ordinary soldiers 7. Hademe-i cami: Ali halife imam, hatib 15, müezzin 8, kayyum 7.

**1628–1630** (ÖNB Mxt 636, p. 20, BOA MAD 5193, p. 6: pay accounts)

In 1628–1629 total: 118. In 1630 müstahfız, hademe-i cami: 23, topçu: 7, faris: 61, azab: 10, martolos: 18, total: 119.

**1665** (Evliyâ Çelebi, 7. *Kitap*, 134)

Evliya wrote about a garrison of 300, which is probably an exaggeration.

Parkan-i **KORKMAZ** or **CANKURTARAN** (Hu. Adony)  
Constructed between 1546 and 1549, Ottoman possession to 1686  
(changed hands many times in the Fifteen Years' War)

Korkmaz was located under Buda, at the southern end of Csepel island, on the Danube bank, part of both the ring of fortresses defending Buda and the fortresses guarding the river and the military roads running parallel. The changes in

the size of its garrison resembled those at Canbek: its initial complement of soldiery was quickly reduced, then in the first half of the 17th century settled at 110–120. Although it was a waterside fortress, all the way through its most numerous unit was the cavalry, which indicates as well that the Hungarian forces often raided along the Danube, and cavalymen were needed for defense.

**1549, 1552** (ÖNB Mxt 562, pp. 67–68: pay list. Velkov–Radushev 67v–68v, 437–440. BOA Tapu 1030, pp. 29–31: icmal)

Branch	Lists heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	32	32(?)	3 bölük	?	?
Topçu	3	2	1 bölük	1 (33.3)	–
Faris	41	39	4 oda	15 (36.6)	13 (33.3)
Azab	31	28	3 oda	11 (35.5)	8 (28.6)
Martolos	31	27	3 oda	6 (19.4)	2 (7.4)
<b>Total</b>	<b>138</b>	<b>128(?)</b>		<b>min. 33 (23,9)</b>	<b>min. 23 (18)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Ahmed dizdar 20, Hasan kethüda 15, the others immediately received salary timars, seroda 1800, ordinary soldiers 1700. Topçu: seroda 7, others 4–5. Faris: Ahmed ağa ba timar, seroda 9, ordinary soldiers 7–9. Azab: Hasan ağa 15, seroda 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Martolos: G'ura Radivoj sermiye 8, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5. 26 Christians.

**1557–1559** (ÖNB Mxt 614, pp. 62–63. Mxt 633, pp. 69–71: pay lists)

The lists include only cash-paid soldiers. In 1557–1558 faris: 38 (present 36), martolos: 40 (present 37), in 1558–1559 faris: 38, martolos 39 (all presents). Mobility was still strong, in the year of the first list 16.7% of the known soldiers, while in the second list 19.5% left their position.

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Faris: Hacı Ramazan, after him Kurd Ali ağa 12, seroda 8–10, ordinary soldiers 7–9. Martolos: Mehmed Mahmud ser 8, Nedelko Dimitri sermiye 7, seroda 5–6, ordinary soldiers 4–5. 33 / 37 Christians.

**1565** (ÖNB Mxt 612, p. 37: pay account, BOA Tapu 353, pp. 36–37: icmal)

Branch	İcmal	Paid	Units
Müstahfız	32		3 bölük
Topçu	1		–
Faris		38	?
<b>Total</b>		<b>71</b>	

*Officers, incomes* (akçe). Müstahfız: Ahmed dizdar 5095, Hasan Ali kethüda 3519, serbölük 1800, ordinary soldiers 1700. Topçu: the commander, income and number of soldiers are unknown (there must have been more than one artilleryman).

VİLAYET-İ BUDUN

**1577–1581** (BOA MAD 1561, p. 328, MAD 498, pp. 26, 54, 114: pay accounts. Tapu 590, pp. 68–70: icmal)

Branch	14.09.1577– 02.09.1578	03.09.1578– 23.08.1579	24.08.1579– 16.02.1580	17.02.1580– 04.02.1581
Müstahfız, topçu				31
Faris	36	29	32	37
<b>Total</b>				<b>68</b>

*Officers, incomes* (akçe). Müstahfız: İskender dizdar 5095, Hüseyin Ali kethüda 4000, the income of the others is unchanged, 1 topçu 1700, Ali Abdullah müezzin 1700.

**Between 1581 and 1607** only a fraction of the garrison appears in the sources. In 1600 37 Vaç defenders were relocated to Korkmaz (13 müstahfizes, 24 farises)

**1607, 1609** (BOA MAD 5623, pp. 72–75: pay list, yoklama. MAD 4654, p. 156: pay account)

Branch	1607	04.07.–27.12.1609
Müstahfız, hademe-i cami	22	25
Topçu	5	8
Faris	30	33
<b>Total</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>66</b>

*Officers*. Müstahfız: Bali Hasan ağa, Mehmed imam, Muharrem müezzin. Topçu: Şahman Uruc ağa, Memi Hasan kethüda. Faris: İbrahim Ferhad ağa, Bali Timur ağa.

**1612–1614** (BOA MAD 4133, pp. 5, 46, 68, 84: pay account)

Branch	04.03.1612– 20.02.1613	21.02.– 16.08.1613	17.08.1613– 10.02.1614
Müstahfız, hademe-i cami	25	26	26
Topçu	6	7	7
Faris	56	55	53
Azab	36	32	32
<b>Total</b>	<b>123</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>118</b>

**1619** (BOA MAD 3720, pp. 97–101: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Units
Müstahfız	23	3 bölük
Topçu	7	1 bölük
Faris	57	5 oda
Azab	26	3 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>113</b>	
Hademe-i mescid	3	

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Şahman Uruc ağa 25, Zülfikar kethüda 20, serbölük 8–10, ordinary soldiers 7. Topçu: Hüseyin ser 15, Abdürrahman kethüda 12, ordinary soldiers 7. Faris: İbrahim ağa 40, alemdar 16, seroda 12–20, ordinary soldiers 9–15. Azab: Mustafa ağa 33, Cafer Mahmud kethüda 16, reis 14, seroda 9–14, ordinary soldiers 7–9. Hademe-i mescid: Mehmed halife imam, hatib 23, Muharrem halife müezzin 8, Muharrem halife [aşır-han] 8.

**1628–1629, 1630** (ÖNB Mxt 636, p. 20, BOA MAD 5193, p. 6: pay accounts)

In the first year 117 men received payment, in the second 115 (müstahfız: 26, topçu: 7, faris: 56, azab: 26).

**1663** (Evliyâ Çelebi, 6. *Kitap*, 124)

Evliya Çelebi, with obvious exaggeration, speaks of about 500 soldiers in Korkmaz.

### Palanka/parkan-i VAL (Hu. Vâl)

Constructed in 1550, Ottoman possession to 1686  
(changed hands many times in the Fifteen Years' War;  
for two decades it was registered in the sancak of İstolni Belgrad,  
then always in that of Buda)

The palanka was constructed halfway between Buda and İstolni Belgrad, using a medieval stone tower. In its garrison three troops were represented with equal importance, then the war at the turn of the century made the faris troops the strongest, which indicates that Val also performed border fortress defense duties.

**1557–1558** (ÖNB Mxt 614, pp. 172–174: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	39	39	4 bölük	3 (7.7)	3 (7.7)
Topçu	5	5	–	–	–
Faris	38	38	1 ağa, 4 oda	8 (21.1)	8 (21.1)
Azab	31	31	1 ağa, 3 oda	4 (12.9)	4 (12.9)
<b>Total</b>	<b>113</b>	<b>113</b>		<b>15 (13.3)</b>	<b>15 (13.3)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Ali İlyas ağa dizdar 10, seroda 8, ordinary soldiers 7. Topçu: ordinary soldiers 7, Hurrem kâtib 7. Faris: Alişah Kasım ağa 10, seroda 9, ordinary soldiers 9. Azab: Ali Karagöz ağa 10, seroda 7, ordinary soldiers 6.

**1569** (ÖNB Mxt 642, p. 179–181: pay list. Mxt 617, pp. 11, 21: pay account)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Paid heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	40	40	45	4 bölük	3 (7.5)	3 (7.5)
Topçu	5	5		–	1 (20)	1 (20)
Faris	38	38	38	1 ağa, 4 oda	8 (21.1)	8 (21.1)
Azab	31	31	31	1 ağa, 3 oda	4 (12.9)	4 (12.9)
<b>Total</b>	<b>114</b>	<b>114</b>	<b>114</b>		<b>16 (14)</b>	<b>16 (14)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Ali İlyas ağa 10, Ferhad Abdullah kethüda 9, pay unchanged. Topçu: Hurrem kâtib 7, pay unchanged. Faris: İbrahim Yusuf ağa 14, seroda 9, the majority of ordinary soldiers 8. Azab: Pervane Abdullah ağa 14, seroda 6, the majority of ordinary soldiers 5.

VİLAYET-İ BUDUN

**1577–1581** (BOA MAD 1561, p. 328. MAD 498, pp. 27, 55, 115: pay accounts.)

Branch	14.09.1577– 02.09.1578	03.09.1578– 23.08.1579	24.08.1579– 16.02.1580	17.02.1580– 04.02.1581
Müstahfız, topçu	44	73 with azabs	44	45
Faris	38	39	40	39
Azab	30		31	31
<b>Total</b>	<b>112</b>	<b>112</b>	<b>115</b>	<b>115</b>

**1588–1589** (ÖNB Mxt 615, pp. 82–84: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	40	40	4 bölük	1 (2.5)	1 (2.5)
Topçu	5	5	–	–	–
Faris	38	38	4 oda	5 (13.2)	5 (13.2)
Azab	32	32	3 oda	1 (3.1)	1 (3.1)
<b>Total</b>	<b>115</b>	<b>115</b>		<b>7 (6.1)</b>	<b>7 (6.1)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Ali İlyas ağa 10, Sevindik Veli kethüda 9, seroda 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Topçu: no change. Faris: İbrahim Mustafa ağa 11, seroda 9, ordinary soldiers 8. Azab: Nasuh Uruc ağa 10, Mehmed Abdullah kethüda 8, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5.

**1591–1592** (ÖNB Mxt 610, pp. 115–118: pay list. BOA MAD 3769, p. 7: pay account)

Branch	Pay list heads	Paid heads
Müstahfız	40	45
Topçu	5	
Faris	39	38
Azab	32	32
<b>Total</b>	<b>116</b>	<b>115</b>

*Officers, units, pay*: no change.

**1597** (BOA MAD 3370, pp. 143–147: pay list. MAD 1599, p. 14: pay account)

Müstahfız: 40. Yahya Mehmed ağa, Sefer Veli kethüda. Topçu: 6. İbrahim ağa. Faris: 39. Memi Divane ağa. Azab: 32. Mehmed Abdullah ağa, Sefer Hasan kethüda. Total: 117, the number of people actually present cannot be defined. At the turn of 1595 and 1596 53 cebecis of the Porte were stationed at Val.

**1609** (BOA MAD 4654, p. 156: pay account)

Müstahfız: 5, topçu: 8, faris: 72, azab: 18, total: 103.

**1612–1614** (BOA MAD 4133, pp. 5, 45, 67, 82: pay account. BOA MAD 4000, pp. 116–119: pay list)

Branch	04.03.1612– 20.02.1613	21.02.– 16.08.1613	17.08.1613– 10.02.1614
Müstahfız	9	10	9
Topçu	7	7	7
Faris	27	50	47
Azab	17	18	18
<b>Total</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>81</b>

*Officers, pay in 1613* (akçe). Müstahfız: Mehmed ağa 17, Sadık kethüda 13, Hasan halife imam 15. Topçu: Yusuf ser 15, Hüseyin Ali kethüda 13. Faris: Osman ağa 25, alemdar 12. Azab: Memi ağa 20, Hasan kethüda 14, reis 10.

**1619** (BOA MAD 7320, pp. 91–94: pay list)

Müstahfız: 9. 1 bölük. Yusuf ağa 15, Hasan kethüda 12, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 7. Topçu: 6. 1 bölük. Hurrem Durmuş ser 9, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 7. Faris: 43. 5 oda. Osman ağa 25, alemdar 12, seroda 12, ordinary soldiers 10–12. Azab: 18. 3 oda. Hasan Abdullah ağa 20, Mehmed Memi kethüda 11, seroda 8, ordinary soldiers 7. Total: 76. Hademe-i cami: Hasan halife imam 15.

**1628–1629** (ÖNB Mxt 636, p. 20: pay account): 77 heads.

**1630** (BOA MAD 5193, p. 6: pay account): 80 heads.

**1665** (Evliyâ Çelebi, 7. *Kitap*, 134): 150 heads (exaggeration).

**Parkan-i FEDVAR / FÖDVAR** (Hu. Földvár)  
Constructed in the first half of the 1550s,  
Ottoman possession to 1686

The parkan was built to defend a customs post, then became part of the chain of fortresses along the Danube. Its early pay lists indicate not so much a regular garrison as a small unit of defenders consisting first of azabs, then of martoloses. From 1569 on, all sources mention only farises and martoloses, and it is impossible to decide if the garrison remained incomplete up to the beginning of the 17th century, or whether it also had müstafizes and topçus, who enjoyed timars in sancaks from which no icmals survived (this is what I presume).

**1557–1558** (ÖNB Mxt 614, p. 175: pay list)

Azab: 38 (present 38). 4 oda. Vacant 3, recruits 3. Yusuf Yahya ağa 12, seroda 7, ordinary soldiers 6.

**1565** (ÖNB Mxt 612, p. 37: pay account)

Martolos: 26.

**1569–1593**

Year	Faris	Martolos	Sources
1568–1569	46	24	ÖNB Mxt 617, pp. 4, 14. Mxt 642, pp. 78–79
1569	48	26	
1572–1574	50	26	ÖNB Mxt 626, pp. 87–90. BOA MAD 1561, pp. 142, 173
1577–1581	47	25	BOA MAD 1561, p. 328. MAD 498, pp. 27, 54, 115
1588–1589	48	25	ÖNB Mxt 615, pp. 78–81
1591	35	21	BOA MAD 3762, p. 6
1593	51	26	BOA MAD 3370, pp. 140–143

**1598–1599** (ÖNB Mxt 638, p. 10: pay account. BOA MAD 3370, pp. 140–143: pay list)

Faris: 37, azab: 36, martolos: 19.



**1599** (BOA MAD 3370, p. 140–143: pay list)

On June 20, 1599, Hungarian soldiers at Tolna attacked and seized an Ottoman shipment of money and munitions on the way to Buda; many Ottoman soldiers were either slain or captured. From Fedvar the ağa of the farises was taken prisoner, and 11 martoloses were killed. To replace them, 15 new men were recruited on September 11th, and for their bravery the payment of the whole unit was increased by 2 akçes.

**1607, 1609** (BOA MAD 5623, pp. 82–86: pay list, yoklama. MAD 4654, p. 156: pay account)

Branch	Pay list 1607, heads	Paid 1609, heads
Müstahfız	13 (+ müezzın)	5
Topçu	5	4
Faris	34	40
Azab	32	63
Azeban-i kapudan	45	
Martolos	–	18
<b>Total</b>	<b>129</b>	<b>130</b>

*Officers in 1607.* Müstahfız: Cafer ağa, Nuh kethüda. Topçu: Mehmed ser, Gazanfer kethüda. Faris: Hüseyin Mehmed ağa. Azab: Mustafa ağa, Cafer Mehmed kethüda. Azeban-i kapudan: Hubyar Yusuf kapudan, Osman kethüda.

**1613** (BOA MAD 4000, pp. 132–137: pay list)

Müstahfız: 17, Ahmed dizdar, Hubyar kethüda. Topçu: 5, Mehmed Şahin ağa, Ahmed kethüda. Faris: 59, Hüseyin ağa, ... Uruc kethüda. Azab: 48, Hubyar kapudan, Ahmed Sinan kethüda. Total: 129.

**1615** (BOA MAD 4133, p. 99: pay account)

Müstahfız, topçu: 19, faris: 53, azab: 33, total: 105.

**1619** (BOA MAD 7320, pp. 101–105: pay list)

Müstahfız: 17, Mustafa Memi ağa 20, Hubyar kethüda 19, serbölük 9, ordinary soldiers 6–9. Topçu: 3, Mehmed Şahin ser 19, Ahmed Yahya kethüda 14, topi 8. Faris: 53, Süleyman ağa 24, alemdar 19, seroda 12, ordinary soldiers 8–12. Azab: 34, Hubyar ağa kapudan 43, Ramazan Mehmed kethüda 20, reis 15–20, alemdar 14, seroda 12. Total: 107.

**1630** (BOA MAD 5193, p. 6: pay account)

Müstahfız: 17, topçu: 3, faris: 52, azab: 33, total: 105.

**1663** (Evliyâ Çelebi, 6. *Kitap*, 123): According to Evliyâ Çelebi, Fedvar was the largest fortress along the Danube, with 200 defenders.

### Kale-i ÇÖVAR (Hu. Csővár)

Its Ottoman garrison is known only from 1554

The fortress was located close to Vaç, to the east. It became an Ottoman possession as early as 1541, but it was manned with a garrison only after 1552, along-

side the captured fortresses in the county Nógrád. It soon came to be considered useless, and from 1554 onwards it no longer appears in any sources.

**1554** (Berlin, Ms. or. fol. 432, pp. 58–61: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız + 3 topçu	54	52	5 bölük	19 (35.2)	17 (32.7)
Faris	61	55	6 oda	16 (26.2)	10 (18.2)
Azab	50	46	5 oda	12 (24)	8 (17.4)
<b>Total</b>	<b>165</b>	<b>153</b>		<b>47 (28.5)</b>	<b>35 (22.9)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Mahmud dizdar ba timar, Yusuf Ali kethüda 12, serbölük 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Faris: Cafer ağa (absent) 20, seroda 10, ordinary soldiers 9. Azab: Mehmed, after him Süleyman Ali ağa 20, Süleyman Ali, after him Timur Yusuf kethüda 10, seroda 7, ordinary soldiers 6. 96% of soldiers are of Balkan origin.

### Kale-i TATA (Hu. Tata)

Ottoman possession 1557–1566, 1594–1598

For a decade, Tata was a stronghold on the north-west border between İstolni Belgrad and Estergon. Its garrison consisted of almost 500 men, in which yeniçeris of the Porte also served, although we do not know their number. As usual in border fortresses, its strongest unit was the cavalry, whose number exceeded the combined numbers of the two infantry units.

During its second Ottoman occupation it was manned by soldiers transferred from nearby fortresses (Pest, Vaç, İstolni Belgrad, Bespirim, Gestöş), the garrison consisted of incomplete, low status units. This was the best they could do in the midst of a war that brought about so much loss.

**1557–1558** (ÖNB Mxt 614, pp. 52–60: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	109	104	10 bölük	23 (21.1)	17 (16.3)
Topçu	14	14	1 bölük	–	–
Haddad	2	2	–	–	–
Faris	219	186	2 ağa, 24 oda	47 (21.5)	14 (7.5)
Azab	101	99	3 riyaset, 10 oda	11 (10.9)	9 (9.1)
Martolos	20	20	2 oda	–	–
<b>Total</b>	<b>465</b>	<b>425</b>		<b>81 (17.4)</b>	<b>40 (9.4)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Mustafa Köprü dizdar (previously kethüda in Buda) 25, Ahmed Mehmed kethüda 10, serbölük 7–9, ordinary soldiers 6–7. Topçu: İbrahim Abdulah ser 15, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 6–7. Haddad: 7. Faris: Turgut, after him Mehmed ağa 10, Hasan Murad ağa 16, seroda 9–10, ordinary soldiers 8–9. Azab: Mustafa Hızır ağa 22, Ali İbrahim kethüda 12, reis 8, seroda 5–7, ordinary soldiers 5–6. Martolos: their commander was the ağa of the azabs, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5. 38 Christians.

VİLAYET-İ BUDUN

**1558–1559** (ÖNB Mxt 633, p. 50–65: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	145	141	14 bölük	6 (4.1)	2 (1.4)
Topçu	13	12	1 bölük	–	–
Haddad	2	–	–	2 (100)	–
Faris	200	195	2 ağa, 12 oda	7 (3.5)	2 (1)
Azab	102	100	3 riyaset, 10 oda	8 (7.8)	6 (6)
Martolos	20	20	2 oda	1 (5)	1 (5)
<b>Total</b>	<b>482</b>	<b>468</b>		<b>24 (5)</b>	<b>11 (2.4)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Şadi Mustafa dizdar 25, Sefer Mustafa kethüda 14, serbölük 7–8, ordinary soldiers 6–7. Topçu: Ali Hamza ser 8, ordinary soldiers 6–7. Faris: Hasan Murad ağa 16, Mehmed Yusuf ağa 10, seroda 9, ordinary soldiers 8–9. Azab, martolos: no change. 36 Christians.

**1565** (ÖNB Mxt 612, p. 37: pay account)

Müstahfız, topçu: 132, faris: 165, azab: 86, total: 383.

**1594(?)** (BOA MAD 3370, pp. 150–159: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Paid heads	Units
Müstahfız	55	54	9 bölük
Topçu	19	19	3 bölük
Faris	61	61	2 ağa, 11 oda
Azab	59	58	2 riyaset, 10 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>194</b>	<b>192</b>	

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Gazanfer Hasan ağa 20, Mehmed Divane kethüda, his pay is unknown, serbölük 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Topçu: Ferhad Bali ağa 15, Piri Divane kethüda 12, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 7. Faris: Veli Divane ağa 23, Mehmed ağa 22, seroda 10, ordinary soldiers 8. Azab: Sefer Divane ağa 22, Hasan kethüda 12, reis 9–10, seroda 7, ordinary soldiers 6.

Kale-i **VİTAN** (Hu. Vitány)

Ottoman possession 1557–1566, 1594–1598

(during the first period it was manned only up to 1558,  
of its second Ottoman occupation no sources survived)

Although Vitan was a border fortress, since it lay behind powerful Tata only a symbolic garrison was stationed here, which consisted of a single troop. After a year even this small garrison was discontinued.

**1557–1558** (ÖNB Mxt 614, pp. 60–61: pay list)

Müstahfız: 38. 4 bölük. Sefer Mustafa dizdar 14, serbölük 7, ordinary soldiers 6. In the following year the whole unit was transferred to Tata.

Kale-i **GESTÖŞ** (Hu. Gesztes)  
Ottoman possession 1557–1598  
(during this period it changed hands many times)

The situation of Gestöş was identical to that of Vitan.

**1557–1559** (ÖNB Mxt 614, pp. 61–62. Mxt 633, p. 67: pay lists)

The whole garrison consisted of 5 müstafiz squads, in the first year 45 soldiers, 44 present, in the second year 46 soldiers, 44 were present. Osman Divane dizdar 12, serbölük 7, ordinary soldiers 6.

**1569** (ÖNB Mxt 642, p. 77: pay list. Mxt 617, pp. 4, 14: pay account)

Müstahfız: 50, present 50, paid 49. 5 bölük. Pervane Hüseyin ağa 12, Ali kethüda 9, remaining pay unchanged.

**1572–1574** (BOA MAD 1561, pp. 142, 172: pay account. ÖNB Mxt 626, pp. 81–82: pay list)

Müstahfız: in the first year 50 were paid, in the second 50 were present, 49 were paid. Pervane Abdullah ağa, Ferhad Bali kethüda, pay unchanged.

**1577–1581, 1591** (BOA MAD 1561, p. 328. MAD 498, p. 26, 54, 114. MAD 3762, p. 6: pay accounts)

1577–1581: paid 50, 49, 50, 49. 1591: paid 47.

**1593(?)** (BOA MAD 3370, pp. 134–136: pay list)

Branch	First muster (1593?)	Second muster (before 1596)
Müstahfız	50	33
Azab and martolos	25	8
<b>Total</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>41</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Malkoç ağa 12, İbrahim Bekir kethüda 9, serbölük 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Azab and martolos: Mustafa Ali ağa 24, Cafer Divane 11, reis 6, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 4–5. 6 Christians.

Parkan-i **CANFEDA** (Hu. Jászberény)  
Constructed in 1568, it was manned up to 1594

In 1567 the Habsburg-Ottoman peace negotiations began, and in the following year the treaty of Adrianople was concluded, which banned the building of new fortresses. However, there were no fortresses along the border of Ottoman Hungary between Hatvan and Solnok, so the Ottomans hurriedly constructed Canfeda around the convent of Jászberény. By the time the peace treaty was signed, the parkan was up, and an important role was allocated to it on the north-east border. The paşa of Buda recommended that the imperial council should man it with a garrison of 500, which would include all branches and would be transferred from Sigetvar (7 Numaralı mühimme, No. 223); and indeed some of soldiers arrived from there. As befits a border fortress, more than half of the soldiers were raiding cavalry. In 1594 the Hungarians reoccupied Canfeda, and the parkan was demolished. There is evidence from the turn of the 1610s and 1620s which sug-

gests that they wanted to rebuild it and man it with soldiers; the plan, however, was abandoned.

**1569** (ÖNB Mxt 642, pp. 123–131: pay list. Mxt 617, pp. 4, 14: pay account)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Paid heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	68	66	63	7 bölük	7 (10.3)	5 (7.6)
Topçu	21	21	21	2 bölük	5 (23.8)	5 (23.8)
Faris	223	222	218	4 ağa, 23 oda	40 (17.9)	39 (17.6)
Azab	99	97	94	2 riyaset, 10 oda	35 (35.4)	33 (34)
Martolos	36	36	33	5 oda	8 (22.2)	8 (22.2)
<b>Total</b>	<b>447</b>	<b>442</b>	<b>429</b>		<b>95 (21.3)</b>	<b>90 (20.4)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Ali Belgrad dizdar 15, Behram Hüseyin kethüda 10, serbölük 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Topçu: Hüseyin Güğercinlik ağa 10, serbölük 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Faris: Mehmed Kasım ağa 20, Ömer Divane ağa 12, Mehmed ağa 13, Halil Hüseyin ağa 10, seroda 9, ordinary soldiers 8. Azab: Mustafa Lütfi ağa 12, Mehmed İskender kethüda 9, the others' pay is unknown. Martolos: Piri Receb ağa 12, seroda 5, the pay of ordinary soldiers is unknown. 27 Christians.

**1577–1581** (BOA MAD 1561, p. 329. MAD 498, pp. 28, 55, 116: pay lists. Tapu 662, pp. 62–68: icmal)

Branch	14.09.1577– 02.09.1578	03.09.1578– 23.08.1579	24.08.1579– 16.02.1580	17.02.1580– 04.02.1581
Müstahfız				66
Topçu				[21]
Faris	222	199	205	208
Azab				97
<b>Total</b>				<b>392</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Behram Hüseyin dizdar 6000, Bali Abdullah kethüda 3500, serbölük 1800, ordinary soldiers 1700. Azab: [ağa ba timar?], Yusuf İskender kethüda 4000, reis 2200, seroda 1700–1900, ordinary soldiers 1600.

**1591** (BOA MAD 3762, p. 7: pay account. Tapu 675, pp. 59–69: icmal).

The sources do not mention any artillerymen and some of the azabs.

Müstahfız: 65. 6 bölük. Behram dizdar 6000, Ahmed Hüseyin kethüda 3600, serbölük 1800, 2000, 2200, ordinary soldiers 1700. Faris: 200 men paid. Azab with salary timars in the sancak of Hatvan: 64. Pervane reis 1900, seroda 1700–1900, ordinary soldiers 1600.

### Parkan-i HAMZABEY SARAYI (Hu. Érd)

Constructed around 1570, Ottoman possession to 1686

The parkan, constructed south of Buda, was one of the fortresses defending the river, the military road and Buda. From the very beginning its müstafizes and artillerymen lived on timar salaries; no written sources survive about them from any date. As a result, we do not know the complete garrison, but it certainly numbered under one hundred.

**1588–1589** (ÖNB Mxt 615, pp. 73-76: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Paid heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız, topçu	?					
Faris	33	33	28	4 oda	–	–
Azab	11	11	11	1 oda	1 (9.1)	1 (9.1)
Martolos	10	10	9	1 oda	2 (20)	2 (20)

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Faris: Turak ağa 21, seroda 8, ordinary soldiers 7–8. Azab: Ali Divane ağa 11, Ferhad Divane kethüda 7, seroda and ordinary soldiers 5. Martolos: Osman Divane yüzbaşı 9, seroda 5, ordinary soldiers 4. 9 Christians.

**1597** (BOA MAD 3370, pp. 137–138: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Paid heads	Units	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız, topçu	?			
Faris	33	33	4 oda	6 (18.2)
Azab	11	11	1 oda	–
Martolos	10	10	1 oda	1 (10)

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Faris: Şahman Bali ağa 24, seroda 10, ordinary soldiers 9–10. Azab: Mehmed Ömer ağa 17, Ferhad Divane kethüda 9, seroda 9, ordinary soldiers 7. Martolos: Osman sermiye 11, seroda 7, ordinary soldiers 6. 15 Christians.

**1599–1601, 1602** (ÖNB Mxt 638, pp. 6, 9. Mxt 635, p. 28. BOA MAD 6770, p. 45: pay accounts) Müstahfız and topçu unknown. In 1599–1601 faris: 39, azab and martolos: 23, müstahfız from Derbend 11. In 1602 faris: 31, azab: 6, faris from Böğürdelen: 16.

**1607** (BOA MAD 5623, pp. 71–73: pay list, yoklama)

Müstahfız: 9, Mehmed ağa, Mustafa kethüda. Faris: 23, Mahmud ağa. Azab: 13, Mustafa ağa, Mercan kethüda. Martolos: 10, Radul ağa. Hademe-i mescid: 4, Muhsil halife imam, Osman müezzın, Musli kayyum, Bekir çiraktar. Pay unknown. 12 Christians.

**1612–1614** (BOA MAD 4133, pp. 5, 46, 67, 84: pay account. MAD 4000, pp. 121–125: pay list)

Branch	04.03.1612– 20.02.1613	21.02.– 16.08.1613	17.08.1613– 10.02.1614
Müstahfız, hademe-i mescid	14	14	12
Faris	22	20	19
Azab	14	14	14
Martolos	22	22	22
Faris from Seksar	–	–	20
<b>Total</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>87</b>

*Officers, pay in 1613* (akçe). Müstahfız: Osman ağa 20, Mehmed kethüda 12. Faris: Mahmud ağa 20. Azab: Mustafa ağa 24, Mercan kethüda 17, reis 10. Martolos: Radul ağa 20, sermiye 10. 26 Christians.

VİLAYET-İ BUDUN

**1619** (BOA MAD 7320, pp. 94, 97: pay list)

Branch	Pay list	Units
Müstahfız	11	2 bölük
Faris	35	6 oda
Azab	14	2 oda
Martolos	22	3 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>82</b>	
Hademe-i mescid	4	

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Osman ağa 20, Receb Bali kethüda 12, Veli Mehmed ser-i topçuyan 12, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 7. Faris: Murad ağa 22, alemdar 15, seroda 12–16, ordinary soldiers 8–15. Azab: Mercan ağa 23, Mercan kethüda 17, reis 14, seroda 8, 12, ordinary soldiers 7. Martolos: Radul ağa 20, Vukço sermiye 10, seroda 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Hademe-i cami: Ali halife imam, hatib 15, Osman halife müezzın 8, Musli halife kayyum 8, Bekir halife çiraktar 8. 23 Christians.

**1630** (BOA MAD 5193, p. 6: pay account)

Müstahfız, topçu: 11, faris: 34, azab: 14, martolos: 12, total: 71.

**1663** (Evliyâ Çelebi, 6. *Kitap*, 126): 300 soldiers.

Parkan-i **KIZILHİSAR** (Hu. Vörösvár)

Constructed at the beginning of the 1570s, it was rebuilt in the mid-17th century; it was probably manned up to 1686

This little fortress was built on the road from Buda to Estergon. In its first garrison there were still cavalymen, but they were quickly redrawn, and as a result the majority of its soldiers were azabs: they were not supposed to provide border defense or go on raids, but to ensure the safety of the road. Sometime between 1630 and 1660 the fortress was rebuilt; the garrison may have been reinforced as well (Evliyâ Çelebi wrote about its 200 soldiers).

**1672–1574** (ÖNB Mxt 626, pp. 92–96: pay list. BOA MAD 1561, pp. 142, 173: pay account)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Paid heads	Units
Müstahfız	32	32	38	3 bölük
Topçu	7	7		1 bölük
Faris	52	49	48	1 ağa, 5 oda
Azab	79	79	78	4 riyaset, 8 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>170</b>	<b>167</b>	<b>164</b>	

*Officers, pay in 1573–1574* (akçe). Müstahfız: Muharrem Ayas ağa 15, Mustafa Hızır kethüda 12, serbölük 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Topçu: Hasan Hızır ağa 12, Mehmed Hüseyin kethüda 10, seroda 8, ordinary soldiers 7. Faris: Hasan ağa 15, seroda 8, ordinary soldiers 7. Azab: Hızır İlyas ağa 25, Mehmed Hamza kethüda 15, reis 8, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5.

## LİVA-İ BUDUN

**1577–1581** (BOA MAD 1561, p. 327. MAD 498, pp. 26-27, 55, 114: pay accounts)

Branch	14.09.1577– 02.09.1578	03.09.1578– 23.08.1579	24.08.1579– 16.02.1580	17.02.1580– 04.02.1581
Müstahfız, topçu	39	38	39	38
Azab	57	59	58	59
<b>Total</b>	<b>96</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>97</b>

**1588–1589** (ÖNB Mxt 615, pp. 63–66: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Paid heads	Units	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	32	31	27	3 bölük	10 (32.3)
Topçu	7	7	7	1 bölük	1 (14.3)
Azab	50	50	26	3 riyaset, 5 oda	20 (40)
<b>Total</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>60</b>		<b>31 (35.2)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Yusuf ağa, Osman Divane kethüda. Topçu: Haydar Abdullah ağa, Uruc Murad kethüda. Azab: Mahmud ağa, Turhan Bosna kethüda. Pay unchanged.

**1593(?)** (BOA MAD 3370, p. 124–127: pay list)

Müstahfız: 32, paid 29. Hüseyin Ramazan dizdar 15, Ömer Piri kethüda 12, serbölük 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Topçu: 7, paid 7. Haydar Abdullah ağa 12, Mustafa Derviş kethüda 10, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 7. Azab: 50, paid 26. Ali Hüseyin ağa 25, Turhan Bosna kethüda 15, reis 8–11, seroda 6–9, ordinary soldiers 5. Total: 89, paid 62.

**1662–1663, 1678** (BOA Başmuhasebe, Budun hazinesi kalemi 16727, 16728, p. 7; 16729, p. 10: pay accounts)

Both accounts registered 36 azabs in the fortress, which meant, as the numbers did not change over the decades, that the treasury based its calculations on the assumption that it would have to pay this many people when compiling the budgets.

**1663** (Evliyâ Çelebi, 6. *Kitap*, 59): Evliya Çelebi wrote about 200 defenders; the reconstructed fortress may have been manned by a garrison larger than the 16th-century one.

### Kale-i **DERBEND** (Hu. Damásd) Reconstructed in 1581, manned up to 1595

The Ottomans rebuilt a ruined medieval fortress on the banks of the river Ipoly, north of Estergon, in order to secure the road running along the river. All branches were equally represented in its garrison, which numbered over one hundred. During the war at the turn of the century the Hungarians recaptured it. Later neither side tried to renovate it.



VİLAYET-İ BUDUN

**1591, 1593(?)** (BOA MAD 3762, p. 7: pay account. MAD 3370, 112–116: pay list)

Branch	1591	1593		
	Paid	Pay list	Paid	Units
Müstahfız	31	29	26	3 bölük
Topçu		3	2	–
Faris	29	30	28	3 oda
Azab	30	31	19	3 oda
Martolos	32	38	21	4 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>122</b>	<b>131</b>	<b>96</b>	

*Officers, pay in 1593* (akçe). Müstahfız: Mümin Hüseyin dizdar 21, Ramazan Yusuf kethüda 11, serbölük 10–11, ordinary soldiers 9, 4–6(!). Topçu: 9. Faris: Kurd Bosna ağa 25, seroda 14, ordinary soldiers 7–14. Azab: Ahmed Yahya ağa 20, seroda 8–9, ordinary soldiers 8. Martolos: Nebi(?) Bali ağa 17, Yahya Cafer sermiye 10, seroda 7, ordinary soldiers 4, 6. 26 Christians.

**Kale-i GÜRZ İLYAS** (Hu. Gellért-hegy)

Constructed between 1593 and 1596, Ottoman possession to 1686

It was built south of the castle hill of Buda, on Gellért Hill above the banks of the Danube. Then a garrison of almost 150 men was stationed here. During the 1598 siege of Buda it was evacuated, then used again with a garrison one third the size of the original. Its soldiery were further reduced when peace was concluded: at this point the fortress was not more than an observation post.

**1596–1597** (BOA MAD 3370, pp. 84–91: pay list)

Müstahfız: 124. 16 bölük. Ağa, kethüda, bevvab, sakka. Topçu: 22. 2 bölük. Ağa, kethüda. Total: 146. Hademe-i mescid: 2. Imam, müezzın.

**1599–1600** (ÖNB Mxt 638, p. 9: pay account)

Müstahfız (and topçu?): 49.

**1607** (BOA MAD 5623, pp. 32–34: pay list, yoklama)

Müstahfız: 15. 3 bölük. Hüseyin Ferhad dizdar, Mustafa Abdullah kethüda. Topçu (rightly azab): 9. Uruc ağa, Mustafa kethüda, 2 reis. Total: 24.

**1619** (BOA MAD 7320, pp. 24–25: pay list)

Müstahfız [and topçu]: 20. 2 bölük. Nasuh ağa 20, Turak kethüda 20, ser-i topçuyan 20.

**1630–1631** (ÖNB Mxt 621, pp. 27: pay list)

Müstahfız: 16. 3 bölük. Nasuh ağa 20, Ali kethüda 20, seroda 10–14, ordinary soldiers 8. Topçu: 5. 1 bölük. Perviz ağa 20, seroda 12, ordinary soldiers 8. Total: 21. Ali Halife imam 10.

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Parkan-i **ERÇİN** (Hu. Ercsi)  
Constructed in 1627, manned until 1686

One of the fortresses defending the Danube and the military road. Its full garrison cannot be reconstructed at any given time. The number of the two known troops indicate only that it was one of the more significant parkans along the river.

**1630** (BOA MAD 5193, p. 6: pay account)  
Faris: 62, azab: 25.

**1663** (Evliyâ Çelebi, 6. *Kitap*, 126): 200 soldiers.

## LİVA-İ ESTERGON

Kale-i **ESTERGON** / **OSTORGON** (Hu. Esztergom)  
Occupied in 1543

Parkan-i **CİĞERDELEN** (Hu. Párkány)  
constructed between 1545 and 1549

Parkan-i **TEPEDELEN** (Hu. Szent Tamás-hegy)  
constructed in 1594

All three fortifications were in Ottoman hands until 1683  
(Hungarian possession 1595–1605)

In the 16th-century Estergon was probably the most important fortress in Ottoman Hungary, even more important than Buda, considering its location. It stood on the bank of the Danube, on the military road leading to Vienna as a border fortress of the Ottoman part of the country; all travellers entering or leaving the territory of the Ottoman Empire passed through here. Estergon controlled the north western border of the empire, and led the west-north westwards military advance and the spread of taxation in the Habsburg kingdom. As a result, its fortifications were continuously developed. When it was conquered, the Ottomans acquired a fortress on the hill and a water tower on the bank of the Danube. In the latter, they also acquired an ingenious device which pumped the river water into the fortress.

First of all, the walled civilian town (*varoş-i bozorg/kebir*) was reinforced with an independent garrison, then before 1549 the parkan of Cığerdelen was constructed on the opposite side of the Danube; in 1586 the parkan was linked to Estergon with a bridge. In the 1570s the gunpowder mill (batuthane) received an independent garrison. At the beginning of the war at the turn of the century, in 1594, a new parkan was built on the hill south of the fortress, which was named Tepedelen. Then, in 1607, a system of ramparts (*tabiye*) was constructed on the opposite side, which was also defended by its own garrison. The pay lists and accounts considered the Estergon group of fortifications as a single unit; its soldiers were registered not according to fortresses but units. (For this reason I publish their data together, but in order to make it easier to obtain an overview, I shall separate the garrisons of the fortress, the town and the two parkans.)

In 1543 the military leadership intended to man the fortress with 3341 soldiers. The result was an outstanding failure: according to the first call-roll only 2166 (65%) took up service. Later even this number decreased, and settled around 1500. The garrison benefited from this decrease inasmuch as the ratio of superior to inferior troops improved. From the beginning, local soldiers were reinforced by units from the Porte, but we rarely know their numbers.

**1543** (ÖNB Mxt 566, pp. 83–142. Mxt 592, pp. 1–2: pay lists)

Branch	Pay lists heads	Present heads	Paid heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	494	442	441	50 bölük	83 (16.8)	31 (7)
Topçu	52	27	27	5 bölük	33 (63.5)	8 (29.6)
Cebeci	10	9	9	1 bölük	1 (10)	–
Haddad, neccar	5	3	3	–	2 (40)	–
Faris	301	273	258	3 ağa, 30 oda	99 (32.9)	32 (11.7)
Azab	1305	697	611	4 ağa, 40 riyaset, 120 oda	636 (48.7)	28 (4)
Kalafatçı, neccar	41	15	15	4 bölük	28 (68.3)	2 (13.3)
Martolos	1133	700	658	3 ağa, 115 oda	452 (39.9)	19 (2.7)
<b>Total</b>	<b>3341</b>	<b>2166</b>	<b>2022</b>		<b>1334 (39.9)</b>	<b>120 (5.5)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Mustafa Bosna dizdar 80, Yunus Tirnava kathüda 30, Mehmed dizdar-i kule-i ab 20, his kethüda Haydar İlyas 10, Abdi kâtib 15, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 6–7 (2 bevvab, 1 sarrac also). Topçu: Mustafa Hamza ser 30, Yunus kethüda 12, serbölük 8–9, ordinary soldiers 7–8. Cebeci: Receb Abdullah serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 7 (1 anbari, 3 mehter also). Haddad, neccar: 2 haddad, 2 neccar, 1 arabacı 7. Faris: Ayvaz ağa 35, Kubad ağa 35, Ramazan ağa 22, seroda 10, ordinary soldiers 9. Azab: Mustafa ağa, his pay is unknown [ba timar], Turgud ağa 22, Abdi ağa 20, Mehmed ağa 20, reis 8–15, seroda 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Kalafatçı: Receb ağa 21, seroda 8–10, ordinary soldiers 7. Martolos: Bali ağa 20, Şirmerd ağa 23, Todor Andrit' ağa, his pay is unknown, the majority of sermiyes 9, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5. 677 Christians. At the time of the call-roll 72 soldiers were away on leave with permission, 43 had been detached for external service; this explains why the number of men who received payment was lower than usual.

**1544** (ÖNB Mxt 568, pp. 1–60: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Paid heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	491	374	369	50 bölük	173 (35.2)	56 (15)
Cebeci	6	6	6	1 bölük	1 (16.7)	1 (16.7)
Müteferrika	2	2	1	–	–	–
Mehter	3	2	2	–	1 (33.3)	–
Topçu	52	33	33	5 bölük	26 (50)	7 (21.2)
Haddad, neccar	6	4	4	–	2 (33.3)	–
Faris	501	441	437	5 ağa, 50 oda	90 (18)	30 (6.8)
Azab	1289	675	673	4 ağa, 40 riyaset, 120 oda	760 (59)	146 (21.6)
Martolos	830	715	710	3 ağa, 85 oda	193 (23.3)	78 (10.9)
<b>Total</b>	<b>3180</b>	<b>2252</b>	<b>2235</b>		<b>1246 (39.2)</b>	<b>318 (14.1)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: no change in officers or pay. Cebeci: no change. Mütefer-

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rika: Üveys İsmail suylucu 15, anbari 8. Mehter: 7. Topçu: no change. Haddad, neccar: Matias mimar (German) 10, Bayram arabacı (Italian of origin) 10, 2 neccar 7. Faris: 3 ağa are old, Nasuh ağa 30, Musa ağa 25, remaining pay unchanged. Azab and martolos: no change in officers or pay. 696 Christians.

**1544–1545** (ÖNB Mxt pp. 13–15: pay account)

Branch	22.06.– 17.09.1544	18.09.– 15.12.1544	16.12.1544– 14.03.1545
Müstahfız, topçu	395	443	406
Faris	419	451	455
Azab	612	632	628
Martolos	630	524	526
Kalafatçı, neccar	40	38	38
Müstahfız in the town (varoş-i bozorg)	–	–	64
<b>Total</b>	<b>2096</b>	<b>2088</b>	<b>2117</b>

**1549** (ÖNB Mxt 562, pp. 82–121: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
<b>Kale-i Estergon</b>					
Müstahfız	239	237	50 bölük	16 (6.7)	14 (5.9)
Cebeci	6	6	1 bölük	–	–
Müteferrika	5	4	–	1 ((20)	1 (25)
Mehter	3	2	–	1 (33.3)	–
Topçu	30	29	4 bölük	4 (13.3)	3 (10.3)
Haddad	2	2	–	–	–
Faris	395	379	5 ağa, 50 oda	42 (10.6)	26 (6.9)
Azab	589	563	4 ağa, 40 riyaset, 120 oda	88 (14.9)	62 (11)
Martolos	440	373	3 ağa, 81 oda	70 (15.9)	3 (0.8)
<b>Varoş-i bozorg</b>					
Müstahfız	91	91	9 bölük	5 (5.5)	5 (5.5)
Topçu	12	12	1 bölük	–	–
<b>Parkan-i Ciğerdelen</b>					
Müstahfız	62	61	6 bölük	4 (6.5)	3 (4.9)
Topçu	9	9	1 bölük	2 (22.2)	2 (22.2)
<b>Total</b>	<b>1883</b>	<b>1768</b>		<b>233 (12.4)</b>	<b>119 (6.7)</b>

In **1547–1548** 472 yeniçeris from the Porte reinforced the garrison (Barkan, '954–955 Bütçesi', 345).

*Officers, pay* (akçe). *Kale*. Müstahfız: Ali dizdar 60, Yunus kethüda 30, Yusuf Kasım kethüda-i kule-i ab 9, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 6–7. Cebeci: Receb Abdullah ser 8, others 7. Müteferrika: suylucu 15, anbari 8, 2 mimar 10. Mehter: 7. Topçu: Mustafa ser 20, Hasan kethüda 11, serbölük 8–9, ordinary soldiers 7–8. Haddad: 7. Faris: Ali ağa 20, Ramazan ağa ba timar 20,000, Nasuh ağa 30, Musa ağa 25, Kubad ağa 35, seroda 10, ordinary soldiers 9. Azab: Sinan ağa ba timar, Kaya kethüda 14, Turgud ağa ba ziamet 21,000, Mustafa kethüda 15, Piri ağa ba timar 8000, Hasan kethüda 14, Mehmed ağa ba ziamet 20,000, Behram ket-

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hüda 12, reis 8–13, seroda 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Martolos: Sefer ağa 20, Şirmerd ağa 23, Todor ağa ba timar, sermiye 8–9, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5. *Town*. Müstahfız: Safi dizdar 20, Bali kethüda 13, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 6–7. Topçu: Hüseyin ser 13, Turak kethüda 10, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 7. *Ciğerdelen*. Müstahfız: Kurd Yusuf dizdar 14, Hüseyin Abdullah kethüda 10, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 6–7. Topçu: Ramazan İnehan ser 8, others 7. 366 Christians.

**1554** (Berlin Ms. or. fol. 432, pp. 3–36: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
<b>Kale-i Estergon</b>					
Müstahfız	237	234	23 bölük	19 (8)	16 (6.8)
Cebeci	6	6	–	1 (16.7)	1 (16.7)
Müteferrika	5	5	–	–	–
Mehter	2	–	–	–	–
Topçu	29	29	3 bölük	1 (3.4)	1 (3.4)
Haddad	2	2	–	–	–
Faris	358	324	4 ağa, 37 oda	83 (23.2)	49 (15.1)
Azab	495	473	2 ağa, 16 riyaset, 48 oda	145 (29.3)	123 (26)
Martolos	356	320	3 ağa, 35 oda	106 (29.8)	70 (21.9)
<b>Varoş-i bozorg</b>					
Müstahfız	90	88	9 bölük	11 (12.2)	9 (10.2)
Topçu	12	12	1 bölük	–	–
<b>Parkan-i Ciğerdelen</b>					
Müstahfız	61	61	6 bölük	6 (9.8)	6 (9.8)
Topçu	9	8	–	1 (11.1)	–
<b>Total</b>					
	<b>1662</b>	<b>1562</b>		<b>373 (22.4)</b>	<b>275 (17.6)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). *Kale*. Müstahfız: Yunus dizdar 40, Bali kethüda 16, Ferhad Ahmed dizdar-i kule-i ab 13, his kethüda Yusuf Ahmed 8, serbölük 8, the majority of ordinary soldiers 6. Cebeci: no change. Müteferrika: Üveys İsmail suyolcu 15, Hüseyin Abdullah mimar 10, anbari 8, 2 kondaki 6. Mehter: 7. Topçu: Mustafa ser, Hüseyin kethüda, pay unchanged. Faris: Nasuh ağa ba timar, Sefer ağa 20, Musa ağa 25, Kubad ağa ba timar, seroda 10, ordinary soldiers 9. Haddad: 7. Azab: Mustafa ağa 15, after him Kaya ağa 14, Kaya, after him Ali Mehmed kethüda 10, Mehmed, after him Ali Divane ağa ba timar, Ferhad İskender kethüda 12, reis 8–10, seroda 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Martolos: Mehmed Şaban ağa 10, Mehmed ağa 9, Yahya Hamza ağa 12, sermiye 8–9, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5. *Town*. Müstahfız: Bali dizdar 13, Kurd Abdullah kethüda 9, serbölük 8, majority of ordinary soldiers 6. Topçu: no change. *Ciğerdelen*. Müstahfız, topçu: no change. 93% of soldiers are of Balkan origin.

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**1557–1558** (ÖNB Mxt 614, pp. 64–93: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
<b>Kale-i Estergon</b>					
Müstahfız	236	232	23 bölük	14 (5.9)	10 (4.3)
Cebeci	6	6	–	–	–
Müteferrika	7	5	–	–	–
Topçu	31	31	3 bölük	1 (3.2)	1 (3.2)
Faris	212	189	3 ağa, 23 oda	37 (17.5)	23 (12.2)
Azab	247	240	2 ağa, 8 riyaset, 24 oda	38 (15.4)	31 (12.9)
Martolos	344	341	4 ağa, 34 oda	22 (6.4)	19 (5.6)
<b>Varoş-i kebir</b>					
Müstahfız	89	87	9 bölük	6 (6.7)	4 (4.6)
Topçu	12	12	1 bölük	–	–
<b>Parkan-i Ciğerdelen</b>					
Müstahfız	61	60	6 bölük	7 (11.5)	6 (10)
Topçu	9	9	1 bölük	–	–
Azab	246	235	2 ağa, 8 riyaset, 24 oda	28 (11.4)	17 (7.2)
<b>Total</b>	<b>1500</b>	<b>1447</b>		<b>153 (10.2)</b>	<b>111 (7.7)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). *Kale*. Müstahfız: no change in officers or pay, only the dizdar-i kule-i ab is a recruit: Kaya ağa 14. Cebeci: no change. Müteferrika: suyalcu, mimar, anbari, 2 neccar, pay unchanged. Topçu: no change. Faris: Kılıç ağa 13, Murad ağa 14, Mahmud ağa 10, seroda 10, ordinary soldiers 8–9. Azab: Kaya ağa 14, Aydın ağa 20, reis 8–10, seroda 7, ordinary soldiers 5–6. Martolos: Mehmed Şaban ağa 10, Mehmed Hasan ağa 9, Hızır Mustafa ağa 10, Turak Yakub ağa 8, sermiye 8–9, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 4–5. *Town*. Müstahfız: Receb dizdar 12, Hacı Hüseyin kethüda 9, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 6. Topçu: Kurd Abdullah 14, Turak kethüda 10, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 7. *Ciğerdelen*. Müstahfız: Kurd dizdar 13, Hüseyin kethüda 10, seroda 8, ordinary soldiers 6. Topçu: 6–8. 341 Christians.

**1569** (ÖNB Mxt 642, pp. 83–115: pay list, the last two pages are missing. Mxt 617, pp. 5, 15: pay account)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Paid heads	Units	Vacant post (%)	Recruits heads
<b>Kale-i Estergon</b>						
Müstahfız	236	235	242	23 bölük	14 (5.9)	13 (5.5)
Cebeci	6	6		–	1 (16.7)	1 (16.7)
Müteferrika	5	5		–	–	–
Mehter	2	2		–	–	–
Topçu	31	30	29	3 bölük	2 (6.5)	1 (3.3)
Faris	248	245	239	3 ağa, 27 oda	23 (9.3)	20 (8.2)
Azab	465	454	430	4 ağa, 15 riyaset, 46 oda	72 (15.5)	62 (13.7)
Martolos	280	261	255	4 ağa, 31 oda	49 (17.5)	30 (11.5)
<b>Varoş-i kebir</b>						
Müstahfız	91	90	104	9 bölük	4 (4.4)	3 (3.3)
Topçu	14	14		1 bölük	2 (14.3)	2 (14.3)

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Parkan-i Ciğerdelen						
Müstahfız	61	61	68	6 bölük	4 (6.6)	4 (6.6)
Topçu	9	9		–	–	–
Azab	126	124	121	1 ağa, 4 riyaset, 12 oda	5 (4)	3 (2.4)
Martolos	[44]	[44]	44	?	?	?
<b>Total</b>	<b>1618</b>	<b>1580</b>	<b>1532</b>		<b>176 (10.9)</b>	<b>139 (8.8)</b>

*Officers, pays* (akçe). *Kale*. Müstahfız: Yunus dizdar 40, Ali Abdullah kethüda 16, Yakub dizdar-i kule-ab 15, his kethüda Ali Mehmed 8, majority of serbölüks 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Cebeci: Receb Abdullah ser 9, others 7. Müteferrika: no change. Mehter: 7. Topçu: Mustafa ağa 20, Hasan kethüda 11, serbölük 8–10, ordinary soldiers 7–8. Faris: İbrahim ağa 15, Mehmed İlyas ağa, his pay unknown, Mehmed Divane ağa 13, seroda 9, ordinary soldiers 8–9. Azab: Hüseyin Abdullah ağa 15, Ali Cafer kethüda 10, Hüseyin Murad ağa 12, Haydar Divane kethüda 8, Ali Solak ağa 12, İbrahim Ali kethüda 10, Mustafa ağa 15, there is no kethüda, reis 8–10, seroda 6–7, ordinary soldiers 5. Martolos: Mustafa Alagöz ağa 10, Hamza Abdullah ağa 6(!), Sinan Seydi ağa 10, Mustafa ağa 8, sermiye 6–8, seroda 5–6, ordinary soldiers 5–6. *Town*. Müstahfız: Hızır Mustafa dizdar 10, Mehmed Hasan kethüda 10, bevvab 8, serbölük 7–8, ordinary soldiers 6. Topçu: Turak Mustafa ser 13, Ali Musa kethüda 10, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 7. *Ciğerdelen*. Müstahfız: Kurd Yusuf ser 14, Sefer Ali kethüda 10, serbölük 7–8, ordinary soldiers 6. Topçu: Mehmed Yusuf ser 8, others 7. Azab: Mehmed Hasan ağa ba timar, İlyas Abdullah kethüda 9, reis 7–8, seroda 6–8, ordinary soldiers 5–6. 250 Christians.

**1573-1574** (ÖNB Mxt 626, pp. 105–138: pay list. BOA MAD 2561, pp. 143–144, 174–175: pay account)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Paid heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Kale-i Estergon						
Müstahfız	236	235	246	23 bölük	18 (7.6)	17 (7.2)
Cebeci	6	6		—	—	—
Müteferrika	5	5		—	2 (40)	2 (40)
Mehter	2	2		—	—	—
Topçu	31	31	31	3 bölük	2 (6.5)	2 (6.5)
Faris	246	244	236	3 ağa, 27 oda	20 (8.1)	18 (7.4)
Azab	448	443	435	4 ağa, 16 riyaset, 49 oda	51 (11.4)	46 (10.4)
Martolos	281	278	269	3 ağa, 31 oda	31 (11)	28 (10.1)
Varoş-i kebir						
Müstahfız	89	89	103	9 bölük	7 (7.9)	7 (7.9)
Topçu	14	14		1 bölük	—	—
Parkan-i Ciğerdelen						
Müstahfız	61	61	70	6 bölük	6 (9.8)	6 (9.8)
Topçu	9	9		—	—	—
Azab	123	122	122	4 riyaset, 12 oda	12 (9.8)	11 (9)
Martolos	46	46	45	5 oda	3 (6.5)	3 (6.5)
Total	1597	1585	1557		152 (9.5)	140 (8.8)

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*Officers, pay* (akçe). *Kale*. Müstahfız: Yunus dizdar, Ali Abdullah kethüda, Mehmed Mezid dizdar-i kule-i ab, his kethüda Ali Abdullah, pay unchanged. Cebeci: no change. Mütfefer-rika, mehter: Petre Raymon mimar, no other change. Topçu: no change. Faris: in place of Mehmed Divane: Kurd Divane ağa 13, other pay unchanged. Azab: in place of Hüseyin Abdullah: Piri ağa 18, in place of Hüseyin Murad: Ali Divane ağa 12, other pay unchanged. Martolos: Sarıyığıt(?) Mehmed ağa 10, Gazi ağa 9, Sinan Seydi ağa 10, sermiye 6–10, other pay unchanged. *Town*. Müstahfız: Hızır dizdar 10, İnehan Timur kethüda 9, bevvab 5, other pay unchanged. Topçu: Veli Hersek ser, Ali kethüda, pay unchanged. *Ciğerdelen*. Müstahfız, topçu, azab: no change. Martolos: Mustafa Nasuh ağa 8, Mehmed Zvornik sermiye 6, seroda 6, majority of ordinary soldiers 4. 274 Christians.

**1577–1581** (BOA MAD 1561, pp. 329–330. MAD 498, pp. 28, 56–57, 116–117: pay accounts)

Branch	14.09.1577– 02.09.1578	03.09.1578– 23.08.1579	24.08.1579– 16.02.1580	17.02.1580– 04.02.1581
<b>Kale-i Estergon</b>				
Müstahfız, cebeci, etc.	215	217	218	218
Topçu	31	31	31	30
Faris	246	240	238	228
Azab	447	445	447	443
Martolos	206	204	201	202
<b>Varoş-i kebir</b>				
Müstahfız, topçu	101	103	103	103
<b>Palanka-i baruthane</b>				
Müstahfız	31	31	32	29
<b>Parkan-i Ciğerdelen</b>				
Müstahfız, topçu	72	72	71	72
Azab	122	124	122	124
Martolos	44	44	43	43
<b>Total</b>				
	<b>1515</b>	<b>1511</b>	<b>1506</b>	<b>1492</b>

**1588–1589, 1591–1592** (ÖNB Mxt 607, pp. 39–62, pay list, the part up to the farises is lost. BOA MAD 3762, p. 8: pay account)

Branch	1588–1589					1591–1592
	Pay list heads	Present heads	Paid heads	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)	Paid heads
Kale-i Estergon						
Müstahfız, etc.	?					211
Topçu	?					29
Faris	239	239	236	7 (2.9)	7 (2.9)	237
Azab	449	443	433	10 (2.2)	4 (0.9)	445
Martolos	180	180	167	–	–	138
Varoş-i kebir						
Müstahfız	90	89	84	1 (1.1)	–	106
Topçu	14	14	13	–	–	
Palanka-i baruthane						
Müstahfız	32	32	30	1 (3.1)	1 (3.1)	28



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Parkan-i Cîğerdelen						
Müstahfız	64	64	64	1 (1.6)	1 (1.6)	72
Topçu	9	9	9	–	–	
Azab	122	121	117	3 (2.5)	2 (1.7)	120
Martolos	32	32	31	–	–	32
<b>Total</b>	<b>?</b>					<b>1418</b>

The appearance of a stable garrison with no mobility is misleading. Above the name of 20% of soldiers who can be examined we find the word ‘recruit’ (*cedid*): 39 were not yet entitled to receive payment; 194 may have joined earlier: they did get paid.

*Officers, pay* (akçe). *Kale*. Faris: Bali ağa 13, Sefer Ali ağa 15, Mustafa Abdullah ağa 11, seroda 9, ordinary soldiers 8. Azab: the first and fourth ağa are unknown, Mehmed Cafer ağa 16, Mehmed Hızır ağa 20, Ali Mehmed kethüda 10, Pervane Abdullah kethüda 8, Ahmed Bosna kethüda 10, reis 8–12, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5. Martolos: Hamza Ahmed ağa 10, Mehmed Yusuf ağa 10, Hasan ağa 10, sermiye 5–8, seroda 5, ordinary soldiers 4. *Town*. Müstahfız: Cafer Abdullah dizdar 10, Mehmed Hasan kethüda 9, bevvab 5, serbölük 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Topçu: Veli Hersek ser 13, Ali Musa kethüda 10, serbölük 8, others 7. *Baruthane*. Müstahfız: Ali Alagöz [ağa?] 18, Hasan Turali kethüda 8, serbölük 7, ordinary soldiers 6. *Cîğerdelen*. Müstahfız: Iskender Aydın dizdar 13, Mustafa Hasan kethüda 10, serbölük 7, ordinary soldiers 6; hademe-i cami: Mehmed Daud müezzin 10, Kurd Mustafa kayyum 7, Ismail Hasan muarraf 2. Topçu: Bahtiyar Ali ağa 8, others 7. Azab: Mustafa Turhan ağa 10, Veli Behram kethüda 9, reis 8–9, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5. Martolos: Mehmed Zvornik ağa 8, sermiye 6, seroda 5, ordinary soldiers 4. 152 Christians.

**1593–1597** (BOA MAD 3370, pp. 163–218: pay list)

Branch	1593	Transferred to Buda after the siege of 1595	1597, in Buda
<b>Kale-i Estergon</b>			
Müstahfız	154	59	66
Müstahfız-i kule-i ab	40	22	29
Cebeci	6	5	5
Müteferrika	6	3	3
Mehter	2	1	1
Topçu	30	17	18
Faris	241	180	187
Azab	457	189	199
Martolos	180	?	?
<b>Varoş-i kebir</b>			
Müstahfız	93	57	63
Topçu	21	9	11
Müstahfız-i baruthane	30	15	17
Müstahfız-i mahzen-i barut-i siyah	17	5	5

LİVA-İ ESTERGON

Parkan-i Çiğerdelen			
Müstahfız	66	52	52
Topçu	9	8	8
Azab	122	36	41
Martolos	31	?	?
<b>Total</b>	<b>1505</b>	<b>?</b>	<b>?</b>

The Christian siege and recapture of Estergon in 1595 decimated the garrison, the remainder of which was transferred to Buda (except for the martoloses, of whom the list says nothing). 53% of the infantry, 43% of the artillery and 25% of the cavalry were lost in the siege.

**1607, 1609** (BOA MAD 5623, pp. 86–120: pay list, yoklama. MAD 4654, pp. 2, 4, 123, 127, 130–131, 148, 150–151, 157–158: pay account)

Branch	1607	06.04.– 03.07.1609	04.07.– 27.12.1609
Kale-i Estergon			
Müstahfız	128	151	134
Müstahfız-i kule-i ab	37	33	32
Topçu	32	36	31
Faris	315	331	317
Azab	163	179	167
Martolos	88	60	69
Köprücü	–	10	8
Palanka-i Çiğerdelen			
Müstahfız	35	37	32
Faris	58	60	55
Azab	38	42	39
Palanka-i Tepedelen			
Müstahfız	15	15	14
Azab	84	83	83
Tabiye			
Azab	–	–	57
<b>Total</b>	<b>993</b>	<b>1037</b>	<b>1038</b>
Hademe-i cevami der kale	5	5	5

A few units from the Porte also appear in the pay account. In 1607 yeniçeri: number unknown, cebeci: 222, topçu: 47, veladan-i kul: 81, sipahi: number unknown.

**1612–1614** (BOA MAD 4133, pp. 6–7, 47, 68–69, 85–86: pay account)

Branch	04.03.1612– 20.02.1613	21.02.– 16.08.1613	17.08.1613– 10.02.1614
Kale-i Estergon			
Müstahfız	126	142	124
Müstahfız-i kule-i ab	41	40	39
Topçu	32	34	32

VİLAYET-İ BUDUN

Faris	332	337	341
Azab	262	209	202
Martolos	77	81	76
Köprücü	9	9	9
Palanka-i Ciğerdelen			
Müstahfız, topçu	41	42	42
Faris	60	62	63
Palanka-i Tepedelen			
Müstahfız, topçu	20	20	20
Azab	85	85	84
Tabiye			
Azab	55	61	61
<b>Total</b>	<b>1140</b>	<b>1122</b>	<b>1093</b>
Hademe-i cevami + mütekaid	5 + 3	8	8

**1613, 1615** (BOA MAD 4000, pp. 144–204: pay list. MAD 4133, pp. 97–98: pay account)

Branch	In 1613	In 1615
Kale-i Estergon		
Müstahfız	142	136
Cebeci		4
Müstahfız-i kule-i ab	40	40
Topçu	34	33
Faris (in 1615 together with the cavalrymen of Ciğerdelen)	340	386
Azab	210	138
Martolos	81	83
Köprücü	9	–
Palanka-i Ciğerdelen		
Müstahfız, topçu	42	41
Azab	–	26
Faris	62	see at the cavalrymen of the fortress
Palanka-i Tepedelen		
Müstahfız, topçu	20	20
Azab	85	66
Tabiye		
Azab	61	43
<b>Total</b>	<b>1126</b>	<b>1016</b>
Hademe-i cevami + mütekaid	5 + 3	8

**1613–1615** (BOA MAD 116: list of yeniçeris)

In two years the number of the yeniçeris fell from 389 to 241.

**1628–1629** (ÖNB Mxt 636, p. 20: pay account. BOA MAD 7089, pp. 90–95: list of yeniçeris)

Branch	1619	1628–1629
Kale-i Estergon		
Müstahfız, cebeci	146	147
Müstahfız-i kule-i ab	40	41
Topçu	33	40
Faris	292	294
Azab	146	147
Martolos	90	81
Köprücü		9
Palanka-i Çiğerdelen		
Müstahfız	37	40
Topçu	9	9
Faris	116	116
Azab	40	41
Palanka-i Tepedelen		
Müstahfız, topçu	20	14
Azab	86	80
Tabiye		
Azab	46	47
Total of local troops	1101	1106
Porte yeniçeri	267	356
<b>Total</b>	<b>1368</b>	<b>1462</b>
Hademe-i cevami	13	12

*Officers, pay in 1619* (akçe). *Kale*. Müstahfız, cebeci: Hüseyin Ali ağa 40, Mehmed Bayezid kethüda 27, majority of serbölüks 12, ordinary soldiers 8–10, cebeci 8 and 12. Müstahfız-ı kule-i ab: Hasan Bosna ağa 25, Hasan kethüda 20, serbölük 12, ordinary soldiers 8–10. Topçu: Hüseyin ağa 22, Hasan kethüda 18, serbölük 11–15, majority of ordinary soldiers 8. Faris: Turak ağa 40, Uruc ağa 30, Zülfikar ağa 30, alemdar 20 and 17, majority of serodas 20, ordinary soldiers 10–18. Azab: Ömer ağa 35, Osman Pir Ali kethüda-i evvel 20, Ali kethüda-i sani 18, Hüseyin ağa 31, reis 11–20, alemdar 8 and 15, seroda 9–15, ordinary soldiers 8–9; several squads are completely empty. Martolos: Mustafa Divane sermiye 9, Rizvan ağa 25, Lazar Niko sermiye 13, Rajo Divane sermiye 15, alemdar 10 and 12, seroda 8–9, ordinary soldiers 8. Hademe-i cevami: İbrahim hatib, sermahfil 46, Hacı Yuyuf imam 12, El-hac Yusuf müezzın-i evvel 27, Ali halife müezzın-i sani 15, Hacı Yusuf kayyum 10, Muhtar halife hatib, imam, kayyum 25, Ramazan sıracı 10, 2 men of unknown rank 5 and 3. *Çiğerdelen*. Müstahfız: Mehmed ağa 25, Ali Hasan kethüda 15, serbölük 12, ordinary soldiers 7–12. Topçu: Mehmed Hüseyin ser 20, serbölük 20, others 6–8. Faris: Ali ağa 30, alemdar 20, seroda 20, ordinary soldiers 10–18. Azab: Derviş ağa 30, Hasan kethüda 18, reis, alemdar 15 and 23, seroda 10, ordinary soldiers 8–9. Hademe-i cami: Receb halife hatib 10, Abdi halife imam 8, ... imam ve müezzın 10. *Tepedelen*. Müstahfız: Hüseyin ağa 25, Mahmud kethüda 12, serbölük 9 and 12, ordinary soldiers 7–12. Azab: Hüseyin ağa 25, Osman kethüda 15, Ali İbrahim kethüda 15, Mehmed kethüda 16, reis 14–15, seroda 10, ordinary soldiers 8–9. Hademe-i mescid: Ahmed halife imam 19. 68 Christians.

**1662–1663, 1677–1678** (BOA Başmuhasebe, Budun hazinesi kalemi 16727, 16728, pp. 7–8, 16729, p. 10: pay accounts)

The accounts, which can be considered copies of each other, registered 1166 soldiers in the fortress of Estergon, and in the palankas of Ciğerdelen and Tepedelen. As their numbers remained unchanged for decades, this only indicates that the treasury provided payment for this many men by allocating to them state revenues from the Balkans.

**1666–1670** (BOA MAD 5969: list of yeniçeris)

The number of the yeniçeris commanded to Estergon fluctuated between 109 and 127 (in detail, see the chapter on the yeniçeris of the Porte).

## LİVA-İ FİLEK

### Kale-i FİLEK (Hu. Füleğ) Ottoman possession 1554–1593

In the 16th century, after Estergon this was the most important component of the fortress-system defending the northern border. It was the sancak seat of a rapidly expanding territory, which means that its defenders and the sipahis residing in it were the most active in imposing Ottoman taxation on the royal counties situated north and north-east of it. As a result of the frequent raiding and fighting in the border areas, its garrison of 300, later 250, changed fast, and needed constant replacements.

**1556–1557** (ÖNB Mxt 578, pp. 13–23: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present Heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	52	51	5 bölük	16 (30.8)	15 (29.4)
Faris	178	168	3 ağa, 18 oda	69 (38.8)	59 (35.1)
Azab	92	87	2 ağa, 9 oda	29 (31.5)	24 (27.6)
<b>Total</b>	<b>322</b>	<b>306</b>		<b>114 (35.4)</b>	<b>98 (32)</b>

*Officers, pays* (akçe). Müstahfız: Abdulvehhab, after him Hacı Ali dizdar 16, Behram kethüda 6(!), serbölük 8, majority of ordinary soldiers 6. Faris: Çirkin Divane, after him Sefer Musa ağa 10, Hızır, after him Piri Mehmed ağa 10, Ramazan ağa ba timar, seroda 10, ordinary soldiers 9. Azab: Celal Divane ağa 12, Mahmud ağa 15, Timur kethüda 8, seroda 7, ordinary soldiers 6. 7 Christians.

**1557–1558** (ÖNB Mxt 614, pp. 113–119: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	52	47	no change	14 (26.9)	9 (19.1)
Faris	177	159		29 (16.4)	11 (6.9)
Azab	91	86		22 (24.2)	17 (19.8)
<b>Total</b>	<b>320</b>	<b>292</b>		<b>65 (20.3)</b>	<b>37 (12.7)</b>

## LİVA-İ FİLEK

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: no change in officers or pay. Faris: Sefer ağa, Yusuf ağa, Mustafa ağa, pay unchanged. Azab: Sefer Piri ağa, Mahmud ağa, Timur kethüda, pay unchanged. 5 Christians.

**1558–1559** (Mxt 633, pp. 156–166: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	52	52	5 bölük	15 (28.8)	15 (28.8)
Topçu	6	6	1 bölük	–	–
Faris	176	173	no change	40 (22.7)	37 (21.4)
Azab	92	92		30 (32.6)	30 (32.6)
<b>Total</b>	<b>326</b>	<b>323</b>		<b>85 (26.1)</b>	<b>82 (25.4)</b>

*Officers, pays* (akçe). Müstahfız: no change. Topçu (transferred from Siçen): Hasan Abdullah serbölük 8, others 6. Faris: no change in officers or pay. Azab: no change, except the kethüda: Pervane Abdullah. 10 Christians.

**1565–1566, 1568–1569** (ÖNB Mxt 612, p. 38. Mxt 617, pp. 6, 16: pay accounts)

Branch	29.07.1565– 21.01.1566	20.12.1568– 15.06.1569	16.06– 09.12.1569
Müstahfız, topçu	52	56	55
Faris	110	109	116
Azab	90	87	85
<b>Total</b>	<b>252</b>	<b>252</b>	<b>256</b>

**From 1570**, the infantry in the fortress were paid with timars. From this year on, only cash-paid cavalymen appeared in the sources, in the following numbers:

1572–1573: 119 (ÖNB Mxt 626, pp. 151–154: pay list)

1573–1574: 112 (BOA MAD 1561, pp. 144, 176: pay account)

1577–1578: 110 (BOA MAD 1561, p. 333: pay account)

1578–1579: 116 (BOA MAD 498, p. 31: pay account)

1579–1580: 119 (same, p. 59)

1580–1581: 117 (same, p. 119)

1588–1589: 121, present 120, paid 116 (ÖNB Mxt 615, pp. 92–95: pay list)

1591: 119 (BOA MAD 3762, p. 10: pay account)

### Kale/Parkan-i **SOBOTKA** / SOBOTKA-i FİLEK (Hu. Szabadka) manned between 1557 and 1593

It was constructed north-east of Filek, in a territory where there were no more Ottoman fortresses, but there were Hungarian fortresses a short distance away. It was meant to be more of an observation post manned with three squads, but as it was located on the border, its garrison was increased to 140–150. Its cavalry was transferred here from Filek.

**1557** (ÖNB Mxt 578, p. 24: pay list)

Müstahfız: 32, present 31. 3 bölük. Hacı Ali dizdar 16, Hızır Mehmed kethüda 9, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 6–7.

**1557–1558** (ÖNB Mxt 614, pp. 119–120: pay list)

Müstahfız: 32, present 31. Bölük 3. Hurrem Ayas dizdar, Alican kethüda, pay unchanged.

**1558–1559** (ÖNB Mxt 633, p. 167: pay list)

Müstahfız: 32, present 31, recruits 9. Bölük 3. Hurrem dizdar, Bayezid Mustafa kethüda, pay unchanged. Almost one third of the soldiers are new, recruited to replace the casualties of a failed raid which took place in the previous year.

**1565–1566, 1568–1569** (ÖNB Mxt 612, p. 38. Mxt 617, pp. 6, 16: pay accounts)

Branch	29.07.1565– 21.01.1566	20.12.1568– 15.06.1569	16.06– 09.12.1569
Müstahfız	27	40	41
Faris	78	73	75
<b>Total</b>	<b>105</b>	<b>113</b>	<b>116</b>

From 1570 the infantry troops were paid from the income of timars, no sources about them survive. We only know the number of the cash-paid units, and as there were no changes in this we may suppose that the garrison as a whole did not change.

**1572–1591**

1572–1573 (BOA MAD 1561, p. 144: pay account). Faris: 77.

1573–1574 (ibid., p. 176). Faris: 75.

1577–1578 (BOA MAD 1561, p. 333: pay account). Faris: 76.

1578–1579 (BOA MAD 498, p. 31: pay account). Faris: 73.

1579–1580 (ibid., p. 59). Faris: 78.

1580–1581 (ibid., p. 119). Faris: 78.

1588–1589 (ÖNB Mxt 615, pp. 96–101: pay list). Faris: 81, present 80, paid 78. Mustafa Ali ağa 12, Seyyid Mahmud ağa 10, seroda 9, ordinary soldiers 8. Martolos: 31, present and paid 29. Süleyman Bali ağa 12, seroda 5, ordinary soldiers 4.

1591 (BOA MAD 3762, p. 10: pay account). Faris: 83, martolos 32.

### Kale-i **AYNAŞKA** / AYNAÇKA (Hu. Ajnácskő)

Ottoman possession 1566–1593(?)

This small, obsolete fortress was located on the border, south-east of Filek. We have information about its soldiers at only one time, before they started being paid with timar. As no icmal survives from the sancak of Filek, we have no data at all on their later fate.

**1569** (ÖNB Mxt 617, pp. 6, 16: pay account). Müstahfız: 41.

Kale-i **DİVİN** (Hu. Divény)  
Ottoman possession 1575–1593

The fortress furthest to the northern border, wedged between Hungarian fortresses, but in territory controlled and taxed by the Ottomans. Although its location would have required a larger garrison, the geographical circumstances limited the number of its defenders. Interestingly its soldiers scarcely changed.

**1577–1581** (BOA MAD 1561, p. 333. MAD 498, pp. 31, 59, 119–120: pay accounts)

Branch	14.09.1577– 02.09.1578	03.09.1578– 23.08.1579	24.08.1579– 16.02.1580	17.02.1580– 04.02.1581
Müstahfız, topçu	34	32	35	34
Faris	50	46	48	50
Azab	29	28	28	25
Martolos	58	55	56	54
<b>Total</b>	<b>171</b>	<b>161</b>	<b>167</b>	<b>163</b>

**1583** (ÖNB Mxt 607, pp. 211, 216–218: pay list, yoklama)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	30	30	3 bölük	–	–
Topçu	6	6	–	–	–
Faris	51	50	1 ağa, 5 oda	1 (2)	–
Azab	29	29	1 ağa, 3 oda	–	–
Martolos	57	57	7 oda	–	–
<b>Total</b>	<b>173</b>	<b>172</b>		<b>1 (0.6)</b>	–

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Yusuf Yahya ağa 15, Mustafa Bali kethüda 8, serbölük 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Topçu: Aydın Turhan ser 7, others 6. Faris: Süleyman Bosna ağa 15, first seroda 10, others 9, ordinary soldiers 8. Azab: Ahmed İnebeyi ağa 10, Mehmed Rüstem kethüda 7, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5. Martolos: İlyas Ali ağa 12, Hasan Karagöz yüzbaşı 8, seroda 5, ordinary soldiers 4. 40 Christians.

**1588–1589** (ÖNB Mxt 615, pp. 102–109: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Paid heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	30	30	28	no change	–	–
Topçu	6	6	6		–	–
Faris	51	51	48		–	–
Azab	29	29	25		–	5 (17.2)
Martolos	24	20	20	3 oda	5 (20.8)	1 (5)
<b>Total</b>	<b>140</b>	<b>136</b>	<b>127</b>		<b>5 (3.6)</b>	<b>6 (4.4)</b>

*Officers, pays* (akçe). Müstahfız: Yusuf Yahya ağa, Nasuh Abdullah kethüda, pay unchanged. Topçu: no change. Faris: Behram Beşir ağa, pay unchanged. Azab: Piri Nasuh ağa 15, remaining officers and pay unchanged. 27 Christians.



**1591** (BOA MAD 3762, p. 10: pay account)

Müstahfız, topçu: 36, faris: 49, azab: 25, martolos: 24, total: 134.

**Kale-i ŞOMOŞKA** (Hu. Somoskő)  
Ottoman possession 1575–1593

The fortress is situated south of Filek, in an area defended from every direction, so only a symbolic garrison was stationed here, of which we have data from one single year.

**1591** (BOA Tapu 675, pp. 57–58: icmal)

Müstahfız: 20. 2 bölük. Ramazan dizdar 6000, Hasan Cihangir kethüda 3000, serbölük 1900, ordinary soldiers 1700.

## LİVA-İ HATVAN

After 1596 it was transferred to the vilayet of Eğri; the description of its fortresses continues in that section.

**Kale-i HATVAN** (Hu. Hatvan)  
Ottoman possession 1544–1686  
(in Hungarian hands in the autumn of 1596)

Following its occupation, Hatvan stood alone defending Buda and Pest towards the north-east, so it was supposed to be manned by a garrison of 550. In 1552, after the fortresses of Nógrád county had been captured, its main task became the extension of Ottoman taxation towards the north-east as the seat of a growing sancak. In the 1560s the number of soldiers stationed there was slightly reduced, then increased again to between 350 and 400, about two-thirds of whom were raiding and tax-collecting cavalrymen.

**1549** (ÖNB Mxt 592, pp. 87–107. Mxt 562, pp. 122–140: pay lists. Velkov–Radushev 121v–139v, 502–516)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	66	61	6 bölük	11 (16.7)	6 (9.8)
Topçu	14	13	1 bölük	1 (7.1)	–
Faris	362	328	5 ağa, 45 oda	79 (21.8)	45 (13.7)
Azab	63	59	2 ağa, 7 oda	11 (17.5)	7 (11.9)
Martolos	46	39	1 ağa, 6 oda	16 (34.8)	9 (23.1)
<b>Total</b>	<b>551</b>	<b>500</b>		<b>118 (21.4)</b>	<b>67 (13.4)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Timur Divane dizdar 15, Mahmud kethüda 15, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 6–7. Topçu: Mahmud Timur ser 11, İbrahim Murad kethüda 8, ordinary soldiers 6. Faris: Barak ağa [ba timar?], Hasan ağa 25, Cafer ağa 25, Hamza ağa 19, Ahmed ağa 15, seroda 9–10, ordinary soldiers 8–9. Azab: Urdu ağa 20, Ahmed Hersek kethüda 12, Perviz ağa 20, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5–6. Martolos: Ayas Abdullah ağa 12, seroda 6–7, ordinary soldiers 4–5. 40 Christians.

LİVA-İ HATVAN

**1557–1558** (ÖNB Mxt 614, pp. 120–127: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	54	48	5 bölük	12 (22.2)	6 (12.5)
Topçu	13	13	1 bölük	–	–
Faris	242	225	4 ağa, 25 oda	32 (13.2)	15 (6.7)
Azab	50	49	5 oda	9 (18)	8 (16.3)
Martolos	25	25	2 oda	6 (24)	6 (24)
<b>Total</b>	<b>384</b>	<b>360</b>		<b>59 (15.4)</b>	<b>35 (9.7)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Mustafa Halil dizdar 14, Mahmud, after his death Hasan İdris kethüda 14, serbölük 7–8, ordinary soldiers 6. Topçu: İbrahim Murad ser 9, Pervane Zvornik kethüda 7, seroda, ordinary soldiers 6. Faris: Halil ağa 15, Hüseyin ağa 10, Bali ağa 12, Ahmed ağa ba timar, seroda 9–10, ordinary soldiers 8–9. Azab: Ömer ağa 15, seroda 8, ordinary soldiers 5–6. Martolos: Ayas Abdullah ağa 12, seroda 6–7, ordinary soldiers 4–5. 31 Christians.

**1558–1559** (ÖNB Mxt 633, pp. 136–143: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	51	49	5 bölük	9 (17.6)	7 (14.3)
Topçu	13	13	1 bölük	–	–
Faris	222	218	3 ağa, 23 oda	36 (16.2)	32 (14.7)
Azab	50	49	5 oda	8 (16)	7 (14.3)
Martolos	25	19	2 oda	6 (24)	–
<b>Total</b>	<b>361</b>	<b>348</b>		<b>59 (16.3)</b>	<b>46 (13.2)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız, topçu: no change. Faris: Halil ağa 15, Hüseyin ağa 10, Memi ağa 12, remaining pay unchanged. Azab, martolos: no change. 23 Christians.

**1565–1566, 1568–1569** (ÖNB Mxt 612, p. 38. Mxt 617, pp. 6, 16: pay accounts)

Branch	29.07.1565– 21.01.1566	20.12.1568– 15.06.1569	16.06.– 09.12.1569
Müstahfız, topçu	56	59	62
Faris	189	211	218
Azab	43	45	48
<b>Total</b>	<b>288</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>328</b>

**1569** (ÖNB Mxt 607, pp. 247–256: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	38	37	4 bölük	8 (21.1)	7 (18.9)
Topçu	13	13	1 bölük	1 (7.7)	1 (7.7)
Faris	220	216	3 ağa, 23 oda	8 (3.6)	4 (1.9)
Azab	50	50	5 oda	8 (16)	8 (16)
<b>Total</b>	<b>321</b>	<b>316</b>		<b>25 (7.8)</b>	<b>20 (6.3)</b>

## VİLAYET-İ BUDUN

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Mustafa Halil dizdar 14, Abdi Hızır kethüda 7, serbölük 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Topçu: İbrahim ağa 8, Şaban kethüda 7, pay of ordinary soldiers unknown. Faris: Hasan Hızır ağa 15, Timurhan Yusuf ağa 10, Hüsrev ağa 12, pay of ordinary soldiers unknown. Azab: Pervane Bosna ağa 16, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5.

**From 1570** the infantry troops received timars, we only know the garrisons of two years. These years and the partial data indicate that the size of the garrison did not decrease.

**1577–1581** (BOA MAD 1561, p. 333. MAD 498, pp. 32, 59, 120: pay accounts. Tapu 662, pp. 44–58: icmal)

Branch	14.09.1577– 02.09.1578	03.09.1578– 23.08.1579	24.08.1579– 16.02.1580	17.02.1580– 04.02.1581
Müstahfız				48
Topçu				13
Faris	219	211	212	213
Azab				50
<b>Total</b>				<b>324</b>

*Officers, incomes* (akçe). Müstahfız (5 bölük again): Mustafa dizdar 5500, Abdi Hızır kethüda 3000, serbölük 1800–2000, ordinary soldiers 1700. Topçu: Veli Bayezid ser 4000, Hacı Hüsrev kethüda 3000, serbölük 2000, ordinary soldiers 1700. Azab: ağa unknown, Ali Hüseyin kethüda 3000, seroda 2000, ordinary soldiers 1600.

**1591** (BOA MAD 3762, p. 11: pay account. Tapu 675, pp. 47–57: icmal)

Branch	With salary timar / Paid
Müstahfız	49
Topçu	13
Faris	213
Azab	49
Martolos	45
<b>Total</b>	<b>369</b>

*Officers, incomes* (akçe). Müstahfız: Ali Hüseyin dizdar, Mehmed Abdullah kethüda, incomes unchanged. Topçu: Veli Bayezid ser, Mehmed Alagöz kethüda, incomes unchanged. Azab: Divane Ali ağa 3500, Hacı Ferhad kethüda 3800, seroda 1600–1800, ordinary soldiers 1600. The fortress was given back its martoloses.

After 1596 Hatvan was transferred to the vilayet of Eğri; its description continues there.

Kale-i **ŞALGO** (Hu. Salgó)  
Ottoman possession 1554–1593.  
Had an independent garrison from 1560

Şalgo was one of several small Ottoman fortresses located close together south of Filek, with a garrison of only about 40 men.

## LİVA-İ HATVAN

**1565** (ÖNB Mxt 612, p. 38: pay account)  
Müstahfız: 18, martolos: 21, total: 39.

**1569** (ÖNB Mxt 607, pp. 257–258: pay list. Mxt 617, p. 7, 17: pay account)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Paid heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	21	21	19	2 bölük	5 (23.8)	5 (23.8)
Topçu	2	2		–	–	–
Martolos	21	21	21	2 oda	2 (9.5)	2 (9.5)
<b>Total</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>40</b>		<b>7 (15.9)</b>	<b>7 (15.9)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Şirmerd dizdar 13, serbölük 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Topçu: 4. Martolos (transferred from Hatvan): Behram ağa 12, seroda 5, ordinary soldiers 4. 18 Christians.

From 1570 two units lived off salary timars, we only know the whole garrison from 1580.

**1577–1581** (BOA MAD 1561, p. 333. Mad 498, pp. 32, 59, 120: pay accounts. Tapu 662, pp. 59–61: icmal)

Branch	14.09.1577–02.09.1578	03.09.1578–23.08.1579	24.08.1579–16.02.1580	17.02.1580–04.02.1581
Müstahfız				20
Martolos	20	21	21	21
<b>Total</b>				<b>41</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Şirmerd dizdar 5500, Hasan Cihanşah kethüda 2000, serbölük 1900, ordinary soldiers 1700. Martolos in 1588 (ÖNB Mxt 615, pp. 119–120, pay list): Ramazan Yusuf ağa 12, seroda 5, ordinary soldiers 4; 14 Christians.

## LİVA-İ İSTOLNİ BELGRAD

Kale-i **İSTOLNİ BELGRAD** (Hu. Székesfehérvár, Fehérvár)

Ottoman possession 1543–1688

Hungarian possession 1601–1602

Prior to the Ottoman occupation, this was the town where Hungarian kings were crowned. As an Ottoman fortress, it played an outstanding part in the defense of the north Transdanubian border, in the military conquests pushing westwards as well as in the spread of Ottoman taxation. Consequently, its strongest units were the faris and müstahfız. In the struggles fought during the Fifteen Years' War its garrison collapsed, then, following a slow period of reorganisation, settled at 600–650 men. The local defenders were reinforced by troops of the Porte; unfortunately few data on their numbers survive.

**1543** (ÖNB Mxt 550, pp. 1–51: pay list)

The pay list was put together inconsistently: the call-roll signs were either written in or not, sometimes the soldiers present, sometimes the payments were in-

licated, while changes in the personnel were only registered in a few units. It is difficult to make clear sense of this; the conclusion that can be drawn is that the first garrison seems to have been better organised than usual.

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Paid heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)
Müstahfız	953	844	822	95 bölük	109 (11.4)
Kumbaracı	10	[10]	–	1 bölük	?
Cebeci	10	[10]	–	1 bölük	?
Haddad	10	[10]	–	1 bölük	?
Neccar	10	[10]	–	1 bölük	?
Mefter	6	[6]	6	–	–
Topçu	72	72	71	7 bölük	–
Faris	1010	997	979	10 ağa, 100 oda	49 (4.9)
Azab	511	486	465	1 ağa, 10 riyaset, 50 oda	25 (4.9)
Martolos	503	[499]	499	3 ser, 50 oda	?
<b>Total</b>	<b>3095</b>	<b>2944</b>	<b>2842</b>		

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Hasan ağa dizdar 90, Mustafa kethüda 30, Piri kâtib 15, ser-bölük 8, ordinary soldiers 6–7. Kumbaracı: Mustafa Hızır ser, pay unknown. Cebeci: Mustafa Ali ser, pay unknown. Haddad: ser and pay unknown. Neccar: Bernat Jeremiaser ser, pay unknown. Mehter: Mahmud ser 10, others 8. Topçu: Hacı Yahya ser 30, Timurhan Yusuf kethüda 15, remaining pay unknown. Faris: Bali, Mehmed Sinan, Şaban, Ali, Mehmed, Ferruh, Mustafa, other Mustafa, Ferhad, other Mehmed ağa 20–32, seroda 10, ordinary soldiers 9. Azab: Turhan ağa, Hüseyin kethüda, pay unknown, emir Ali b. emir Receb kâtib-i azeban ve martolosan 15, reis 12–14, remaining pay unknown. Martolos: İnehan, Turali, Mustafa ser 15, sermiye 8, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5. 492 Christians.

**1545–1546** (ÖNB Mxt 590, pp. 17–19. Mxt 581, pp. 48–50: pay accounts. Mxt 558: yoklama, only the soldiers present were listed)

Branch	Present heads	Paid heads			Units
		12.06.– 07.09.1545	08.09.– 05.12.1545	06.12.1545– 03.03.1546	
Müstahfız	607	507	545	521	85 bölük
Cebeci	5				–
Neccar	3				–
Topçu	96	93	101	104	10 bölük
Haddad	7				1 bölük
Neccar	8				1 bölük
Faris	977	601	753	763	10 ağa, 100 oda
Azab	468	157	273	242	2 ağa, 10 riyaset, 50 oda
Martolos	473	280	393	416	3 ser, 50 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>2644</b>	<b>1638</b>	<b>2065</b>	<b>2046</b>	

The noticable fall in the total numbers after 1543 can mostly be explained by the fact that the Transdanubian fortresses captured in these two years were partly manned with soldiers transferred from here. I cannot explain the huge difference between the number of soldiers present and those who received their pay in cash.

# LİVA-İ İSTOLNİ BELGRAD

*Officers.* Müstahfız: no change in officers, Hurrem kâtib. Cebeci: Ahmed Hamza ser. Topçu: no change in officers. Faris: Mustafa, other Mustafa, Ferhad, Mürüvvet, Şaban, Ferruh, other Mustafa, Mehmed, Ali, Yusuf ağa. Azab: Hızır ağa, Hüseyin kethüda, Zeyni(?) ağa, Mustafa kethüda. Martolos: İnehan, Hüseyin Divane, Hüseyin Firuz ser. 465 Christians.

**1556–1557** (ÖNB Mxt 578, pp. 25–35, 37–47: pay list; the end of the list is incomplete)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	394	384	44 bölük	34 (8.6)	22 (5.7)
Topçu	85	83	8 bölük	8 (9.4)	6 (7.2)
Haddad	6	6	–	1 (16.7)	1 (16.7)
Neccar	6	5	–	1 (16.7)	–
Faris	379	363	4 ağa, 40 oda	45 (11.9)	29 (8)
Azab	101	99	2 ağa, 3 riyaset, 10 oda	10 (9.9)	8 (8.1)
Martolos	?	?			

Although the list is incomplete (the martoloses were left out), it is still informative: with the reduction of soldiers the number of troops and the payments to officers decreased too.

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Ali dizdar 50, Mustafa kethüda 30. Topçu: Ali İsmail ser 15, Mustafa kethüda 8. Faris: Sefer Divane ağa 13, Veli İskender ağa 10, Mehmed Divane ağa 10, İskender Divane ağa 15. Azab: Kurd Divane ağa 13, Zeyni(?) ağa 22. 2 Christians.

**1557–1558** (ÖNB MXT 614, pp. 144–166: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	394	384	42 bölük	47 (11.9)	37 (9.6)
Topçu	80	75	8 bölük	9 (11.2)	4 (5.3)
Haddad	4	4	–	–	–
Neccar	5	5	–	–	–
Faris	358	347	4 ağa, 38 oda	32 (8.9)	21 (6.1)
Azab	183	182	2 ağa, 5 riyaset, 18 oda	18 (9.8)	17 (9.3)
Martolos	159	155	3 ağa, 16 oda	25 (15.7)	21 (13.5)
<b>Total</b>	<b>1183</b>	<b>1152</b>		<b>131 (11.1)</b>	<b>100 (8.7)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Ali ağa, after him Yusuf dizdar 60, Mustafa kethüda 30, serbölük 7–8, majority of ordinary soldiers 6. Topçu: Ali İsmail ser 15, Mustafa kethüda 9, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 7. Haddad: 6–7. Neccar: 7. Faris: Sefer ağa 13, Veli İskender ağa 10, Mehmed Divane ağa 10, İskender Divane ağa 15, seroda 10, majority of ordinary soldiers 9. Azab: Kurd Divane ağa 12, Zeyni(?) ağa 22, reis 9, 10, 12, seroda 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Martolos: Cafer ağa 13, Piri Yusuf ağa 8, Veli Divane ağa 12, sermiye 8, 8, 6, seroda 5–6, ordinary soldiers 4–5. 160 Christians.

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**1558–1559** (ÖNB Mxt 633, pp. 169–175, 179–197: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	393	379	No change	43 (10.9)	29 (7.7)
Topçu	80	78		12 (15)	10 (12.8)
Haddad	4	3		1 (25)	–
Neccar	5	5		–	–
Faris	357	340		50 (14)	33 (9.7)
Azab	182	175		23 (12.6)	16 (9.1)
Martolos	156	152		14 (9)	10 (6.6)
<b>Total</b>	<b>1177</b>	<b>1132</b>		<b>143 (12.1)</b>	<b>98 (8.7)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Yusuf dizdar, kethüda and pay unchanged. Topçu: Mustafa Hızır ser, Nasuh Timur kethüda, pay unchanged. Faris: ağas Mehmed, Veli İskender, Korkud Mezid, Veli Divane 12, other pay unchanged. Azab: no change in officers or pay. Martolos: ağas Pervane, Gazi Divane, Ferhad Yusuf, pay unchanged. 149 Christians.

**1565** (ÖNB Mxt 612, p. 40: pay account)

Branch	Paid heads
Müstahfız	369
Topçu, haddad	81
Faris	310
Azab	209
Martolos	136
<b>Total</b>	<b>1105</b>

**1569** (ÖNB Mxt 642, pp. 132–159: pay list. Mxt 617, pp. 10, 20: pay account)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Paid heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	384	384	382	45 bölük	5 (1.3)	5 (1.3)
Topçu	70	68	75	No change	8 (11.4)	6 (8.8)
Haddad	4	4			–	–
Neccar	5	4			1 (20)	–
Faris	532	529	511	5 ağa, 61 oda	51 (9.6)	48 (9.1)
Azab	300	297	287	2 ağa, 10 riyaset, 30 oda	27 (9)	24 (8.1)
Martolos	148	146	134	3 ağa, 17 oda	26 (17.6)	24 (16.4)
<b>Total</b>	<b>1443</b>	<b>1432</b>	<b>1389</b>		<b>118 (8.2)</b>	<b>107 (7.5)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Mehmed ağa dizdar 60, Mustafa kethüda 25, serbölük 7–8, majority of ordinary soldiers 6. Topçu: Nasuh ağa 11, Mustafa kethüda, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 7. Haddad: 5. Neccar: 7. Faris: Sefer ağa ba timar, Mürüvvet(?) ağa 13, İbrahim ağa 10, Rüstem Divane ağa 10, Ahmed ağa ba timar, seroda 9, majority of ordinary soldiers 9. Azab: Sefer ağa 12, Ali Divane kethüda 9, Ali ağa 10, Mehmed Atmaca kethüda 12, reis 8–9, seroda 6, majority of ordinary soldiers 5. Martolos: Ali Ahmed ağa 10, Nasuh Ali ağa 10, Ferhad Yusuf ağa 13, sermiye 9, 8, 6, seroda 5, majority of ordinary soldiers 4. 125 Christians.

# LİVA-İ İSTOLNİ BELGRAD

An unknown number of yeniçeris of the Porte served in the fortress as well, their wages were sent from the capital. (7 Numaralı mühimme, No. 327)

**1572–1574** (BOA MAD 1561, pp. 150, 184: pay account)

Branch	14.05.1572– 02.05.1573	03.05.1573– 22.04.1574
Müstahfız	390	384
Topçu, haddad, neccar	77	75
Faris	539	491
Azab	292	290
Martolos	141	143
<b>Total</b>	<b>1439</b>	<b>1383</b>

**1577–1581** (BOA MAD 1561, pp. 339–340. MAD 498, pp. 39, 67–68, 126–127: pay accounts)

Branch	14.09.1577– 02.09.1578	03.09.1578– 23.08.1579	24.08.1579– 16.02.1580	17.02.1580– 04.02.1581
Müstahfız	390	381	392	390
Topçu, haddad, neccar	77	76	76	75
Faris	455	433	433	435
Azab	298	291	295	295
Martolos	141	131	127	134
<b>Total</b>	<b>1361</b>	<b>1312</b>	<b>1323</b>	<b>1329</b>

**1592–1593** (Dresden Eb. 355, pp. 2–28: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Paid heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	290	287	279	35 bölük	43 (14.8)	40 (13.9)
Müstahfızan-i bab- i Polata	89	89	85	10 bölük	11 (12.4)	11 (12.4)
Topçu	57	57	53	8 bölük	13 (22.8)	13 (22.8)
Haddad	4	4	4	–	–	–
Neccar	5	4	4	–	1 (20)	–
Faris	453	453	333	6 ağa, 60 oda	44 (9.7)	44 (9.7)
Azab	273	269	260	3 ağa, 10 riyaset, 30 oda	37 (13.6)	33 (12.3)
Martolos	111	111	84	3 ağa, 17 oda	7 (6.3)	7 (6.3)
<b>Total</b>	<b>1282</b>	<b>1274</b>	<b>1102</b>		<b>156 (12.2)</b>	<b>148 (11.6)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Mustafa ağa dizdar 40, Yahya Mehmed kethüda, pay unknown, serbölük 7–8, ordinary soldiers 6. Müstahfızan-i bab-i Polata: Nasuh ağa dizdar 20, Timurhan kethüda 9, serbölük 7–10, ordinary soldiers 6. Topçu: Hasan ağa 12, Mehmed kethüda, seroda 8, ordinary soldiers 7. Haddad: 6–7. Neccar: 7. Faris: Sefer ağa 17, Malkoç ağa 28, Ahmed Behram ağa 16, Piri ağa 12, Osman ağa 14, Mehmed ağa 15, seroda 9, majority of ordinary soldiers 8. Azab: İbrahim ağa 20, Osman kethüda 10, Beşir ağa 12, Mustafa kethüda 9, Derviş ağa 12, Mustafa kethüda 10, reis 7–8, 12, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5. Martolos: Dilaver ağa 20, Sefer ağa 12, Mehmed ağa 10, sermiye 9, 7, 6, seroda 5, ordinary soldiers 4. 83 Christians.



VİLAYET-İ BUDUN

**1600–1601** (ÖNB Mxt 635, p. 29: pay account)

Branch	Paid
Müstahfız	210
Müstahfız-i bab-i Polata	61
Müstahfız-i varoş-i Buda	32
Topçu, haddad	103
Faris	247
Azab	166
Martolos	32
Gönüllü	286
Gönüllü transferred from Bosnia	148
<b>Total</b>	<b>1285</b>

**1608–1609** (ÖNB Mxt 620, pp. 2–13, 16–21, 28–29: pay list. BOA MAD 4654, pp. 146, 159–160: pay account)

Not much was left of the garrison of the lost, then recaptured İstolni Belgrad. Some soldiers in the earlier units, who were much reduced in number, were also ‘new’; men were transferred here from several places to reinforce them. Even with them, the garrison is a pitiful sight. Because of the vacancies, a much higher proportion of the remaining soldiers bore the rank of some officer or deputy officer than usual. Maybe troops of the Porte still remained in the fortress, but there are no data about them.

Branch	Present 1608 heads	Units	Paid 1609 heads
Müstahfız-i enderun	53	11 bölük	58
Müstahfız-i bab-i Polata	6	1 bölük	6
Müstahfız-i bab-i cedit	5	1 bölük	5
Müstahfız from Serdahel	59	6 bölük	63
Topçu	27	8 bölük	29
Faris	165	8 ağa, 63 oda	161
Azab	29	5 ağa, 6 oda	26
Azab from Pojega	14	1 ağa, 2 oda	155
Azab from Valpovo	31	1 ağa, 4 oda	
Azab from Batasek	54	1 ağa, 6 oda	
Azab from Bogar	44	1 ağa, 4 oda	
Azab from Mohaç	36	1 ağa, 5 oda	
Martolos	19	2 ağa, 5 oda	18
Martolos from Hum	–		27
<b>Total</b>	<b>542</b>		<b>548</b>
Hademe-i cevami	10		11

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Hızır dizdar 70, Ali kethüda 30, Sadık kâtib 52(!), müteferrika 59, mütekaidin 8–35, first seroda 12, others 10, ordinary soldiers 9. Müstahfız-i bab-i Polata: Mustafa ağa 30, Hüseyin kethüda 20, serbölük 10, ordinary soldiers 9. Müstahfız-i bab-i cedit: Osman ağa 30, İbrahim kethüda 15, serbölük 10, others 9. Müstahfız from Serdahel: Mehmed ağa 31, Bali Bosna kethüda 20, serbölük 11, ordinary soldiers 9. Topçu: Abdi ağa 30, Veli kethüda 20, serbölük 11, ordinary soldiers 10. Faris ağas: Kurd 65,

# LİVA-İ İSTOLNİ BELGRAD

Zülfikar 50, Mehmed 40, Mustafa 40, İbrahim 40, Osman 40, Ahmed 40, Armağan 47, majority of serodas 16, ordinary soldiers 15. Azab ağas: İbrahim 30, Beşir 25, Ali 25, Hüseyin 30, Bekir 25, kethüdas: Kurd 20, İbrahim 18, Cafer 15, Hasan 15, seroda 10, ordinary soldiers 9. Azab from Pojega: Ömer ağa 25, Osman kethüda 12, reis, alemdar 10, seroda 7, others 6. Azab from Valyevo: Hasan ağa 18, İbrahim kethüda 13, reis, alemdar 8, seroda 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Azab from Batasek: Mustafa Ferhad ağa 20, Mustafa kethüda 10, reis, alemdar 8, seroda 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Azab from Bogar: Osman ağa 20, Ali kethüda 10, reis, alemdar 8, ordinary soldiers 6. Azab from Mohaç: Ahmed Kurd ağa 25, Hüseyin Ahmed kethüda 12, reis, seroda 8, ordinary soldiers 7. Martolos: Stojan ağa 25, Cvetko ağa 25, sermiye 12, seroda 7, ordinary soldiers 6. 115 Christians, 8 Tatars.

Hademe-i cevami: Hüsrev halife hatib 18, Ömer efendi, Hasan halife 27, Ahmed müezzın 15, Mehmed müezzın 15, Ahmed muarraf 15, Seyyid kayyum 10, İbrahim çiraktar 10, Ali halife müezzın 10, Piri kayyum, çiraktar 10.

## About 1610 (BOA MAD 5623, pp. 120–138: pay list, yoklama)

Branch	Pay list heads	Units
Müstahfız [-i enderun]	47	11 bölük
Müstahfız-i bab-i Polata	6	1 ağa
Müstahfız-i bab-i cedid	6	1 ağa
Müstahfız from Serdahel	62	7 bölük
Topçu	30	8 bölük
Faris	153	4 ağa, 32 oda
Azab	149	5 ağa, 6 riyaset, 14 oda
Martolos	51	3 ağa
<b>Total</b>	<b>504</b>	
Hademe-i cevami	13	

They started to merge empty or very incomplete units.

## 1613 (BOA MAD 4000, pp. 208–231: pay list. MAD. 4133, pp. 47–48, 87: pay account)

Branch	Pay list heads	Paid heads	Units
Müstahfız-i kale-i enderun	91	91	9 bölük
Müstahfız-i bab-i Polata	41	5	2 ağa, 3 bölük
Müstahfız-i bab-i cedid	64	64	8 bölük
Topçu	29	29	8 bölük
Faris	153	152	4 ağa, 17 oda
Azab	91	102	4 ağa
Martolos	18	43	3 ağa
<b>Total</b>	<b>487</b>	<b>486</b>	
Hademe-i cevami	12	12	

The consolidation continued: further units were merged, four squads of azabs were promoted müstahfız, and at the beginning of 1613 they were transferred to the bab-i Polata.

## 1613, 1618 (BOA MAD 116. MAD 4968: lists of yeniçeris)

In 1613, local forces were reinforced with yeniçeris from the Porte. Their number

changed every three months: masar 1022: 198, recec: 136, then 207, reşen: 206, lezez: 206. By 1617/18 their strength had decreased: lezez 1026: 96, masar 1027: 88.

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız-i kale-i enderun: Hızır ağa 60, Ali kethüda 30, Sadık kâtib 52. Müstahfız-i bab-i Polata: Mustafa ağa 30, Mustafa kethüda 20, Ahmed ağa 25, Hüseyin kethüda 10. Müstahfız-i bab-i cedit: Mehmed ağa 31, İbrahim kethüda 20, other İbrahim kethüda 15. Topçu: Hüseyin ağa 20, Veli kethüda 20. Faris: İsmail Ali ağa 35, Mehmed ağa 30, Mustafa ağa 40, Osman ağa 35. Azab: İbrahim ağa 25, Hüseyin kethüda 20, Beşir ağa 30, ... kethüda 25, Süleyman ağa 20, Osman kethüda 10. Martolos: Stojan ağa 22, Nikola sermiye 10.

**1619** (BOA MAD 7320, pp. 105–123: pay list. Bab-i defteri, Yeniçeri kalemi 33718, pp. 60–65, 88–103: list of yeniçeris)

Branch	Pay list, present	
Müstahfız-i enderun	91	
Müstahfız-i bab-i Polata	40	
Müstahfız-i bab-i cedit	57	
Topçu	28	
Faris	146	
Azab	123	
Martolos	34	
<b>Total (of local troops)</b>	<b>519</b>	
Porte yeniçeri	11.09.–07.12.1619	08.12.1619–05.03.1620
	249	594
<b>Total</b>	<b>768</b>	<b>1113</b>
Hademe-i cevami	13	
Mütekaid	5	

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Süleyman ağa 70, Hasan kethüda 25, Mehmed kâtib 30, serbölük 10, ordinary soldiers 7–9. Müstahfız-i bab-i Polata: Mustafa ağa 30, Emirşah kethüda 20, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 6–9. Müstahfız-i bab-i cedit: Mehmed ağa 31, İbrahim kethüda 20, serbölük 9, ordinary soldiers 8–11. Topçu: Bali ağa 20, Mehmed kethüda 14, serbölük 9–10, ordinary soldiers 8–10. Faris: İsmail ağa 40, Mustafa ağa 40, Şaban ağa 27, first seroda 30, others 12–20, ordinary soldiers 10–16. Azab: Bekir Ramazan ağa 25, Hüseyin kethüda 20, Hüseyin ağa 30, Osman kethüda 15, Mahmud ağa 20, Osman Memi kethüda 10, Cafer ağa 20, Mustafa kethüda 10, reis 8–14, alemdar 8–9, seroda 6–10, ordinary soldiers 5–10. Martolos: Ömer ağa 22, Nikola sermiye 8, Ahmed ağa 20, Vuk sermiye 8, seroda 6–7, ordinary soldiers 6. 28 Christians.

*Hademe-i cevami*: Mevlana Hasan hatib 27, Yahya halife hatib 12, Hasan halife sermahfil, devr-han 4, Hüseyin halife müezzın 12, Mehmed Bali kayyum 8, Ali halife müezzın 10, Nadi kayyum, siracı 10, Ali halife unknown rank 6, Mehmed halife müezzın 8, Ömer halife müezzın 5, Hasan siracı 15, Ali halife imam, Musa halife imam, hatib 15. Mütekaidin: 2 ağas, 1 baba, 2 of unknown rank 8–40.

**1628–1629** (ÖNB Mxt 636, p. 21: pay account. BOA MAD 7089, pp. 62–63: list of the yeniçeris)

Branch	Local troops, paid / Yeniçeri
Müstahfız, mütekaid	131
Müstahfız-i bab-i cedit	55
Topçu	35
Faris	157
Azab	220
Martolos	34
<b>Total (of local troops)</b>	<b>632</b>
Porte yeniçeri	93
<b>Total</b>	<b>725</b>

Further data on the yeniçeris: 18.11.1629–13.02.1630: 85; 14.05.–09.08.1630: 87 yeniçeri.

**1631–1632** (ÖNB Mxt 607, pp. 149–166: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Units
Müstahfız	129	15 bölük
Müstahfız-i bab-i cedit	55	7 bölük
Topçu	35	4 bölük
Faris	153	3 ağa, 17 oda
Azab	220	4 ağa, 9 riyaset, 22 oda
Martolos	34	2 ağa, 3 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>626</b>	

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Mehmed dizdar 70, Hasan Ali kethüda 25, Mehmed Ömer kâtib 30, majority of serbölüks 8, majority of ordinary soldiers 7–8. Müstahfızan-i bab-i cedit: Durmuş ağa 31, İbrahim Divane kethüda 20, serbölük 9, ordinary soldiers 8. Topçu: Mehmed ağa 20, Ahmed Bosna kethüda 14, serbölük 10, ordinary soldiers 6–12. Faris: Mehmed ağa 40, Habil ağa 40, El-hacı Ali ağa 30, seroda 12–20, ordinary soldiers 10–18. Azab: Hasan Salih ağa 25, Hüseyin Divane kethüda 20, Yusuf Hüseyin ağa 30, Ali Hüseyin 15, İbrahim Bali ağa 20, Osman Memi kethüda 10, Cafer Kurd ağa 20, Süleyman Turak 10, reis 8–15, alemdar 8, first seroda 20, others 6–10, majority of ordinary soldiers 6. Martolos: Ömer Üveys ağa 22, Turak Hamza sermiye 8, Ahmed ağa 20, Ahmed Divane sermiye 8, seroda 6–7, ordinary soldiers 6. Baba Bedir 15.

**1662, 1677–1678** (BOA Başmuhasebe, Budun hazinesi kalemı 16727, 16728, p. 8; 16729, p. 10: pay accounts)

Without dividing them, the treasury registered 1079 soldiers in all the fortresses in the sancak (İstolni Belgrad, Polata, Çoka, Bakan). The figure did not change in one and the half decades, so it only indicates how many soldiers' payments were used for calculating.

**1666–1671** (BOA MAD 5996: lists of yeniçeris)

The number of the yeniçeris placed in the fortress was between 86–93 (for more detail, see the chapter on the yeniçeris of the Porte).

## Kale-i ÇOKA (Hu. Csókakő)

Ottoman possession 1543 or 1544–1687

(changed hands several times at the turn of the century)

The fort stood on the border to the north of Istolni Belgrad, and although it was neither small nor insignificant, in the 16th century only three squads of müstahfız were stationed here. In the following century its garrison increased slightly.

Year	Source	Müstahfız	Topçu
1545–1546	ÖNB Mxt 581, p. 50: pay account	34	–
1552	ÖNB Mxt 592, p. 55: pay list	34	–
1556–1557	ÖNB Mxt 578, pp. 35–36: pay list	34	–
1557–1558	ÖNB Mxt 614, p. 172: pay list	34	–
1558–1559	ÖNB Mxt 614, pp. 176–177, 199: pay list	33	–
1565	ÖNB Mxt 612, p. 40: pay account	33	–
1569	ÖNB Mxt 642, p. 160: pay list	34	–
1572–1574	BOA MAD 1561, pp. 150, 185: pay account	34	–
1577–1578	BOA MAD 1561, p. 340. MAD 498, pp. 39, 67, 127: pay accounts	33	–
1578–1579		32	–
1579–1580		34	–
1580–1581		34	–
1591–1592	BOA MAD 3762, p. 17: pay account	39	
1592–1593	Dresden Eb 355, p. 28: pay list	35	4
1596–1597	BOA MAD 3370, pp. 284–285: pay list	33	5
1600–1601	ÖNB Mxt 635, p. 29: pay account	38	

*Officers, pay in 1552* (akçe). 3 bölük. Mustafa, after him Hüseyin Yanina dizdar 10, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 6. *1556–1557*. 3 bölük. İlyas dizdar, pay unchanged. *1569*. 3 bölük. İlyas ağa, serbölük 7, remaining pay unchanged. *1592–1593*. Müstahfız: Tursun ağa dizdar 10, Kurd kethüda 9, seroda 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Topçu: Ferhad ağa 10, others 6. *1598*: the dizdar himself fled from the Christians siege.

**1608** (ÖNB Mxt 620, pp. 13–14: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Units
Müstahfız	27	7 bölük
Topçu	22	3 bölük
<b>Total</b>	<b>49</b>	
Hademe-i cami	1	

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Şaban dizdar, Osman kethüda, pay unknown, serbölük 10, ordinary soldiers 9. Topçu: Mehmed ağa 20, Ali kethüda 15, serbölük 11, ordinary soldiers 10. Memi Bosna müezzın 9.

**1612–1615** (BOA MAD 4133, pp. 9, 48, 88: pay account. MAD 4000, pp. 232–234: pay list)

Branch	04.03.1612– 20.02.1613	21.02.– 16.08.1613	31.01.– 26.07.1615
Müstahfız	29	29	29
Topçu	22	22	17
<b>Total</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>46</b>

## LİVA-İ İSTOLNİ BELGRAD

*Officers, pay in 1613* (akçe). Müstahfız: Şaban dizdar 40, Osman kethüda 22. Topçu: Mehmed ağa 30, Abdulcelil kethüda 12. 5 Christians.

**1619** (BOA MAD 7320, pp. 123–125: pay list)

Müstahfız: 27. 6 bölük. No change in officers or their pay, serbölük 10, ordinary soldiers 7–9. Topçu: 19. 2 bölük. Mehmed ağa 30, Abdulcelil kethüda 15, serbölük 10, ordinary soldiers 7–10. Total: 46. İbrahim imam 14, Memi Bosna müezzin 13.

**1631–1632** (ÖNB Mxt 607, pp. 166–167)

Müstahfız: 27. 3 bölük. No change in officers or pay. Topçu: 19. Mehmed ağa 30, Şaban Ferhad kethüda 16, remaining pay unchanged. Total: 46. Mehmed Hasan müezzin 13.

### Kale-i **BESİRİM** (Hu. Veszprém) Ottoman possession 1552–1566, 1593–1598

Once the town of Hungarian queens, in its short Ottoman periods it was the most important fortress after Estergon and İstolni Belgrad in the north Transdanubia. In the 1550s and 1560s only three troops served here, the farises constituted its most significant force; the garrison did not have enough time to settle down, it remained very mobile throughout. No pay list survives from its second Ottoman period; all that can be deduced from data on its remaining soldiers who were transferred to other fortresses is that in the war years at the turn of the century the garrison was stronger and more numerous than earlier.

**1553** (ÖNB Mxt 643, pp. 51–58: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	113	109	10 bölük	28 (24.8)	23 (21.1)
Topçu	29	26	2 bölük	8 (27.6)	5 (19.2)
Faris	202	182	2 ağa, 21 oda	62 (30.7)	42 (23.1)
<b>Total</b>	<b>344</b>	<b>317</b>		<b>98 (28.5)</b>	<b>70 (22.1)</b>
Hademe-i cami	1				

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Ali dizdar 15, Hüseyin kethüda 9, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 6. Topçu: Hasan Semendire ser 15, Hüseyin arnavud kethüda 15, after him Mustafa Mehmed 8, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 7. Faris: İvaz ağa (absent) 30, Mustafa Divane ağa 15, seroda 10, ordinary soldiers 9. Mevlana Taceddin hatib, imam 15. 9 Christians.

**1557–1558** (ÖNB Mxt 614, pp. 166–171: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	107	102	10 bölük	20 (18.7)	15 (14.7)
Topçu	29	26	2 bölük	5 (17.2)	2 (7.7)
Faris	179	167	2 ağa, 19 oda	30 (16.8)	18 (10.8)
<b>Total</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>295</b>		<b>55 (17.5)</b>	<b>35 (11.9)</b>

## VİLAYET-İ BUDUN

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Ali Süleyman dizdar 15, Mustafa Mehmed kethüda 9, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 6. Topçu: Hüseyin Süleyman ağa 13, Mustafa Mehmed, after him Timurhan Mahmud kethüda 8, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 7. Faris: Timur Divane ağa 13, Parmaksız Yusuf ağa 15, seroda 10, majority of ordinary soldiers 9.

**1558–1559** (ÖNB Mxt 633, pp. 207–212: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	109	105	No change	17 (15.6)	13 (12.4)
Topçu	29	28		5 (17.2)	4 (14.3)
Faris	179	166		57 (31.8)	44 (26.5)
<b>Total</b>	<b>317</b>	<b>299</b>		<b>79 (24.9)</b>	<b>61 (20.4)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız, topçu: no change in officers or pay. Faris: Timur Divane, after him Yusuf Abdullah ağa 12, Parmaksız Yusuf, after him Mehmed Mahmud ağa 15, remaining pay unchanged.

**1565** (ÖNB Mxt 612, p. 40: pay account)

Müstahfız: 103, topçu: 24, faris: 159, total: 286.

**1593–1598** (BOA MAD 3370, pp. 303–320: pay list)

My theory is that at the end of the yoklama defteri, which was drawn up around the beginning of the Fifteen Years' War (to be filled with changes for years) a few later registers were bound, including the list of Bespirim soldiers who were transferred elsewhere after the fortress was lost. The whole garrison cannot be reconstructed from them, but they allow us a cautious guess about the second Ottoman period of the fortress, when all five major branches were present, and the number of its soldiers greatly exceeded the previous figure. This is the trace left by soldiers serving until 1598:

müstahfız: 21 bölük, 86 men,

topçu: no traces left,

faris: 7 oda, 27 men,

azab: 5 ağa, 25 oda, 200 men,

martolos: 9 oda, 46 men.

### Kale-i BAK'AN (Hu. Battyán)

Constructed in 1567, Ottoman possession to 1687

Built south of İstolni Belgrad, at the ford of river Sárviz, on the recommendation of Sokollu Mustafa, paşa of Buda, and with the permission of the imperial council. The idea was that its defenders would provide assistance against the Christian soldiers's raids on Buda (7 Numaralı mühimme defteri, No. 108). In the 16th century its defenders numbered around 140, in the next century the figure fell below 100.

# LİVA-İ İSTOLNİ BELGRAD

**1569** (ÖNB Mxt 642, pp. 160–163: pay list. Mxt 617, pp. 11, 21: pay account)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Paid heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	31	30	33	3 bölük	6 (19.4)	5 (16.7)
Topçu	4	3		–	3 (75)	2 (66.7)
Faris	51	51	43	5 oda	11 (21.6)	11 (21.6)
Martolos	42	40	30	6 oda	17 (40.5)	15 (37.5)
<b>Total</b>	<b>128</b>	<b>124</b>	<b>106</b>		<b>37 (28.9)</b>	<b>33 (26.6)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Ahmed ağa dizdar 13, Piri Kurd kethüda 11, serbölük 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Topçu: 6–7. Faris: Veli Abdullah ağa 15, seroda 8, ordinary soldiers 7. Martolos: Hüseyin Hasan ağa 12, Cafer Seydi sermiye 7, seroda 5, ordinary soldiers 4. 23 Christians.

**1572–1574** (BOA MAD 1561, pp. 150, 185: pay account)

Branch	14.05.1572– 02.05.1573	03.05.1563– 22.04.1574
Müstahfız, topçu	35	30
Faris	46	78
Martolos	41	36
<b>Total</b>	<b>122</b>	<b>144</b>

**1577–1581** (BOA MAD 1561, p. 340. MAD 498, pp. 39, 67, 126–127: pay accounts)

Branch	14.09.1577– 02.09.1578	03.09.1578– 23.08.1579	24.08.1579– 16.02.1580	17.02.1580– 04.02.1581
Müstahfız, topçu	36	37	37	36
Faris	80	63	63	62
Martolos	40	43	42	41
<b>Total</b>	<b>156</b>	<b>143</b>	<b>142</b>	<b>139</b>

**1591–1592** (BOA MAD 3762, p. 17: pay account)

Müstahfız, topçu: 36, faris: 64, martolos: 40, total: 140.

**1592–1593** (Dresden Eb 355, pp. 28–30: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Paid heads	Units	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	32	32	30	3 bölük	3 (9.4)
Topçu	4	4	4	–	–
Faris	66	66	66	7 oda	5 (7.6)
Martolos	38	38	36	6 oda	3 (7.9)
<b>Total</b>	<b>140</b>	<b>140</b>	<b>136</b>		<b>11 (7.9)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Mehmed ağa dizdar 13, Üveys kethüda 11, serbölük 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Topçu: Osman ağa 11, others 6–7. Faris: İsa ağa 13, seroda 8–9, ordinary soldiers 7–8. Martolos: Hasan ağa 13, Osman sermiye 7, seroda 5, ordinary soldiers 4. 24 Christians.

After the capture of Tihon (1594) the farises and martoloses were transferred there, then following the loss of Tihon (1598) the old order was restored.



**1596–1597** (BOA MAD 3370, pp. 286–287: pay list)

Müstahfız: 34. 3 bölük. Mehmed Pervane ağa, Ali Divane kethüda. Topçu: 4. Osman Kurd ağa. Total: 38.

**1600–1601** (ÖNB Mxt 635, pp. 29–30: pay account)

Müstahfız, topçu: 35, faris: 27, martolos: 17, total: 79.

**1608–1609** (ÖNB Mxt 620, pp. 14–16)

Müstahfız: 12. 3 bölük. İnehan ağa, his pay is unknown, Ömer kethüda 11, serbölük 7–9, ordinary soldiers 6. Topçu: 2. Hüsrev ağa 11, Vujče kethüda 11. Faris: 30. 2 ağa, 8 oda. Receb ağa 40, Abdi ağa 25, seroda 9–19, ordinary soldiers 15. Martolos: 10. 2 oda. Dimitre ağa 21, Jovan sermiye 14, seroda 6, 7, ordinary soldiers 5. Total: 54.

**1612–1615** (BOA MAD 4133, pp. 9, 48, 88: pay account. MAD 4000, pp. 234–238: pay list)

Branch	04.03.1612– 20.02.1613	21.02.– 16.08.1613	31.01.– 26.07.1615
Müstahfız, topçu	14	14	13
Faris	25	24	23
Martolos	28	28	27
<b>Total</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>63</b>

*Officers, pay in 1613* (akçe). Müstahfız: Ömer Divane ağa 20, Seydi kethüda 12. Topçu: Hurrem ağa, Vujče kethüda. Faris: Receb ağa 40. Martolos: 2 ağas, 2 sermiyes. 29 Christians.

**1631–1632** (ÖNB Mxt 607, pp. 168–169: pay list)

Müstahfız, topçu: 12. 1 bölük. Osman ağa 20, Hüseyin Ramazan kethüda 16, Beşir Divane sertopi 11, serbölük 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Faris: 22. 5 oda. Abdi ağa 40, seroda 16, ordinary soldiers 8–15. Martolos: 24. 3 oda. Süleyman ağa 15, Ömer Turak sermiye 12, seroda 7–9, ordinary soldiers 5. Total: 58. 15 Christians.

**1664** (Evliyâ Çelebi, 7. *Kitap*, 20): 180 soldiers, greatly exaggerated.

#### Kale-i **POLATA** (Hu. Várpalota / Palota) Ottoman possession 1593–1598, 1605–1687

This was one of the strongest fortresses in the north Transdanubian region. In the 16th century its Hungarian soldiers caused major problems to the Ottomans, in the 17th century its Ottoman garrison played an important role in the border defense and expansion of Ottoman Hungary. No pay lists or payment accounts survive from between 1593 and 1598; from the fragmentary data it seems that in times of war its garrison was well over 500 men. Following the peace treaty the number of its soldiers settled at about 200 men.

**1593–1598** (BOA MAD 3370, pp. 323–344: pay list. ÖNB Mxt 638, pp. 5–6: pay account)

In 1602–1603 soldiers transferred from Polata, altogether 539 men, were registered in several fortresses. The remaining men were distributed as follows:

# LİVA-İ İSTOLNİ BELGRAD

müstahfız: 6 bölük, 65 men,  
topçu: 3 bölük, 32 men,  
faris: 2 ağa, 13 oda, 106 men,  
azab: 3 ağa, 22 oda, 242 men,  
martolos: 2 ağa, 9 oda, 94 men,  
gönullü from Bosnia and Yanık, number unknown.

**1608** (ÖNB Mxt 620, pp. 21–28: pay list, without entries on personnel changes)

Branch	Pay list heads	Units
Müstahfız	23	3 bölük
Müstahfız from Bespirim	19	3 bölük
Topçu	13	1 bölük
Faris	87	3 ağa, 10 oda
Azab	26	4 oda
Azab from Bespirim	34	2 ağa, 4 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>202</b>	

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Şehman dizdar 25, Ahmed kethüda 15, first serbölük 12, others 10, alemdar 9, ordinary soldiers 8. Müstahfız from Bespirim: Mehmed Divane ağa 23, İbrahim kethüda 15, serbölük 9, ordinary soldiers 8. Topçu: Mehmed ağa 15, Ahmed kethüda 12, serbölük 10, majority of ordinary soldiers 9. Faris: Mehmed ağa 30, other Mehmed ağa 30, Mustafa ağa 30, alemdar 16, seroda 15–17, ordinary soldiers 15. Azab: Osman ağa 28, Mahmud Hüseyin kethüda 14, reis, alemdar 11, seroda 8–10, ordinary soldiers 8. Azab from Bespirim: İbrahim ağa 15, Mehmed kethüda 15, Moharrem ağa 20, Abdi kethüda 15, reis, first seroda 10, others 9, ordinary soldiers 8. 24 Christians.

**1610** (BOA MAD 5623, pp. 142–149: pay list)

The composition of the garrison, the size of units and the corps of officers are almost identical with those of 1608. Total: 199 men.

**1612–1615** (BOA MAD 4133, pp. 9, 48, 88–89: pay account. MAD 4000, pp. 238–245: pay list)

Branch	04.03.1612– 20.02.1613	21.02.– 16.08.1613	31.01.– 26.07.1615
Müstahfız	35	36	46
Topçu	14	14	
Faris	85	84	81
Azab	59	59	59
<b>Total</b>	<b>193</b>	<b>193</b>	<b>186</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: no change in officers or pay. Topçu: Mehmed ser 15, Ahmed Divane kethüda 12, remaining pay unchanged, 2 are neccar. Faris: Mehmed ağa 30, Nurullah ağa 30, alemdar 15, seroda 16, ordinary soldiers 9–15. Azab: Ali ağa 28, Zülfikar kethüda 14, İbrahim ağa 15, Osman kethüda 15, alemdar 8, first seroda 9, others 8, ordinary soldiers 8. Christians disappeared, they probably converted, as there is a suspiciously high number of soldiers with Abdullah as their second name.

**1629–1630** (ÖNB Mxt 607, pp. 139–145: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Units
Müstahfız	34	4 bölük
Topçu	14	1 bölük
Faris	84	2 ağa, 10 oda
Azab	58	2 ağa, 6 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>190</b>	

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Mehmed Ahmed dizdar 23, İbrahim Mümin kethüda 15, serbölük 8–10, majority of ordinary soldiers 8. Topçu: Ahmed ağa 15, Derviş Hasan kethüda 12, serbölük 10, majority of ordinary soldiers 8. Faris: Bekir Ömer ağa 32, Nurullah ağa 30, alemdar 15, seroda 16, majority of ordinary soldiers 15. Azab: Mahmud ağa 20, Hasan Kurd Ali kethüda 14, Hüseyin Divane ağa 19, Ali İbrahim kethüda 15, seroda 9, ordinary soldiers 8.

**1630** (BOA MAD 5193, p. 8: pay account)

Total: 196 heads (maybe the staff of the cami was included here too).

### Kale-i TİHON (Hu. Tihany) Ottoman possession 1594–1598

The fortified abbey stood on a peninsula on the northern shore of lake Balaton, and fell to the Ottomans in the course of the Fifteen Years' War along with several north Transdanubian fortresses. Its significance was the same as that of the others: with their capture the western border of the empire was pushed forward as far as the lands before Vienna. This explains why 300 men were crowded even into tiny Tihon; two thirds of them were azabs and martoloses serving on water too, under the command of a kapudan.

**1596(?)** (BOA MAD 3370, pp. 288–302: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Units
Müstahfız	37	4 bölük
Topçu	13	1 bölük
Faris	66	7 oda
Azab	105	2 ağa, 7 oda
Martolos	84	kapudan, 1 ağa, 14 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>305</b>	

*Officers.* Müstahfız: Hasan dizdar, Ahmed Divane kethüda. Topçu: Osman Uruc ağa, Behram Divane kethüda. Faris: Hızır Divane ağa. Azab: İbrahim Timur ağa, Osman Gazi kethüda, Muharrem Mehmed ağa, Abdi Hüseyin kethüda. Martolos: Malkoç Divane kapudan, Hasan Çernik ağa. 143 Christians.

## LİVA-İ İSTOLNİ BELGRAD

Kale-i **VAJON** (Hu. Vázsony)  
Ottoman possession 1594–1598

Although it was the furthest Ottoman border fortress in the uplands above lake Balaton, it was too small to hold more than half a company of soldiers.

**1596–1597** (BOA MAD 3370, pp. 321–322: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Units
Müstahfız	43	4 bölük
Topçu	8	1 bölük
<b>Total</b>	<b>51</b>	

*Officers.* Müstahfız: Mehmed Mustafa ağa, Bahtiyar Beşir kethüda. Topçu: İbrahim Divane, after him Mehmed Divane kethüda. 4 Christians.

## LİVA-İ KOPAN

Parkan / Kale-i **KOPAN** (Hu. Koppány)  
Constructed before 1550, Ottoman possession to 1686

Prior to 1566, Kopan, situated south of lake Balaton, was a border fortress of medium strength in the south Transdanubian region manned with about 150 soldiers. Due to the continuous military manoeuvres of the region during the Fifteen Years' War, its garrison was further strengthened by a hundred more men. The cavalry remained its strongest troop. The fortress, along with the other fortresses of the sancak, kept their significance even after the border was pushed much further west following the conquest of Kanija. This was because the raiding Hungarian and Ottoman soldiers fought here most frequently.

**1552–1553** (BOA Tapu 1030, pp. 53–55: icmal. ÖNB Mxt 643, pp. 21–23: pay list)

The two sources probably do not contain the complete garrison.

Branch	icmal / Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	20 (incomplete)		2 bölük		
Faris	59	58	2 ağa, 3 oda	10 (16.9)	9 (15.5)
Martolos	27	23	1 ağa, 3 oda	6 (22.2)	2 (8.7)

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: dizdar and kethüda unknown, serbölük 1800, ordinary soldiers 1700. Faris transferred from Donbo: İsa ağa 15, Uruc ağa 20, seroda 8, ordinary soldiers 7. Martolos transferred from Donbo: Hasan ağa 15, Antol Branik sermiye 6, seroda 5, ordinary soldiers 4. 22 Christians.

**1557–1558** (ÖNB Mxt 624, pp. 184–187: pay list)

The list only contains troops paid in cash; the number of cavalymen was doubled.

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Faris	115	112	3 ağa, 12 oda	22 (19.1)	19 (17)
Martolos	18	18	1 ağa, 3 oda	–	–

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*Officers, pay* (akçe). Faris: Mustafa ağa 9(!), Ahmed ağa 10, Uruc ağa 20, seroda 8, ordinary soldiers 8–9, 7. Martolos: Ferhad ağa 12, Antol Brenik sermiye 6(!), remaining pay unchanged. 17 Christians.

**1565** (BOA Tapu 353, pp. 56–57: icmal. ÖNB Mxt 612, p. 39: pay account)

Branch	With salary timar heads	With pay heads
Müstahfız	21	36
Faris		48
Azab		31
<b>Total</b>	<b>136</b>	
Hademe-i cami	1	

*Officers, incomes* (akçe). Müstahfız: İdris dizdar 5000, Rüstem kethüda 3000, serbölük 1800, ordinary soldiers 1700. İlyas b. Ahi imam 1700.

**1569–1570** (ÖNB Mxt 642, pp. 257–262: pay list. Mxt 617, pp. 9, 19: pay account. BOA Tapu 505, pp. 17–24: icmal)

Branch	İcmal / Pay list heads	Units
Müstahfız	58	6 bölük
Faris	57	1 ağa, 6 oda
Azab	32	1 ağa, 3 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>147</b>	
Hademe-i cami	1	

This is the year when order was established: all the müstahfizs became soldiers with salary timar, the ağaliks and squads where numbers were low were merged, the senior officers were replaced.

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Rüstem dizdar 5000, Mustafa kethüda 3000, seroda 1800, ordinary soldiers 1700. Faris: Mezid ağa pay unknown, seroda 9, ordinary soldiers 8. Azab: Süleyman, after him Osman ağa 7000, Gazi b. Hüseyin, after him Gazi b. Hasan kethüda 3000 (one of the two names is misspelt), reis 3000, seroda 1500, ordinary soldiers 1400. İlyas Ahi imam 2000.

**1592–1593** (BOA MAD 3762, p. 15: pay account. Tapu 638, p. 75: icmal)

The source material is incomplete. Müstahfız: 6 paid in cash + unknown number of soldiers with salary timar, topçu: 9, faris: 29, azab: 36, martolos: 29.

**1604–1605** (BOA MAD 5158, pp. 64–72: pay account)

Branch	Paid heads
Müstahfız-i enderun	50
Müstahfız-i birun	43
Topçu	30
Faris (2 ağa)	65
Azab (3 ağa)	149
Martolos	21
<b>Total</b>	<b>358</b>

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**1607** (BOA MAD 5623, pp. 156–170: pay list, yoklama)

Branch	Present heads	Units
Müstahfız-i enderun	32 (+?)	5 bölük
Müstahfız-i birun	32	6 bölük
Topçu	25	3 bölük
Faris	87	2 ağa, 10 oda
Azab	70	2 ağa, 3 riyaset, 11 oda
Martolos	18	1 ağa, 3 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>264 (+?)</b>	

*Officers.* Müstahfız-i enderun: officers unknown. Müstahfız-i birun: Osman dizdar, Ali Mehmed kethüda. Topçu: Perviz ağa, İbrahim kethüda. Faris: Hasan ağa, İbrahim ağa, kâtib. Azab: Memi Ferhad ağa, Korkud Ali kethüda, Mustafa ağa, Hüseyin Abdurrahman kethüda. Martolos: Grigor ağa, G'uro Marko kethüda. 40 Christians.

**1612–1613** (BOA MAD 4000, pp. 294–309: pay list. MAD 4133, 51: pay account)

Branch	Pay list heads	Paid heads	Units
Müstahfız-i enderun	31 (+?)	31	4 bölük
Müstahfız-i birun	32	32	5 bölük
Topçu	24	24	3 bölük
Faris	87	87	2 ağa, 10 oda
Azab	72	67	2 ağa, 9 oda
Martolos	18	18	1 ağa, 2 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>264(+?)</b>	<b>259</b>	

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız-i enderun: officers unknown. Müstahfız-i birun: Ali ağa 15, Nurullah kethüda 9. Topçu: Perviz ağa 16, İbrahim kethüda 12. Faris: Hasan ağa 20, İbrahim ağa 15. Azab: Memi Ferhad ağa 15, Murad kethüda 10, Mustafa ağa 20, Hasan kethüda 12, reis 9–10, alemdar 8. Martolos: Bedi(?) ağa 19, sermiye 7. 38 Christians.

**1619** (BOA MAD 7320, pp. 159–181: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Units
Müstahfız-i enderun	31 (+?)	5 bölük
Müstahfız-i birun	31	6 bölük
Topçu	24	3 bölük
Faris	85	2 ağa, 10 oda
Azab	61	2 ağa, 2 riyaset, 8 oda
Martolos	18	2 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>250 (+?)</b>	
Hademe-i cami	11	

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız-i enderun: officers unknown. Müstahfız-i birun: Ali ağa 15, Nurullah kethüda 10, serbölük 6–9, ordinary soldiers 8. Topçu: Perviz ağa 16, Hasan Divane kethüda 12, serbölük 7–8, ordinary soldiers 7. Faris: Hasan ağa 20, İbrahim ağa 18, alemdar 10, seroda 10–11, ordinary soldiers 10. Azab: Hüseyin Divane ağa 15, Hızır kethüda 10, Mustafa ağa 20, Hasan kethüda 12, reis 7, 10, 17, seroda 8, majority of ordinary

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soldiers 7. Martolos: Bedi(?) ağa 18, Mehmed Abdullah sermiye 7, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5. 15 Christians.

*Hademe-i cami in Kopan*: mevlana Ali hatib 20, mevlana Faik imam 18, Bali halife müezzın 12, Mustafa halife müezzın 5, Osman halife siracı 4, Halil halife kayyum 7, Hasan halife kayyum 7. In *Donbo*: Halil halife müezzın 10. In *Sekçöy*: Turak müezzın 8. In *Endrik*: Hasan halife imam, hatib 18, Ali halife müezzın 8.

**1628–1629** (ÖNB Mxt 636, p. 23: pay account)

Branch	Paid heads
Müstahfız-i enderun	27 (+?)
Müstahfız-i birun	28
Topçu	19
Faris	80
Azab	54
Martolos	19
<b>Total</b>	<b>227 (?)</b>

**1664** (Evliyâ Çelebi, 7. *Kitap*, 15): 500 local soldiers, besides them cebecis and topçus of the Porte.

## Kale-i **DONBO** / DONBOL (Hu. Dombó) Ottoman possession 1546–1686

The fortress, situated on the banks of the river Kapos, was still in Hungarian hands at the beginning of 1546, in the end Hungarian villages that had fallen into Ottoman hands were ordered to rebuilt it (BOA Tapu 441, p. 61, 230: mufassal). No sources survive concerning its first garrison, but the fact that 86 of its soldiers were transferred to Kopan and 41 to Senmartin in 1552 (ÖNB Mxt 643, pp. 20-23: pay list) gives a hint about its size. In both centuries its garrison was between 100 and 140 men; this made Donbo, situated in the path of Hungarian raids, one of the medium-strong fortresses of south Transdanubia.

**1565** (BOA Tapu 353, pp. 58–61: icmal. ÖNB Mxt 612, p. 39: pay account)

Branch	With timar / paid	Units
Müstahfız	39	4 bölük
Topçu	7	–
Faris	53	
Martolos	74	
<b>Total</b>	<b>173</b>	
Hademe-i cami	1	

*Officers, incomes* (akçe). Müstahfız: Turali dizdar 6000, Pervane kethüda 3000, serbölük 1800, ordinary soldiers 1700. Topçu: Mustafa Hüseyin ser 3000, others 1700. Musliheddin Seydi imam 3400.

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**1569–1570** (ÖNB Mxt 642, pp. 275–278: pay list. Mxt 617, pp. 9, 19: pay account. BOA Tapu 505, pp. 24–28: icmal)

Branch	With timar / paid	Units
Müstahfız	38	4 bölük
Topçu	7	–
Faris	31	1 ağa, 3 oda
Martolos	24	1 ağa, 3 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	
Hademe-i cami	2	

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Turali Sinan dizdar, Mustafa Hasan kethüda, income unchanged. Topçu: no change. Faris: Nasuh ağa 11, seroda 9, ordinary soldiers 7. Martolos: Pervane ağa pay unknown. Musliheddin Seydi imam, hatib 4500, Rizvan müezzın 2000.

In the next one-and-a-half decades data survive only on the cash-paid soldiers; except for some ups and downs their number is fairly stable (26–31 farises, 21–23 martoloses), it is probable that there was no change in the number of the whole garrison either. There is no source from the war years.

**1607** (BOA MAD 5623, pp. 184–190: pay list, yoklama. MAD 4654, p. 139: pay account)

Branch	Pay list heads	Paid heads	Units
Müstahfız	30 (+ soldiers with salary timar?)	25	3 bölük
Topçu	15	15	2 bölük
Faris	?	25	
Azab	37	35	1 ağa, 4 oda
Martolos	42	41	1 ağa, 5 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>ca. 150</b>	<b>141</b>	

*Officers.* Müstahfız: İbrahim ağa, Ahmed kethüda [-i birun], Nasuh kethüda-i enderun. Topçu: Hasan ağa, Kılağuz Vuk kethüda. Azab: Ali ağa, Ahmed kethüda, reis. Martolos: Osman Timur ağa, Sava sermiye. 79 Christians.

**1612–1613, 1615** (BOA MAD 4133, pp. 14, 51, 95: pay account)

Branch	28.08.1612–20.02.1613	21.02.–16.08.1613	31.01.–26.06.1615
Müstahfız	30	31	31
Topçu	15	15	15
Azab	37	37	19
Martolos	42	39	41
<b>Total</b>	<b>124</b>	<b>122</b>	<b>106</b>

*Officers, pay in 1613* (akçe). Müstahfız: no change in officers, dizdar 15, kethüda-i enderun 15, kethüda-i birun 12. Topçu: no change in officers, ser 17, kethüda 11. Azab: no change in officers, ağa 15, kethüda 12, reis 10. Martolos: ağa 15, Nikola sermiye 7. 65 Christians.



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**1619** (BOA MAD 7320, pp. 168–171: pay list)

The müstahfizes and possibly some of the azabs lived again off their timars, the size of the garrison cannot be established.

Topçu: 15. 2 bölük. Hüseyin ser 17, Hüseyin kethüda 10, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 7. Azab: 20. 3 oda. Ali ağa 15, Süleyman kethüda 12, reis 10, seroda 8, ordinary soldiers 7. Martolos: 29. 4 oda. Mustafa Divane ağa 15, seroda 5–6, ordinary soldiers 5. 26 Christians. Halil halife müezzin 10.

**1664** (Evliyâ Çelebi, 7. *Kitap*, 16): 300 soldiers.

## Kale-i KARAD / KARAT (Hu. Karád) Ottoman possession 1555–1686

A reinforced nahiye centre. No source survives from the 16th century on its garrison (its defenders were paid from an unknown source), only in 1591 do 27 of its müstafizes paid in cash appear. Its destiny was linked to its stronger neighbours Bolondvar and Lak, in the Fifteen Years' War it changed hands together with them several times. In the 17th century it was garrisoned by about 50 soldiers.

**1607** (BOA MAD 5623, pp. 180–184: pay list, yoklama. MAD 4654, p. 140: pay account)

Branch	Pay list heads	Paid heads	Units
Müstahfız	14	12	3 bölük
Topçu	8	8	1 bölük
Faris	10	10	1 ağa, 3 oda
Martolos	18	18	1 ağa, 3 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>48</b>	
Hademe-i mescid	1		

*Officers.* Müstahfız: Yusuf ağa, Belal Mehmed kethüda. Topçu: Ramazan ser, Mustafa Abdullah kethüda. Faris: Hasan ağa. Martolos transferred from Donbo: Rizvan ağa. Rizvan müezzin. 19 Christians.

**1612–1615** (BOA MAD 4133, pp. 15, 51, 95: pay account)

Branch	28.08.1612– 20.02.1613	21.02.– 16.08.1613	31.01.– 26.07.1615
Müstahfız, topçu	22	22	19
Faris	11	11	10
Martolos	18	17	16
<b>Total</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>45</b>

*Officers, pay in 1613* (akçe). No change in officers. Müstahfız: ağa 25, kethüda 13. Topçu: ser 15, kethüda 11. Faris: ağa 20. Martolos: ağa 12, sermiye 9. Rizvan müezzin 10. 18 Christians (BOA MAD 4000, pp. 316–318).

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**1619** (BOA MAD 7320, pp. 174–176: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Units
Müstahfız	12	4 bölük
Topçu	6	1 bölük
Faris	11	1 ağa, 3 oda
Martolos	17	1 ağa, 2 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>46</b>	

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Mustafa Yusuf ağa 25, Mustafa kethüda 13, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 7. Topçu: Ramazan ağa 27, Mustafa kethüda 11, serbölük 8, others 7. Faris: Hasan ağa 20, alemdar 10, seroda 11, ordinary soldiers 10. 12 Christians.

**1628–1629, 1630** (ÖNB Mxt 636, p. 23. BOA MAD 5193, p. 7: pay accounts)

Müstahfız: 12, topçu: 6, faris: 11, martolos: 17. Total: 46.

### Kale-i LAK (Hu. Lak)

Ottoman possession 1566–1686

(changed hands several times during the FifteenYears' War)

The fortress stood at the edge of the marshes on the south-west shore of lake Balaton, defending the water, the road and the border as well. In the 16th century it was of medium strength, manned by about 160 soldiers; the number fell below 100 in the following century.

**1569** (ÖNB Mxt 642, pp. 263–274: pay list. Mxt 617, pp. 9, 19: pay account)

Branch	Pay list, present heads	Paid heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	21	23	2 bölük	3 (14.3)	3 (14.3)
Topçu	5		1 bölük	–	–
Faris	42	36	2 ağa, 6 oda	4 (9.5)	4 (9.5)
Azab	28	22	1 ağa, 3 oda	1 (3.6)	1 (3.6)
Martolos	62	59	2 ağa, 6 oda	–	–
<b>Total</b>	<b>158</b>	<b>140</b>		<b>8 (5.1)</b>	<b>8 (5.1)</b>

The initial garrison was unusually orderly. The difference between the number of people present and those to be paid was caused by the fact that some were waiting for their letter of appointment.

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Veli İlyas dizdar 10, İbşar(?) Ahmed kethüda 10, serbölük 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Topçu: Hasan Divane ağa 9, others 7. Faris: Ahmed Ali ağa 20, Hasan ağa 10, seroda 8, ordinary soldiers 7. Azab: Şaban Abdullah ağa 10, Rizvan Abdullah kethüda 8, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5. Martolos: Hamza İbrahim ağa 8, Mihal Stepan sermiye 6, İbrahim Hasan ağa 12, seroda 5, ordinary soldiers 4. 57 Christians.

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**1572–1574** (BOA MAD 1561, pp. 148, 181–182: pay account)

Branch	14.05.1572– 02.05.1573	03.05.1573.– 22.04.1574
Müstahfız, topçu	25	26
Faris	49	47
Azab	28	28
Martolos	58	62
<b>Total</b>	<b>160</b>	<b>163</b>

**1577–1581** (BOA MAD 1561, p. 339. MAD 498, pp. 36–37, 65, 123–124: pay accounts)

Branch	14.09.1577– 02.09.1578	03.09.1578– 23.08.1579	24.08.1579– 16.02.1580	17.02.1580– 04.02.1581
Müstahfız, topçu	26	26	24	25
Faris	47	49	50	47
Azab	28	28	28	27
Martolos	59	58	57	59
<b>Total</b>	<b>160</b>	<b>161</b>	<b>159</b>	<b>158</b>

**1590–1591** (BOA MAD 3762, p. 15: pay account)

Müstahfız, topçu: 26, faris: 56, azab: 27, martolos: 56. Total: 165.

**1607** (BOA MAD 5623, pp. 171–179: pay list, yoklama. MAD 4654, p. 139: pay account)

Some of the müstafizes are certainly not listed.

Branch	Pay list present heads	Paid heads	Units
Müstahfız (incomplete)	7	5	1 bölük
Topçu	11	9	–
Faris	43	37	2 ağa, 8 oda
Azab	42	54	2 ağa, 4 riyaset, 9 oda
Martolos	14	10	2 ağa, 3 oda
<b>Total (incomplete)</b>	<b>117</b>	<b>115</b>	
Hademe-i cami	1		

*Officers.* Müstahfız: Memi Piri ağa, Şaban kethüda. Topçu: Ramazan Veli ağa, Mehmed Divane kethüda. Faris: Mustafa Bali ağa, Üveys ağa. Azab: Hasan Ali ağa, Matiaş G'uro kethüda, Mehmed Hüsrev ağa, Mustafa Divane kethüda. Martolos: Mustafa Üveys ağa, Sefer ağa. Mehmed İlyas imam. 37 Christians.

**1613** (BOA MAD 4000, pp. 309–315: pay list. MAD 4133, pp. 14, 51: pay account)

Branch	Pay list present heads	Paid heads	Units
Müstahfız (incomplete)	7	7	–
Topçu	11	11	–
Faris	40	40	1 ağa, 5 oda
Azab	58	66	3 ağa, 3 oda
Martolos	12	12	1 ağa, 1 oda
<b>Total (incomplete)</b>	<b>128</b>	<b>136</b>	

Apart from the lack of müstafizes, the many empty companies and squads are noticeable; one sixth of its soldiers bore some title.

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Memi Piri ağa 10, Şaban Divane kethüda 7. Topçu: Ramazan Veli ağa 20, Mehmed Divane kethüda 9. Faris: Hüseyin ağa 20. Azab: first ağa unknown, Mehmed Hüseyin ağa 20, Mustafa Divane kethüda 15, Bozan ağa 16, Receb kethüda 10, reis 9–10. Martolos: Mustafa ağa 15. 39 Christians.

**1615** (BOA MAD 4133, p. 95: pay account)

Müstahfız: 15, topçu: 9, faris: 39, azab: 23, martolos: 12. Total: 98.

**1619** (BOA MAD 7320, pp. 171–174: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Units
Müstahfız	11	1 bölük
Topçu	9	–
Faris	36	1 ağa, 6 oda
Azab	22	2 ağa, 2 riyaset, 3 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>78</b>	
Hademe-i cami	2	

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Muharrem ağa 10, Muharrem Ali kethüda 8, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 7, officers of unknown rank 15. Topçu: Murteza ser 12, Mehmed kethüda 9, ordinary soldiers 7. Faris: Mehmed ağa 20, seroda 11, ordinary soldiers 10. Azab: Hasan ağa 15, Nurullah ağa 16, Receb kethüda 10, reis 9, seroda 7–9, ordinary soldiers 7. Ali halife imam, hatib 15, Hüseyin halife müezzin 8.

**1628–1629, 1630** (ÖNB Mxt 636, p. 23. BOA MAD 5193, p. 7: pay accounts)

Müstahfız: 11, topçu: 9, faris: 39 (38), azab: 23, martolos: 11. Total: 93 (92).

### Parkan / Kale-i **BOLONDVAR** (Hu. Bolondvár) Constructed in 1570(?)

The fortress stood in the middle of the southern shore of lake Balaton, which constituted the border here. This position made the fortress important. Unfortunately, as there are no surviving icmalls, its full garrison can only be reconstructed in one year—if indeed it was the complete garrison. Its size can probably be estimated at over one hundred men in the 17th century.

**1572–1574** (BOA MAD 1561, pp. 149, 182: pay list)

The account only includes troops paid in cash, there is no source for timar-paid soldiers.

14.05.1572–02.05.1573: faris 30, martolos 20.

03.05.1573–22.04.1574: faris 95, martolos 23.

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**1577–1581** (BOA MAD 1561, p. 339. MAD 498, pp. 37, 65, 124: pay accounts. Tapu 659, pp. 20–23. Dresden Eb 352, pp. 46–47: icmals)

Branch	14.09.1577– 02.09.1578	03.09.1578– 23.08.1579	24.08.1579– 16.02.1580	17.02.1580– 04.02.1581
Müstahfız				37
Topçu				6
Faris	101	91	96	94
Martolos	26	22	24	22
<b>Total</b>				<b>159</b>

*Officers, incomes* (akçe). Müstahfız: Üveys İsa dizdar 2700 (only part of its income?), Abdurrahman kethüda 2000, first serbölük 1900, others 1800, ordinary soldiers 1700. Topçu: Mustafa Hüseyin ser 3000, others 1700.

**1590–1591** (BOA MAD 3762, p. 15: pay list)

The number of cavalymen fell by more than half, faris: 41, martolos: 24.

**1601** (ÖNB Mxt 635, p. 10: pay account)

Total: 195 men, without detailing the troops.

**1607** (BOA MAD 5623, pp. 190–197: pay list. MAD 4654, p. 140: pay account)

Only the cash-paid troops are known, to which azabs were added (although it is possible that timar-paid azabs were there earlier, but no sources on them survive).

Branch	Pay list heads	Paid heads	Units
Faris	49	40	2 ağa, 9 bölük
Azab	20	21	1 ağa, 2 riyaset, 4 oda
Martolos	34	36	2 ağa, 8 oda
Hademe-i cami	1		

*Officers*. Faris: Mehmed ağa, Sefer ağa. Azab: İbrahim ağa, Milan kethüda, 2 reis, alemdar. Martolos: Beşir ağa, Muharrem ağa, 2 sermiye. Mehmed halife imam. 64 Christians.

**1612–1613** (BOA MAD 4133, pp. 14, 51: pay account. MAD 4000, pp. 326–332: pay list)

Faris: 48, azab: 20, martolos: 38.

*Officers, pay in 1613* (akçe). Faris: no change in officers and units, ağa 20. Azab: 3 oda, no change in officers, ağa 20, kethüda and first reis 10, second reis 12, alemdar 8. Martolos: 4 oda, no change in officers, ağa 15, Muharrem sermiye 15, two sermiye 8, 10. Mehmed halife imam, hatib 15. 61 Christians.

Kale-i **FOKA** (Hu. Siófok)  
Constructed after the turn of the century  
Ottoman possession up to 1684

It stood at the mouth of the small river Sió, on the shore of lake Balaton, where the Ottoman fleet was based. As it guarded the lake, azabs and martoloses serving on water as well constituted more than half of its soldiery, while its border-guarding duties were carried out by the cavalry, who made up one third of the

defenders. Since its garrison was set up in time of war, when there were not enough soldiers, three quarters of the guards were Balkan Christians.

**1607** (BOA MAD 5623, pp. 150–153: pay list, yoklama. MAD 4654, pp. 140–141: pay account)

Branch	Pay list heads	Paid heads	Units
Müstahfız	12	10	3 bölük
Topçu	10	10	1 bölük
Faris	53	55	2 ağa, 8 oda
Azab	72	63	3 ağa, 16 oda
Martolos	16	13	1 ağa, 1 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>163</b>	<b>151</b>	
Hademe-i cami	2		

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Şadi ağa 20, Ramazan kethüda 15, serbölük 9, ordinary soldiers 8. Topçu: İbrahim ağa 15, Sefer kethüda 12, serbölük 9, ordinary soldiers 8. Faris: Sefer ağa 30, Osman ağa 30, seroda 13, ordinary soldiers 12. Azab: Hüseyin ağa 25, Çirak kethüda 15, Bali ağa 25, İbrahim Cafer kethüda 15, G'uraşin ağa 25, Dobra kethüda 15, reis, alemdar 12, seroda 9, ordinary soldiers 8. Martolos: Kurd ağa 15, sermiye 9, alemdar 8, seroda 5, ordinary soldiers 4, 8. Mehmed halife imam, hatib 18, Bali Osman müezzin 11. 121 Christians.

**1612–1613** (BOA MAD 4133, pp. 13, 52: pay account. MAD 4000, pp. 333–341: pay list)

Branch	Pay list 1613 heads	Paid		Units
		28.08.1612–20.02.1613	21.02.–16.08.1613	
Müstahfız	12	14	13	2 bölük
Topçu	10	10	10	1 bölük
Faris	53	60	53	2 ağa, 7 oda
Azab	70	76	70	3 ağa, 6 oda
Martolos	16	16	16	1 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>161</b>	<b>176</b>	<b>162</b>	
Hademe-i cami	2			

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Bali ağa 20, Ramazan kethüda 15. Topçu: no change in officers or pay. Faris: Osman ağa ba timar, Sefer ağa 20. Azab, martolos: no change in officers or pay. Mehmed imam, hatib 18, Bali müezzin 11. 89 Christians.

**1619** (BOA MAD 7320, pp. 177–181: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Units
Müstahfız (incomplete)	6	1 bölük
Topçu	4	–
Faris	27	1 ağa, 4 oda
Azab	57	4 ağa, 5 oda
Martolos	31	1 ağa, 4 oda
<b>Total (incomplete)</b>	<b>125</b>	
Hademe-i cami	2	

## VİLAYET-İ BUDUN

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Mehmed ağa 20, Ramazan kethüda 11, serbölük 9, ordinary soldiers 7–8. Topçu: İbrahim ağa 15, Receb kethüda 12, others 6–7. Faris: Osman ağa 20, seroda 11–12, 15, alemdar 14, ordinary soldiers 7–12. Azab: Hüseyin ağa 25, Mehmed kethüda 10, Bali ağa 15, İbrahim ağa kapudan 40, Nasuh kethüda 12, Sefer ağa 15, Ahmed kethüda 15, reis 10, 12, first seroda 16, others 8, alemdar 10, majority of ordinary soldiers 7. Martolos: Kurd ağa 15, Selak sermiye 7, alemdar 7, seroda 4–6, ordinary soldiers 4–6. Mehmed halife hatib 18, Bali halife müezzın 11. 26 Christians.

**1628–1629** (ÖNB Mxt 636, p. 23: pay account)

Müstahfız: 8 (incomplete), topçu: 4, faris: 27, azab: 64, martolos: 32. Total (incomplete): 135.

**1630** (BOA MAD 5193, p. 7: pay account)

Total (incomplete): 133 (azab: 62).

### Palanka-i **KONİ** (Hu. Kónyi)

There are data about this fortress only in the 1610s

Located on the shore of the small river Koppány, between Kopan and Tomaşın, its garrison comprised of a single troop. Most probably it was used only temporarily; it cannot really be considered a fortress.

**1615** (BOA MAD 4233, p. 96: pay account)

Martolos: paid 29.

**1619** (BOA MAD 7320, pp. 181–182: pay list)

Martolos: 29. 3 oda. Mehmed ağa 20, Hasan Abdullah sermiye 10, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5. 24 Christians.

## LİVA-İ NOVİGRAD

### Kale-i **NOVİGRAD** (Hu. Nógrád)

Ottoman possession in 1544–1594 and 1663–1685

Up to 1552, Novigrad alone defended Buda towards the north between Vaç and Hatvan. In spite of its important position its garrison was set up slowly and hesitantly. The cavalry, essential for a border fortress, was only stationed here at the end of the decade. After the establishment of the northern defensive system its garrison settled at 200–250 men, but attempts were made to change the structure of the garrison even in 1557.

In its second Ottoman period yet again it was given an outstanding role in the defense of the northern border.

LİVA-İ NOVİGRAD

**1544–1545** (ÖNB Mxt 568, pp. 99–108: pay list. Mxt 590, p. 17: pay account)

Branch	25.03.–21.06.1544 pay list	present	18.09.– 15.12.1544	16.12.1544– 14.03.1545	15.03.– 11.06.1545
Müstahfız, topçu	50	50	49	49	51
Müteferrika	5	–	–	–	–
Kumbaracı	3	–	–	–	–
Azab	–	–	40	40	40
Martolos	132	124	123	122	123
<b>Total</b>	<b>190</b>	<b>174</b>	<b>212</b>	<b>211</b>	<b>214</b>

The initial garrison was transferred from Pest and Estergon, it was incomplete, and some of the transferred soldiers never arrived. In the second wave azabs were detached here, and by the end of the decade the fortress had finally been given cavalrymen.

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: there is no dizdar or ağa, seroda 8, ordinary soldiers 6–7. Martolos: Branko ser 13, Vukašin Pavko sermiye 9, Vukašin sermiye 9, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5. 123 Christians.

**1549** (ÖNB Mxt 562, pp. 69–76: pay list. Velkov–Radushev 69v–76r, 440–449)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	95	95	10 bölük	6 (6.3)	6 (6.3)
Topçu	15	15	–	2 (13.3)	2 (13.3)
Faris	75	75	1 ağa, 10 oda	5 (6.7)	5 (6.7)
Azab	89	81	1 ağa, 3 riyaset, 9 oda	21 (23.6)	13 (16)
Martolos	112	102	1 ağa, 13 oda	23 (20.5)	13 (12.7)
<b>Total</b>	<b>386</b>	<b>368</b>		<b>57 (14.8)</b>	<b>39 (10.6)</b>
Hademe-i cami	2	2			

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Tursun dizdar 22, Rüstem kethüda 15, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 6–7. Topçu: Pervane Bosna ser 15. Faris: Bali ağa ba timar, seroda 10–11, ordinary soldiers 9. Azab: Hasib(?) ağa 22, Ömer kethüda 10, reis 10, seroda 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Martolos: Hasan ağa ba timar, sermiye 9 and 8, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5. Hademe-i cami: Hüsam halife imam 10, Mehmed Üveys müezzin 8. 92 Christians.

**1554** (Berlin Ms. or. fol. 432, pp. 37–43: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	90	88	9 bölük	17 (18.9)	15 (17)
Topçu	15	14	–	4 (26.7)	3 (21.4)
Faris	75	73	1 ağa, 7 oda	15 (20)	13 (17.8)
Azab	70	44	1 ağa, 1 riyaset, 7 oda	51 (72.9)	25 (56.8)
Martolos	82	73	8 oda	18 (22)	9 (12.3)
<b>Total</b>	<b>332</b>	<b>292</b>		<b>105 (31.6)</b>	<b>65 (22.3)</b>
Hademe-i cami	2	2			



VİLAYET-İ BUDUN

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: no change in officers or pay. Topçu: Hüseyin Bosna ser, pay unchanged. Faris: Mehmed, after him Piri Hersek ağa ba timar, seroda 10, ordinary soldiers 9. Azab: Hasib(?) ağa ba timar, reis 10, seroda 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Martolos: Hamza Mehmed ağa ba timar, Smolan Vukit' sermiye merd-i timar, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5. Hademe-i cami: Hüsam halife imam 10, Veli Mehmed müezzın 8. 91% of soldiers are of Balkan origin.

**1557–1558** (ÖNB Mxt 614, pp. 94–97: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	79	77	8 bölük	12 (15.2)	8 (10.4)
Topçu	9	8	–	1 (11.1)	1 (12.5)
Faris	73	70	1 ağa, 7 oda	11 (15.1)	8 (11.4)
<b>Total</b>	<b>161</b>	<b>155</b>		<b>24 (14.9)</b>	<b>17 (11)</b>
Hademe-i cami	2	2			

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Tursun dizdar 20, Hamza Mahmud kethüda 25, after him Sefer kethüda 15, serbölük 7–8, ordinary soldiers 6–7. Topçu: Hüseyin Bosna [ağa], pay unchanged. Faris: Memi Ahmed ağa 11, seroda 10, ordinary soldiers 9. Hademe-i cami: Emrullah Süleyman, after him Carullah İsmail imam 10, Veli Mehmed müezzın 8.

**1558–1559** (ÖNB Mxt 633, pp. 123–129: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	77	77	8 bölük	1 (1.3)	1 (1.3)
Topçu	9	9	–	1 (11.1)	1 (11.1)
Faris	134	127	1 ağa, 13 oda	18 (13.4)	11 (8.7)
Azab	29	28	3 oda	6 (20.7)	5 (17.9)
<b>Total</b>	<b>249</b>	<b>241</b>		<b>26 (10.4)</b>	<b>18 (7.5)</b>
Hademe-i cami	2	2			

The garrison, which had shrunk in size, was reinforced with six cavalry squads transferred from Vaç, Hatvan and Tata, and three azab squads ordered from Vaç.

*Officers, pays* (akçe). Müstahfız: Tursun dizdar 20, Sefer kethüda 12, remaining pay unchanged. Topçu: Hüseyin ağa 15. Faris: no change in officers or pay. Azab: Hasan ağa 14, seroda 7, ordinary soldiers 5–6. Hademe-i cami: no change. Only one soldier is a Christian.

**1565–1566, 1568–1569** (ÖNB Mxt 612, p. 37. Mxt 617, pp. 5, 15: pay accounts)

Branch	29.07.1565.– 21.01.1566	20.12.1568– 15.06.1569	16.06.– 09.12.1569
Müstahfız, topçu	82	80	82
Faris	101	101	103
Azab	28	27	30
<b>Total</b>	<b>211</b>	<b>208</b>	<b>215</b>

**Early 1570s** (ÖNB Krafft 290: the register of the houses in Novigrad)

In the undated register of property in Novigrad, probably drafted at the beginning of the 1570s, there are 13 houses listed whose owners were martoloses, one of them their ağa, Süleyman. This troop was last registered in the pay list of 1554. It is not impossible that the unit remained together, only they were not paid from the Buda treasury, or possibly as military peasants they served in return for tax exemption and not for payment.

**1579** (BOA MAD 498, p. 29: pay account. Tapu 661, pp. 27–39: icmal. Bayerle, *Ottoman Tributes*, 106–108)

Branch	With timar / paid heads	Units
Müstahfız	60	5 bölük
Topçu	8	1 bölük
Azab	29	3 oda
Faris	105	?
<b>Total</b>	<b>202</b>	

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Hacı Hasan dizdar 6000, Turak Alagöz kethüda 4300, seroda 1900, ordinary soldiers 1700. Topçu: Mehmed Yusuf seroda 1900, others 1700. Azab: ağa unknown, seroda 1800, ordinary soldiers 1600.

**1591** (Leipzig, Orient V. 1034, pp. 20–29: icmal. BOA MAD 3762, p. 9: pay account)

Branch	With timar / paid heads	Units
Müstahfız	60	5 bölük
Topçu	10	1 bölük
Azab	28	3 oda
Faris	102	?
<b>Total</b>	<b>200</b>	

**1669–1671** (BOA MAD 5996: list of yeniçeris)

In addition to the local garrison troops, 40–47 yeniçeris of the Porte were stationed in the fortress.

**Kale-i DİREGEL** (Hu. Drégely)  
Ottoman possession 1552–1593

This small, obsolete medieval fortress stood on top of a mountain south of the river Ipoly. It played an important part in the defense of the border and the river; however, as a result of lack of space, there was no room for cavalry here. Consequently, the men of Diregel had only a modest role in the defense of Buda and the northern border.

VİLAYET-İ BUDUN

**1557–1558** (ÖNB Mxt 614, pp. 97–101: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	51	49	5 bölük	7 (13.7)	5 (10.2)
Topçu, neccar	8	6	–	4 (50)	2 (33.3)
Azab	65	62	1 riyaset, 7 oda	8 (12.3)	5 (8.1)
Martolos	87	87	9 oda	7 (8)	7 (8)
<b>Total</b>	<b>211</b>	<b>204</b>		<b>26 (12.3)</b>	<b>19 (9.3)</b>

*Officers, pays* (akçe). Müstahfız: Rüstem dizdar 20, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 6–7, the last man is neccar. Topçu, neccar (each one is topçu, without officer): 6. Azab: Hüsam Ahmed ağa 15, reis 10, seroda 7, ordinary soldiers 5–6. Martolos: Kurd Hasan ser-i hara-miyan 11, sermiye 7, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 4–5.

**1558–1559** (ÖNB Mxt 633, pp. 130–136: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	50	46	5 bölük	11 (22)	7 (15.2)
Topçu	8	7	–	4 (50)	3 (42.9)
Azab	65	60	1 riyaset, 7 oda	14 (21.5)	9 (15)
Martolos	86	80	9 oda	10 (11.6)	4 (5)
<b>Total</b>	<b>209</b>	<b>193</b>		<b>39 (18.7)</b>	<b>23 (11.9)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: no dizdar, Hasan Mustafa kethüda 8, pay unchanged. Topçu: no change. Azab: Receb Şehsüvar ağa, pay unchanged. Martolos: Mustafa Abdul-lah ser, pay unchanged.

**1565–1566, 1568–1569** (ÖNB Mxt 612, p. 37. Mxt 617, pp. 5, 15: pay accounts)

Branch	29.07.1565– 21.01.1566	20.12.1568– 15.06.1569	16.06.– 09.12.1569
Müstahfız, topçu	53	57	58
Azab	60	65	63
Martolos	62	72	76
<b>Total</b>	<b>175</b>	<b>194</b>	<b>197</b>

After 1570 the müstahfizs and topçus were paid by timar, most of them in the sancak of Novigrad, a minority in that of Estergon; from the latter no icmal survives. From the fragmentary data it seems that care was taken not to let the soldiers of Diregel disappear either.

Parkan-i **BÖĞÜRDELEN** (Hu. Drégelypalánk)  
Constructed in 1575, Ottoman possession up to 1593,  
second Ottoman era 1663–1685(?)

The parkan was built on the banks of the river Ipoly, to the north of the fortress at Diregel, partly to support it, at a good strategic position, suitable for stabling horses.

## LİVA-İ NOVİGRAD

**1577–1581** (BOA MAD 1561, p. 331. MAD 498, pp. 29, 57, 118: pay accounts)

Branch	14.09.1577– 02.09.1578	03.09.1578– 23.08.1579	24.08.1579– 16.02.1580	17.02.1580– 04.02.1581
Müstahfız, topçu	23	22	22	22
Faris	98	95	97	97
<b>Total</b>	<b>121</b>	<b>117</b>	<b>119</b>	<b>119</b>

**1591** (BOA MAD 3762, p. 9: pay account. ÖNB Mxt 607, pp. 243–244: pay list, 1588–1589)

Müstahfız, topçu: 22, faris: 93, total: 115.

*Officers, pay in 1588–1589* (akçe). Müstahfız: 19 heads, İsmail ağa dizdar 20, Şaban Nasuh kethüda 15, serbölük 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Topçu: 3 men without an officer, 7.

There is no source on the second Ottoman period of the fortress.

## LİVA-İ PEÇUY

After 1600 Peçuy was transferred to the vilayet of Kanija; the description of its fortresses continues there.

### Kale-i PEÇUY (Hu. Pécs) Ottoman possession 1543–1686

The most important fortified town in south Transdanubia under both Hungarian and Ottoman rule, until 1566 the strongest fortress in military terms too. As the Ottoman conquest of Hungary proceeded, its role in defense and the number of troops stationed there declined significantly. Its leading position in the administrative, economic and especially the cultural-religious spheres, however, did not diminish; it is not surprising that after Buda the richest Hungarian town in terms of Ottoman monuments is Pécs.

**1543–1544** (ÖNB Mxt 592, pp. 20–29: pay list)

Care is needed here, because the source is incomplete: the pages containing the azabs and part of the farises are lost. Taking into consideration the ratio of the troops and the structure of the garrison later we can estimate the initial garrison of Peçuy to be above 900 men. Yeniçeris of the Porte were also stationed in the fortress, but their number at this point is unknown.

Branch	Pay list heads	Paid heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	311	308	31 bölük	17 (5.5)	13 (4.2)
Kumbaracı	7	6	1 bölük	1 (14.3)	–
Mehter	4	3	–	1 (25)	–
Haddad	5	5	1 bölük	–	–
Neccar	12	12	1 bölük	–	–
Topçu	62	60	6 bölük	5 (8.1)	3 (5)
Faris (incomplete)	121	112	1 ağa, 12 oda	11 (9.1)	2 (1.8)
Hademe-i cami	1	1			

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Mehmed Musa dizdar 50, İskender Fenari kethüda 15, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 6–7 (between them one anbarcı, one kundakçı). Kumbaracı: Yusuf Ramazan serbölük 10, others 7. Mehter: 6–7 (between them one bevıab). Haddad: Kurd Ali serbölük 8, others 5–7. Neccar: Ivaniş Berenişa(?) serbölük 8, others 5. Topçu: Ali Hasan ser 15, Ahmed Hasan kethüda 10, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 5–7. Faris: Mehmed ağa 45, seroda 8–11, ordinary soldiers 7. 30 Christians.

**1545–1546** (ÖNB Mxt 581, pp. 52–53: pay account)

Branch	12.06.– 07.09.1545	08.09.– 05.12.1545	06.12.1545– 03.03.1546
Müstahfız, topçu	332	348	303
Faris	263	289	290
Azab	213	228	225
<b>Total</b>	<b>808</b>	<b>865</b>	<b>818</b>
Hademe-i cevami	10	10	10

1547–1548 246 yeniçeris of the Porte served in the fortress (Barkan, ‘854–955 Bütçesi’, 270).

**1553** (ÖNB Mxt 643, pp. 11–16, 27–29: pay list)

In 1552 the müstahfizs and topçus received salary timars; there are no sources on them. The number of farises and azabs declined significantly (the newly conquered fortresses were partly manned by soldiers from Peçuy), martoloses took the places left vacant by those who left.

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruit heads (%)
Faris	135	129	3 ağa, 13 oda	24 (17.8)	18 (14)
Azab	127	124	2 ağa, 12 oda	15 (11.8)	12 (9.7)
Martolos	112	112	2 ağa, 11 oda	–	–

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Faris: Nasuh ağa ba timar, Hamza Hasan ağa 11, Behram ağa ba timar, seroda 8–10, ordinary soldiers 7. Azab: Hüseyin ağa ba timar, Mustafa ağa ba timar, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5. Martolos: Mahmud Abdullah ağa ba timar, G’urko Hersek sermiye 8, Ali eflak ağa 12, Olivir Miloş sermiye 8, seroda 5, ordinary soldiers 4. 94 Christians.

**1557–1558** (ÖNB Mxt614, pp. 188–196: pay list)

The sources are similar in quality and quantity, the size of cash-paid units, however, changed.

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Faris	265	248	6 ağa, 26 oda	41 (15.5)	24 (9.7)
Azab	91	88	1 ağa, 9 oda	9 (9.9)	6 (6.8)
Martolos	107	101	2 ağa, 11 oda	9 (8.4)	3 (3)

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Faris: Nasuh ağa 12, Hasan, after his death Mehdi Bali ağa 10, Mehmed ağa 8, Gazi, after him Veli ağa 13, Hamza ağa 12, Hasan Divane ağa 14, seroda 7–12, majority of ordinary soldiers 7. Azab: Behram, after him Hüseyin ağa 15, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5. Martolos: Ali, after him Hızır ağa 10, Mahmud ağa 10, seroda 5, 8, ordinary soldiers 4. 100 Christians.

# LİVA-İ PEÇUY

**1569–1570** (ÖNB Mxt 617, pp. 8, 18: pay list. Mxt 642, pp. 249–256: pay list. BOA Tapu 480, pp. 33, 26–51: icmal)

Branch	16.06.– 09.12.1569	End of October, 1570
Müstahfız-i kale-i enderun		101
Topçu-i kale-i enderun		17
Anbari-i kale-i enderun		2
Ser-i haddadan		1
Neccar-i kale-i enderun		5
Mimar		1
Saatçı		1
Müstahfız-i kale-i birun		32
Topçu-i kale-i birun		13
Faris	85	[85]
Azab	109	64 (incomplete?)
Martolos	24	[24]
<b>Total</b>	<b>ca. 400</b>	<b>340–350(?)</b>

*Officers, incomes* (akçe). Kale-i enderun. Müstahfız: Ali dizdar 6000, Hasan Ferhad kethüda 3500, serbölük 1800, ordinary soldiers 1700. Topçu: Pervane Abdullah ser 5000, İskender Ahmed kethüda 3000, serbölük 1800, ordinary soldiers 1700. Anbari: 1700. Ferhad Abdullah ser-i haddadan 3500. Neccar: Süleyman Mehmed ser 6000, others 1700. Mustafa mimar 4000. Behram Abdullah saati 2000. Kale-i birun. Müstahfız: Sefer Arslan dizdar 3500, Osman Mustafa kethüda 3000, serbölük 1800, ordinary soldiers 1700. Topçu: Veli Hüseyin ser 5999, Mehmed Yusuf kethüda 2000, serbölük 1800, ordinary soldiers 1700. Faris: Ahmed ağa 11, Bali ağa 14, seroda 8, ordinary soldiers 7. Azab: İbrahim ağa 14/6000, İskender Ferhad kethüda pay unknown/4200, Kurd ağa 10, seroda 5–6/1500, ordinary soldiers 4–5/1400.

**1591–1592** (BOA Tapu 652, pp. 34–39. Tapu 638, pp. 72–74: icmals)

In the two sources only cash-paid soldiers appear, and maybe not even all of them. In the last decades of the century the cash-paid farises and martoloses are not mentioned in any accounts; either they were withdrawn from the southern, protected fortress, or they were paid from the north Balkan mukataas.

Branch	İcmal heads	Units
Müstahfız-i kale-i enderun	72	8 bölük
Müstahfız-i kale-i birun	23	3 bölük
Topçu	26	4 bölük
Ağa-i cebeciyân	1	–
Neccar-i kale-i enderun	4	–
Haddad	3	–
Anbari	4	–
Saati	1	–
Azab	37	1 ağa, 1 riyaset, 5 oda
Azab-i bab-i cedit	16	1 riyaset, 1 oda
<b>Total (incomplete?)</b>	<b>187</b>	
Hademe-i cevami	2	

## VİLAYET-İ BUDUN

*Officers, incomes* (akçe). Müstahfız: kale-i enderun: Yakub Karagöz dizdar 4000, Ahmed Mahmud kethüda 2500, serbölük 1800, ordinary soldiers 1700, kale-i birun: Bali Abdullah dizdar 5000, Divane Kasım kethüda 3500, serbölük 2200, 2000, 1800, ordinary soldiers 1700. Topçu: Hasan Ali ser 5000, Hasan İskender kethüda 3000, serbölük 1800, ordinary soldiers 1700. Kurd Piri ağa-i cebeciyan 3000. Neccar-i kale-i enderun: 1700. Haddad: 1700, 1800. Anbari: Ali Abdullah ser 3000, others 1700–2000. Mehmed Abdullah saati 2000. Azab: Nasuh Murad ağa 6000, Osman kethüda 2200, reis, seroda 1500, ordinary soldiers 1400. Azab-i bab-i cedit: ağa unknown, Pervane İbrahim kethüda 2000, reis 1400, seroda 1500, ordinary soldiers 1400–2000.

After 1600 Peçuy was transferred to the vilayet of Kanija, its description continues there.

### Kale-i **SAS** (Hu. Szász, Szászvár) The garrison only appears in the 1540s

The small, obsolete fortress was used only for as long as the south-eastern part of Transdanubia was guarded by few Ottoman garrisons.

**1545–1546** (ÖNB Mxt 581, pp. 54–55: pay account)

Branch	12.06.– 07.09.1545	08.09.– 05.12.1545	06.12.1545– 03.03.1546
Müstahfız	23	51	51
Faris	47	85	35
Azab	39	55	56
Martolos	50	58	–
<b>Total</b>	<b>159</b>	<b>249</b>	<b>142</b>

### Kale-i **MALVAR** (Hu. Máré, Márévár) Traces of its garrison are found only up to 1546

This fortress was also used only for a short time, when necessary.

**1545–1546** (ÖNB Mxt 581, p. 55: pay account)

Branch	12.06.– 07.09.1545	08.09.– 05.12.1545	06.12.1545– 03.03.1546
Müstahfız	13	23	24
Faris	22	29	31
Martolos	16	17	17
<b>Total</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>72</b>

### Kale-i **GÖRÖŞGAL** / GÖRÖJGAL (Hu. Görösgál) A garrison was stationed here only between 1544 and 1559

While in use, it was the westernmost fortress in south Transdanubia, further west even than Szigetvár, surrounded by Hungarian fortresses. How it could survive for one and a half decades remains a mystery (vacant positions and the large number of newly recruited soldiers indicate how dangerous the place was). In 1559 it was captured by Hungarian raiders; its walls were razed and its moat filled in.

**1545–1546** (ÖNB Mxt 581, p. 55: pay account)

Branch	06.12.1545– 03.03.1546
Müstahfız	34
Faris	45
Azab	26
<b>Total</b>	<b>105</b>

**1553** (ÖNB Mxt 643, pp. 16–20: pay list)

The source only contains cash-paid soldiers. There is no information on its müstahfiz; if we calculate with 30–40 men yet again, the complete garrison must have consisted of about 200 soldiers.

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Faris	114	108	2 ağa, 12 oda	27 (23.7)	21 (19.4)
Azab	25	24	2 oda	9 (36)	8 (33.3)
Martolos	30	28	3 oda	8 (26.7)	6 (21.4)

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Faris: İskender ağa ba timar, Hasan ağa pay unknown, seroda 8, ordinary soldiers 7. Azab: Veli Divane ser 12, seroda 6–7, ordinary soldiers 5. Martolos: Hüsrev Kurd ser 10, seroda 5, ordinary soldiers 4. 27 Christians.

**1557–1558** (ÖNB Mxt 614, pp. 203–204: pay list)

Even the azabs are missing now; there is no known explanation.

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Faris	57	54	1 ağa, 6 oda	9 (15.8)	6 (11.1)
Martolos	27	27	3 oda	–	–

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Faris: Veli ağa 24, seroda 8, ordinary soldiers 7. Martolos: Ali Divane [ser] 8, others 4. 26 Christians.

### Parkan-i **SENLÖRİNÇ** (Hu. Szentlőrinc)

Constructed in 1551–1552

manned up to 1559

One of the nahiye seats of south Transdanubia, for a short period also its main depot (in December 1559 it was blown up by Hungarian troops from Szigetvár). These seats were partly responsible for defending the border, at that time stretching further to the east, and partly intended to fend off raiding Hungarian troops. The müstahfiz of the fortress immediately became salary-timar holders; there is no source on them. Its cash-paid troops indicate that its first garrison exceeded one hundred men; within a few years, however, the number had fallen below one hundred.



VİLAYET-İ BUDUN

**1553** (ÖNB Mxt 643, pp. 23–25: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Faris	65	59	1 ağa, 6 oda	22 (33.8)	16 (27.1)
Azab	36	36	1 ağa, 3 oda	3 (8.3)	3 (8.3)

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Faris: Mehmed ağa 20, first seroda 10, others 8, ordinary soldiers 7. Azab: Cafer ağa 10, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5.

**1557–1558** (ÖNB Mxt 614, pp. 205–206: pay list)

Azab: 36, present 31. 3 oda. İbrahim ağa 12, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5.

Parkan / Kale-i **SENMARTİN** (Hu. Szentmárton)  
A garrison was stationed here between 1552 and 1599

Its duties and its fate were identical with those of the two previously listed small fortresses, except that its end was postponed until the time of the war.

**1553** (ÖNB Mxt 643, pp. 20–21: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Faris	42	40	4 oda	4 (9.5)	2 (5)
Azab	41	38	1 ağa, 4 oda	8 (19.5)	5 (13.2)

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Faris: seroda 8, ordinary soldiers 7. Azab from Donbo: Mustafa ağa 17, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5.

**1570** (BOA Tapu 480, pp. 63–64: icmal)

After the 1550s we never come across the cash-paid soldiers in this fortress in any source material whatsoever, either they were transferred or they were paid from the local mukataas.

Branch	İcmal heads	Units
Müstahfız	23	2 bölük
Topçu	3	–
<b>Total</b>	<b>26</b>	

*Officers, incomes* (akçe). Müstahfız: Hudaverdi dizdar 4500, Timur Yusuf kethüda 2500, seroda 1800, ordinary soldiers 1700. Topçu: 1700.

**1592** (BOA Tapu 652, pp. 40–41: icmal)

Müstahfız: 22. 2 bölük. Ali Mahmud dizdar 4500, Perviz Abdullah kethüda 4000, seroda 1800, 2000, ordinary soldiers 1700.

**1599** (ÖNB Mxt 638, p. 5: account)

Without specifying numbers, the Buda treasury allocated 6,000 akçes for the expenses (harclik) of the farises, azabs and martoloses.

Kale-i **KAPOŞVAR** (Hu. Kaposvár)  
Ottoman possession 1555–1686

One of the most important border fortresses in south Transdanubia, situated north of Szigetvár on the banks of the river Kapos, its main task was to fend off the raids by Hungarian soldiers. Consequently its strongest branch was the cavalry. Its first garrison was probably around 280–290 men, by 1570 this had risen above 300, only to fall to 220 by 1590 (among the many small fortresses even this was considered significant).

**1557–1558** (ÖNB Mxt 614, pp. 197–201: pay list)

The source only contains troops paid in cash.

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Faris	120	114	3 ağa, 12 oda	12 (10)	6 (5.3)
Azab	75	72	2 ağa, 7 oda	7 (9.3)	4 (5.6)
Martolos	40	39	1 ağa, 4 oda	1 (2.5)	–

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Faris: Hüseyin ağa 12, Ferhad ağa 14, Nimet ağa 8, seroda 8, ordinary soldiers 7. Azab: Mustafa ağa 17, Cafer ağa 8, seroda 5, ordinary soldiers 4. 38 Christians.

**1565** (ÖNB Mxt 612, p. 39: pay account)

Faris: 144, azab: 34, martolos: 33.

**1569–1570** (ÖNB Mxt 617, pp. 8, 18: pay account. Mxt 642, pp. 283–290: pay list. BOA Tapu 480, pp. 65–69: icmal)

Branch	16.06.– 09.12.1569	October 1570	Units
Müstahfız		26	3 bölük
Topçu		7	1 bölük
Faris	176	[176]	3 ağa, 20 oda
Azab	36	43	1 ağa, 4 oda
Martolos	61	[61]	1 ağa, 7 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>ca. 313</b>		

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Mehmed Yusuf dizdar 4500, Hudaverdi kethüda 3000, serbölük 1800, ordinary soldiers 1700. Topçu: İbrahim ser 4000, serbölük 1800, ordinary soldiers 1700. Faris: Hüseyin ağa 11, Ahmed ağa 14, Ramazan ağa 20, majority of serodas 8, ordinary soldiers 7. Azab: Rüstem Hamza ağa 5000, Hüseyin Ali kethüda 3000, seroda 1500, ordinary soldiers 1400. Martolos: Hasan ağa 10, Bayezid Divane sermiye 8, seroda 5, ordinary soldiers 4. 54 Christians.

**1577–1581** (BOA MAD 1561, p. 337. MAD 498, pp. 36, 62, 125: pay accounts)

The accounts indicate a reduction of cash-paid units.

Branch	14.09.1577– 02.09.1578	03.09.1578– 23.08.1579	24.08.1579– 16.02.1580	17.02.1580– 04.02.1581
Faris	174	143	142	135
Martolos	59	54	56	45

# VİLAYET-İ BUDUN

**1591–1592** (BOA MAD 3762, p. 16: pay account. Tapu 652, pp. 41–42. Tapu 638, pp. 74–75: icmals)

Branch	With timar / paid heads	Units
Müstahfız	25	3 bölük
Topçu	8	1 bölük
Faris	92	
Azab	50	1 ağa, 5 oda
Martolos	43	
<b>Total</b>	<b>218</b>	
Hademe-i cami	2	

*Officers, incomes* (akçe). Müstahfız: Divane Cafer dizdar 5000, serbölük 1800, ordinary soldiers 1700. Topçu: Hasan Bosna ser 4500, serbölük 1800, others 1700. Azab: Hasan Bali ağa 4500, Mustafa Divane kethüda 2000, seroda 1800, ordinary soldiers 1700. Ahmed halife b. Ali imam 1700, Ferid Bali kayyum 1700. 18 azabs are Christians (9 are kılavuz).

After 1600 Kapoşvar was transferred to the vilayet of Kanija, its description continues there.

## Parkan-i ŞELİN (Hu. Sellye)

Constructed in the mid 1550s, manned up to 1559

This was a fortified nahiye seat, whose walls were razed by Hungarian soldiers from Szigetvár in December 1559.

**1557–1558** (ÖNB Mxt 614, pp. 204–205: pay list)

There are no data on its müstafizes holding salary-timars, cash was paid to the azabs.

Azab: 22, present 20. 2 oda. Vacant posts: 9 (40.9%), recruit heads: 7 (35%).

Ali Bosna, after him Kasım ağa 10, seroda 6–7, ordinary soldiers 5.

## Parkan-i NADAJ / NADAJD (Hu. Nádasd)

Constructed prior to 1570

Ottoman possession to 1686(?)

In the 16th century only salary-timar troops served in it; as no icmal defteri survives from before 1670, we do not know when they took up service.

**1570** (BOA Tapu 480, pp. 70–72: icmal)

Branch	İcmal heads	Units
Müstahfız	32	3 bölük
Topçu	5	–
<b>Total</b>	<b>37</b>	
Hademe-i mescid	1	

*Officers, incomes* (akçe). Pervane dizdar 4500, İbrahim Abdullah kethüda 3500, serbölük 1800, ordinary soldiers 1700. Topçu: 1700. Mehmed Yakub imam, müezzin 3400.

## LİVA-İ PEÇUY

**1592** (BOA Tapu 652, mp. 39–40: icmal)

Branch	icmal heads	Units
Müstahfız	19	2 bölük
Topçu	4	–
<b>Total</b>	<b>23</b>	
Hademe-i mescid	2	

*Officers, incomes* (akçe). Müstahfız: Hüseyin Abdullah dizdar 5000, İbrahim Abdullah kethüda 3400, serbölük 1800, ordinary soldiers 1700. Topçu: Hamza Barak ser 2500, Hüseyin Divane kethüda 3000(!), others 1700. Mustafa Hüseyin imam 3400, Mustafa Mahmud müezzın 2000.

After 1600 Nadaj was transferred to the vilayet of Kanija, its description continues there.

Parkan-i **SÖÇİN** (Hu. Szöcsény)  
Constructed between 1574 and 1578,  
there are no data about it after 1592

A small border fortress standing before Kanija, on the edge of the wide expanse of marshes stretching down from the south-west shore of Balaton. It was only of any importance until the conquest of Kanija, after that it was not worth maintaining. Its complete garrison cannot be reconstructed in any year.

**1578–1581** (BOA MAD 498, pp. 36, 62, 126: pay account)

For three years the treasury paid cash to 36, 35 and 36 farises respectively.

**1591–1592** (BOA MAD 3762, p. 16: pay account. Tapu 652, pp. 42, 50–51: icmal)

The salary-timar holding müstahfizs are missing, I presume there must have been two or three squads.

Topçu: 7. Seroda 1900, ordinary soldiers 1400, 1700. Faris: paid 76. Azab: 42. 4 oda. Ali Daud kethüda 4000, reis 2000, seroda 1900, ordinary soldiers 1700; Behram Divane kethüda 1800, seroda 1500, ordinary soldiers 1400.

## LİVA-İ SEGEDİN

Kale-i **SEGEDİN** (Hu. Szeged)  
Ottoman possession 1543–1686

In the whole of Ottoman Hungary, the garrisons of the sancak of Segedin are the most difficult ones to describe. Salary-timar holding defenders appeared early on, on whom few icmal defteris survived, and only some of those who were paid in cash appear in the sources about the fortresses, as they were paid not by the treasury but from south Hungarian and north Balkan mukataa revenues (for example from the Vidin mukataa). In this sancak there must have been more soldiers serving than the total that appear in the poor source material, this is especially true for the garrison of the small palisades constructed at the beginning of the 17th century along the Danube.

Segedin itself was rather a large town surrounded by walls and bastions than a fortress. Its role in administration, as well as in trade and transportation, was significant, its military role less so. When conquered, it was supposed to have a garrison of almost 500 soldiers, but this quickly fell below 200.

**1545** (ÖNB Mxt 561, pp. 1–28: pay list. Mxt 581, p. 56: pay account)

Both sources include the quarter years of reşen and lezez of the year 952, the table shows the reşen data.

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Paid heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	151	114	113	15 bölük	67 (44.4)	30 (26.3)
Topçu	12	8	7	1 bölük	4 (33.3)	–
Faris	89	82	81	1 ağa, 9 bölük (sic)	11 (12.4)	4 (4.9)
Azab	120	77	77	2 ağa, 12 bölük (sic)	62 (51.7)	19 (24.7)
Martolos	99	80	81	2 ağa, 11 oda	32 (32.3)	5 (6.2)
<b>Total</b>	<b>471</b>	<b>361</b>	<b>359</b>		<b>176 (37.4)</b>	<b>58 (16.1)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Mehmed dizdar 30, Mehmed Yakub kethüda 20, İlyas Ferhad kâtib 12, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 5–7. Topçu: Yusuf Abdullah serbölük 7, majority of others 6. Faris: Yusuf Can, after him Receb ağa 22, seroda (one of them is emir-i ahor) 10, ordinary soldiers 9. Azab: Mahmud ağa 20, Süleyman kethüda 12, Receb ağa 20, Sinan kethüda 12, reis 10, serbölük 7, ordinary soldiers 5–6. Martolos: Said ağa 15, İlyas Ahmed ağa 15, first serodas 9 and 8, others 5–6, ordinary soldiers 4–5. 80 Christians.

**1546** (BOA Tapu 1044, p. 219–232: icmal)

Following the drafting of the first mufassal defteri, the müstahfiz became salary timar holders in 1546. There were 146 of them, 15 bölüks. Mehmed dizdar 5000, Veli Hüseyin kethüda 4000, serbölüks and ordinary soldiers 1400.

**1552–1553** (ÖNB Mxt 643, p. 59–65: pay list, only cash-paid units!)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	[146?]	[146?]	[15 bölük?]	?	?
Topçu	34	30	2 bölük	16 (47.1)	12 (40)
Cebeci	3	3	–	–	–
Faris	96	81	1 ağa, 10 oda	53 (55.2)	38 (46.9)
Azab	123	45	1 ağa, 3 riyaset, 8 oda	92 (74.8)	14 (31.1)
Martolos	96	57	2 ağa, 11 oda	44 (45.8)	5 (8.8)
<b>Total</b>	<b>498(?)</b>	<b>362(?)</b>			

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Topçu: Mehmed Ali ser 12, Yusuf Abdullah kethüda 10, serbölük 7–8, ordinary soldiers 6. Cebeci: Behram Ali ser 7, others 6. Faris: Ramazan ağa 15, seroda 10, ordinary soldiers 9. Azab: Receb ağa 15, Hüseyin Yusuf, after him Mehmed Abdullah kethüda 10, reis 10, seroda 6–7, ordinary soldiers 6. Martolos: Mehmed Mustafa ağa 12, Piri Mehmed ağa 15, sermiye 8 and 9, seroda 5–6, ordinary soldiers 4–5. 46 Christians.

On the night of February 20, 1552 Hungarian soldiers, under the leadership of the Hungarian magistrate of the town of Segedin, recaptured the civilian town,

and killed a great part of the Ottomans living there; they could not take the fort-ress. The reduced size of the Ottoman garrison reflect the losses suffered then.

**1557–1558, 1560–1561** (ÖNB Mxt 614, pp. 208–214: pay list. BOA Tapu 333, pp. 20–68: icmal)

Branch	Pay list / icmal heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız 1560	118	[118?]	12 bölük	–	–
Topçu 1557	32	32	3 bölük	4 (12.5)	4 (12.5)
Müteferrika 1557	7	4	–	3 (42.9)	–
Faris 1557	88	87	1 ağa, 9 oda	18 (20.5)	17 (19.5)
Azab 1557	82	78	1 ağa, 8 oda	8 (9.8)	4 (5.1)
Martolos 1557	95	88	2 ağa, 11 oda	15 (15.8)	8 (9.1)
<b>Total</b>	<b>422</b>	<b>407(?)</b>		<b>48 (11.4)</b>	<b>33 (8.1)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Kasım dizdar 5000, serbölük 1500, ordinary soldiers 1400. Topçu: Mehmed Ali ser, Yusuf Ali kethüda, pay unchanged (1560: ser 3000, kathüda 2500, seroda 1700, ordinary soldiers 1600). Müteferrika: Behram Ali ser-i cebeciyan 7, 2 cebeci, 1 neccar, 3 mehter (absent) 5–6 (1560: ser 2438, 2 cebeci 1600, anbari 1839). Faris: Kurd Yusuf ağa, pay unchanged. Azab: Piri Mehmed ağa 15, Ali kethüda 10, reis 10, seroda 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Martolos: İbrahim Evrenos ağa 10, Mehmed Mustafa ağa 13, sermiye 8, seroda 5–6, ordinary soldiers 4–5. 97 Christians.

After 1570 the azabs also received their income from timars. The other change was that after the treaty of Adrianople the garrisons of fortresses which were located in the secure southern territories, including Segedin, were reduced.

**1565–1566, 1568–1569** (ÖNB Mxt 612, p. 38: pay account. Mxt 642, pp. 116–120: pay list. Mxt 617, pp. 7, 17: pay account)

Cash-paid troops:

Branch	29.07.1565– 21.01.1566	20.12.1568– 15.06.1569	16.06.– 09.12.1569
Faris	80	85	81
Azab	77	77	69
Martolos	73	75	–

**1570, 1573–1574** (BOA Tapu 551, pp. 43–87: icmal. ÖNB Mxt 626, p. 181: pay list)

Branch	icmal / pay list
Müstahfız 1570	70
Topçu 1570	18
Cebeci 1570	5
Faris 1573	49
Azab 1570	37
<b>Total</b>	<b>ca. 179</b>

*Officers, pay, income* (akçe). Müstahfız: Kasım ağa, Ali kethüda. Topçu: Hüseyin Abdullah, Yusuf Abdullah kethüda. Cebeci: Behram ser. Faris: Mehmed ağa, pay/income unchanged.

Azab: Ömer Hüseyin ağa 5800, Ömer Ferhad kethüda 2550, seroda 1500, ordinary soldiers 1400.

**From 1574** until the end of the century sources survive only on farises, their numbers ranged between 35 and 50.

**1599–1600, 1604** (ÖNB Mxt 638, p. 11. BOA MAD 5158, pp. 1–16: pay accounts)

The first account is probably incomplete.

Branch	28.01.1599– 16.01.1600	30.05.– 26.08.1604
Müstahfız	26	44
Topçu		26
Cebeci		12
Faris	35	98
Azab	31	33
Limancı		11
Martolos	52	47
<b>Total</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>271</b>

**1612–1613** (BOA MAD 4133, pp. 18, 55: pay account. MAD 4000, pp. 440–450: pay list)

The azabs do not appear in any of the sources, but it is unlikely that they were withdrawn from riverside Segedin.

Branch	28.08.1612– 20.02.1613	21.02.– 16.08.1613
Müstahfız	33	33
Topçu-i enderun	10	10
Topçu-i palanka	11	12
Cebeci	10	11
Faris	77	81
Limancı	10	10
Martolos	28	34
<b>Total</b>	<b>179</b>	<b>191</b>

The data of the pay list are identical with the data contained in the second column.

*Officers, pays* (akçe). Müstahfız (3 bölük): Ramazan ağa ba timar, Mahmud ağa 20, Hüseyin kethüda 10, Hasan Alican kâtib 15. Topçu-i enderun (artillerymen in fortress, 1 bölük): Mehmed Ahmed ağa 24, Yusuf Hüseyin kethüda 15. Topçu-i palanka (artillerymen in town, 1 bölük): Mehmed Osman ser 15, Hamza kethüda 12. Cebeci (1 bölük): Ali Veli ağa 12, İsa Kasım kethüda 15(!). Faris (10 oda): Mehmed ağa 30, Osman ağa 22. Limancı: Mustafa Ali ağa 10. Martolos: Ali ağa 20, sermiye 10, one man is haddad, one is kethüda-i azeban.

The azabs do not appear in any of the sources, nor do they make an appearance later. It is not clear whether they were really withdrawn from riverside Segedin; maybe they remained as salary timar holders. However, without icmal defteris we cannot give any answers.

## LİVA-İ SEGEDİN

**1618–1619, 1628–1629** (BOA MAD 7320, pp. 224–250: pay list. ÖNB Mxt 636, p. 24: pay account)

Branch	19.12.1618– 07.12.1619	31.08.1628– 20.08.1629
Müstahfız	34	30
Topçu	19	18
Cebeci [enderun]	10	8
Faris	46	46
Limancı	9	7
Martolos	41	34
<b>Total</b>	<b>159</b>	<b>143</b>

*Officers, pay in 1619* (akçe). Müstahfız: 3 bölük, Mahmud Mehmed ağa 20, Hüseyin kethüda 10, Hasan Alican kâtib 15, anbari, seroda 8, ordinary soldiers 7–8. Topçu: artillerymen in fortress: 1 bölük, Uruc Ali kethüda 15, ordinary soldiers 7, artillerymen in town (birun): 1 bölük, Mehmed Osman ağa 15, Seyyid Hamza kethüda 12, ordinary soldiers 8. Cebeci: 1 bölük, İsa Kasım kethüda 15, ordinary soldiers 9. Faris: 6 oda, Mahmud ağa 30, seroda 12. Limancı: 1 oda, Mustafa Ali ağa 10, seroda 9, ordinary soldiers 7. Martolos: 4 oda, Hasan kapudan-i nehr-i Tisza 24, Salih Hasan ağa 20, Abdi İskender kethüda 13, sermiye 11, seroda 7, ordinary soldiers 6.

**1665** (Evliyâ Çelebi, 7. *Kitap*, 142)

Evliyâ Çelebi wrote of 300 soldiers in Segedin, which is only credible if it includes the resident sipahis.

**1686** (BOA Kepeci 4736)

The source, dated December 30, 1686, is a list of the soldiers transferred from the fallen Segedin to İlok. It transpires from it that before the Christian siege the defense of Segedin was reinforced with a cavalry unit of 150 men (farisan-i sani), of whom 61 were slain in the fighting. This unit of 150 men was made up of the remaining soldiers of several previously lost fortresses.

### Kale-i TİTEL (Hu. Titel)

Ottoman possession 1526 or 1529–1688

This kale is the first fortress to be taken by the Ottomans on the northern bank of the Danube, in the mouth of the river Tisza. For one and a half decades it stood as a sole conqueror in this territory, that is the reason why it was guarded by a well-organised garrison of 350 men. However, once the territory between the Danube and the Tisza was filled with further Ottoman fortresses, it lost its importance.



**1541** (ÖNB Mxt 567, pp. 52–62: pay list, the scribe only registered the changes among the azabs)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	99	98	10 bölük		
Müteferrika	3	3	1 bölük		
Topçu	20	20	2 bölük		
Faris	51	51	1 ağa, 5 bölük		
Azab	105	102	1 ağa, 4 riyaset, 12 bölük	21 (20)	18 (17.6)
Kalafatçı	3	3	–		
Neccar	3	3	–		
Haddad	2	2	–		
Martolos	68	67	7 bölük		
<b>Total</b>	<b>354</b>	<b>349</b>			
Hademe-i cami	3	3			

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Tursun dizdar 16, Mehmed kethüda 10, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 5–6. Müteferrika: anbari 7, bevvab 6, tirger 6. Topçu: Hızır Ayas ser 13, Yusuf kethüda 9, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 6–7. Faris: Hasan ağa 17, serbölük 8–10, ordinary soldiers 6–7. Azab: Rüstem ağa 15, Hüseyin kul kethüda 15, reis 8, 10, serbölük 6, ordinary soldiers 5. Kalafatçı, neccar, haddad: 6. Martolos: İlyas Ahmed first serbölük 15, serbölük 4, ordinary soldiers 3. Hademe-i cami: Fahreddin imam, hatib 12, Ahmed müezzın 6, Hamza kayyum 2. 73 Christians.

Until 1612 the soldiers of Titel did not appear either in pay lists or in payment accounts; presumably they were paid out of the revenues from the local muka-taas. The garrison certainly shrank: in 1541 50 of its farises, 50 of its azabs and 68 of its martoloses were transferred to Buda. In the 1578 mufassal defteri of the sancak of Segedin, however, we come across its müstafizes (BOA Tapu 570, p. 46.): Bayram dizdar, Osman kethüda and their 54 men, altogether 56 soldiers, as well as the müezzın Mümin. They were registered together with the soldiers of the watchtower facing Titel called Fok (kulle-i Fok), located on the eastern bank of the Tisza: Hızır dizdar and 13 müstahfizes.

**1612–1615** (BOA MAD 4133, pp. 20, 57, 101: pay account. MAD 4000, pp. 472–474: pay list)

Branch	28.08.1612– 20.02.1613	21.02.– 16.08.1613	31.01.– 26.07.1615
Müstahfız, topçu in Titel and Fok	38	39	35
Azab	22	22	21
<b>Total</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>56</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe), (pay list, 1613). Total: 61. Müstahfız: 21 men, Hüseyin Bali dizdar 12, Ali kethüda 9. Topçu: 7 men, Mustafa ser 9, seroda 8. Müstahfız in Fok: 11 men, Hurrem dizdar 10. Azab: 22 men, Receb ağa 20, Ahmed kethüda 9, Mehmed kâtib 6.

**1630** (BOA MAD 5193, p. 8: pay account)

In Titel müstahfız and topçu: 27, in Fok müstahfız: 10, total: 37.

**1665** (Evliyâ Çelebi, 7. *Kitap*, 140)

Evliyâ Çelebi wrote of a dizdar and 20 soldiers in Titel.

Kale-i **KALAÇA** (Hu. Kalocsa)  
Ottoman possession 1541 or 1542–1686

Before the Ottoman conquest it was a significant place, the seat of the arch-bishop. Under Ottoman administration it was a nahiye centre, while in the fortress system it was a medium-sized component of the fortifications defending the Danube.

**1543** (ÖNB Mxt 550, pp. 60–65: pay list, the scribe did not register the changes in personnel)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Paid heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)
Müstahfız	40	30	29	4 bölük	10 (25)
Topçu	10	10	10	1 bölük	–
Azab	80	46	21	1 ağa, 3 riyaset, 8 oda	33 (41.2)
Topçu[-i azeban]	2	–	–	–	2 (100)
Martolos	68	66	26	1 ağa, 7 oda	2 (2.9)
<b>Total</b>	<b>200</b>	<b>152</b>	<b>86</b>		<b>47 (23.5)</b>
Hademe-i cami	1	1	1		

The number of soldiers who received payment was this low because 25 azabs and 40 martoloses were taking part in the İstolni Belgrad campaign.

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Mustafa dizdar 20, Hüseyin kethüda 12, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 6–7. Topçu: Nasuh ser 10, Ahmed kethüda 8, 7 topçu, 1 haddad, 1 neccar 6–7. Azab: Mahmud İskender ağa 15, Ahmed kethüda 11, reis 10, seroda 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Martolos: Mehmed Rüstem ağa 15, G'ura Vukašin sermiye 10, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5. Mustafa imam 7.

**1545–1546** (ÖNB Mxt 561, pp. 29–41: pay list. Mxt 581, p. 57: pay account)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads		
		12.05.–07.09.1545	08.09.–05.12.1545	16.12.–03.03.1546
Müstahfız	20	17	18	18
Topçu	7	5	5	5
Martolos	61	39	48	50
<b>Total</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>73</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: no change in officers or pay. Topçu: Nasuh ser, Ahmed kethüda is dead, pay unchanged. Martolos: Mustafa ağa, the sermiye and the pay are unchanged. Yusuf halife imam.

**1546, 1553** ( BOA Tapu 1044, pp. 239–242: icmal. ÖNB Mxt 643, pp. 65–66: pay list)

Branch	İcmal / pay list heads	Present heads
Müstahfız [and topçu?]	32	
Martolos	61	49
<b>Total</b>	<b>93(?)</b>	

Following the first assesment in 1546 the müstafizes became salary timar holders.

# VİLAYET-İ BUDUN

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Mustafa dizdar 5000, kethüda 2000, seroda, ordinary soldiers 1400. Martolos: Mustafa ağa 12, Vuk Bożık sermiye 8, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5.

**1557–1558, 1560–1561** (ÖNB Mxt 614, pp. 216–217: pay list. BOA Tapu 333, pp. 102–109: icmal)

Branch	İcmal/pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız 1560	20		2 bölük		
Topçu 1557	4		–		
Martolos 1557	61	56	7 oda	7 (11.5)	2 (3.6)
<b>Total</b>	<b>85</b>				
Hademe-i cami	1				

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Mustafa dizdar 5000, Mustafa Ali kethüda 2200, others 1400. Topçu: Mustafa Abdullah kethüda 2129, Nasuh [serbölük?] 1600, others 1500. Martolos: no change in officers and pay. Mevlana Hasan imam 2800.

**1604** (BOA MAD 5158, pp. 20–22: pay account)

The garrison was reinforced with a few cavalymen and azabs during the war. Müstahfız: 10, faris: 14, azab: 26, total: 50 (presumably only part of the soldiers).

**1612–1613, 1615** (BOA MAD 4133, pp. 19, 56, 106: pay account. MAD 4000, pp. 467–468: pay list)

Branch	28.08.1612– 20.02.1613	21.02.– 16.08.1613	31.01.– 26.07.1615
Müstahfız, topçu	11	16	17
Faris	22	23	24

The 30–40 soldiers can only have constituted part of the garrison.

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız, topçu: Memi dizdar 25, Ahmed kethüda 16. Faris: Mustafa ağa 30, 5 seroda, which indicates that the unit is what remained of a troop which had once consisted of 5 squads.

**1619** (BOA MAD 7320, pp. 239–240: pay list)

Müstahfız: 10. 1 bölük. Mustafa Timur ağa 25, Hasan Mehmed kethüda 15, serbölük 10, ordinary soldiers 8. Topçu: 7. 1 bölük. Mustafa Timur ağa 20, Hüseyin Abdullah kethüda 12, others 8. Faris: 23. 4 oda. İbrahim Mehmed ağa 30, seroda 12, ordinary soldiers 10. Total: 40.

**1665** (Evliyâ Çelebi, 7. *Kitap*, 137)

According to Evliyâ Çelebi, Kalaça was also guarded by 60 people.

Kale-i **ZOMBOR** / SONBOR (Hu. Zombor)  
Ottoman possession 1542 or 1543–1686

Nahiye centre with a garrison, tasked primarily with holding off the Hungarian soldiers raiding in the far south. Because of the inadequate sources, it is impossible to establish the size of its garrison. It seems to have remained under 100.

**1543** (ÖNB Mxt 550, pp. 71–74: pay list; the scribe only registered a single change)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Paid heads	Units	Vacant post (%)
Müstahfız	22	21	18	2 bölük	1 (4.5)
Topçu	7	4	4	–	3 (42.9)
Faris	21	20	20	2 oda	1 (4.8)
<b>Total</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>42</b>		<b>5 (10)</b>
Hademe-i cami	1	–			

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Hasan dizdar 13, Durmuş kethüda 10, serbölük 6, ordinary soldiers 5; the second squad of the troop served in Sobotka two years later. Topçu: Yusuf ser 6, others 5. Faris: Osman Mehmed ser 15, seroda 8, ordinary soldiers 7. Hacı Ali imam absent.

**1545–1612** (BOA Tapu 1044, pp. 234–235. Tapu 333, pp. 97–101. Tapu 551, pp. 134–137: icmals. Tapu 570, p. 98: mufassal)

The soldiers of the fortress are already absent from the Buda treasury's pay accounts of 1545, and do not appear in the pay lists up to 1613 either: they must have been paid from some local revenue. In 1546 in the icmal defteri of the sancak of Segedin 12 müstafizes and an imam appear (Hüseyn dizdar 4000, Mahmud kethüda 1700, others 1400, Yusuf imam 1500). In the 1560 icmal 12 soldiers and an imam are registered (Ferhad dizdar 3000, kethüda 2000, others 1400, Seyyid imam 1500). In the 1570 icmal we come across 11 müstahfizes and an imam (Hüseyn dizdar 3000, seroda 1469, others 1400, Nasuh Mehmed imam 1500). The 1578 mufassal defteri mentions müstahfizes, artillerymen, a carpenter, corporals of various units (serbölük, seroda) and an imam, so the garrison consisted of several units.

**Between 1612 and 1630** pay lists and pay accounts sometimes registered 7, sometimes 6 artillerymen. (BOA MAD 4133, pp. 18, 55, 101. MAD 4000, p. 452. MAD 7320, p. 246. ÖNB Mxt 636, p. 24. BOA MAD 5193, p. 8)

**1686** (BOA Kepeci 4736)

20 of the troop of 150 cavalrymen, with which the garrison of Segedin was reinforced, were soldiers from Zombor. Their transfer suggests that before the Christian siege of Segedin Zombor was evacuated.

Kale-i BAÇ (Hu. Bács)  
Ottoman possession 1543(?)–1686

A large, spacious and powerful medieval fortress close to the Danube. A nahiye centre, with a populous Muslim population in the 16th century, full of merchants and sufis. Its garrison played a role in ensuring traffic along the Danube. The source material is inadequate: few data survive about the size of its garrison, especially the number of cavalymen.

**1543** (ÖNB Mxt 550, p. 68–70: pay list; the scribe did not register the changes in personnel)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present / paid heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)
Müstahfız	42	38	4 bölük	4 (9.5)
Topçu	7	6	–	1 (14.3)
Azab	49	25	2 riyaset, 5 oda	24 (49)
Kalafatçı	4	2	–	2 (50)
<b>Total</b>	<b>102</b>	<b>71</b>		<b>31 (30.4)</b>
Hademe-i cami	1	1		

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Hüseyin, after him (other) Hüseyin dizdar 15, Mustafa kethüda 12, serbölük 6, ordinary soldiers 5. Topçu: Ali Mehmed ser 6, Ali Çerevit' kethüda 6, others 6. Azab: Receb ağa 15, Sinan kethüda 10, seroda 5, ordinary soldiers 4. Kalafatçı: Jovan ser 4, others 4. Mustafa imam 6. 4 Christians.

From 1546 müstafizes were made into salary timar holders, while those troops which received payment were, in accordance with the orders of the imperial council, paid not from the Buda treasury but from the mukataa revenues (Sahil-lioğlu, *Topkapı Sarayı Arşivi*, No. 312). Cavalry were stationed in Baç, but their number never appears in the sources (one of the town quarters was called *mahalle-i farisan*). The total number of soldiers cannot be established for any given time.

**1546** (BOA Tapu 1044, pp. 213, 236–239: icmal)

Müstahfız: 31. 3 bölük. Hüseyin dizdar 3000, Mustafa Divane kethüda 2000, seroda, ordinary soldiers 1400. Mustafa imam, hatib 2000.

**1560–1561** (BOA Tapu 333, pp. 86–97: icmal)

Müstahfız: 31. 3 bölük. Hüseyin dizdar 3979, İbrahim kethüda 2277, serbölük, ordinary soldiers 1400. Mevlana Musliheddin hatib ve imam-i cami 3500.

**1570** (BOA Tapu 551, pp. 123–133: icmal)

Müstahfız: 31. 3 bölük. Mehmed dizdar 3979, İbrahim kethüda 3000, serbölük 1500, ordinary soldiers 1400. Abdüsselam hatib 3500.

**1604** (BOA MAD 5158, pp. 17–19: pay account)

Müstahfız-i cedit: 42, topçu: 6, azab: 53, total: 101, without the cavalry.

# LİVA-İ SEGEDİN

**1612–1619** (BOA MAD 4133, pp. 9, 19, 55, 106: pay account. MAD 4000, pp. 450–451. MAD 7320, pp. 240–245: pay lists)

Branch	28.08.1612– 20.02.1613	21.02.– 16.08.1613	31.01.– 26.07.1615	19.12.1618– 07.12.1619
Topçu	6	6	6	6
Azab	21	19	13	17

*Officers, pays in 1619* (akçe). Topçu: Mustafa Abdullah ser 7, Receb Ali kethüda 6, others 6. Azab: Ramazan ağa 20, 2 bevvab, seroda, others 6.

**1628–1629, 1630** (ÖNB Mxt 636, p. 24. BOA MAD 5193, p. 8: pay accounts)

1628. Topçu: 6, azab: 10.

1630. Topçu: 6, azab: 10.

**1686** (BOA Kepeci 4736)

46 soldiers of the troop of 150 cavalymen who were sent to reinforce the garrison of Segedin were transferred from Baç, which suggests that Baç was evacuated before the Christian siege of Segedin.

## Kale-i **SOBOTKA** / SOBOTKA-i SEGEDİN (Hu. Szabadka)

Its garrison was set up either in 1544 or in 1545, Ottoman possession to 1686

A nahiye centre. Located far from the Danube and the Tisza, it was primarily tasked with defence against raiding Hungarian soldiers.

**1545–1546** (ÖNB Mxt 561, pp. 42–44: pay list. ÖNB Mxt 581, p. 57: pay account)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads		Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
		08.08.– 05.12.1545	06.12.– 03.03.1546		
Müstahfız	22	13	19	15 (68.2)	6 (46.2)
Topçu	2	–	–	2 (100)	–
<b>Total</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>17 (70.8)</b>	<b>6 (46.2)</b>

The tiny garrison was transferred from Zombor and Kalaça, and already in these two fortresses half the soldiers had moved on. Only seven arrived at Sobotka; a further six were recruited locally. The two-year story of the 24 defenders is a striking example of the initial troubles. It took a decade for twenty people to finally settle.

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Ahmed dizdar 20, Hüseyin Ahmed kethüda 15, seroda 6, 8, ordinary soldiers 5–6.

**1553** (ÖNB Mxt 643, pp. 66–67: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	22	17	2 bölük	10 (45.5)	5 (29.4)
Topçu	2	2	–	–	–
<b>Total</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>19</b>		<b>10 (41.7)</b>	<b>6 (31.6)</b>

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*Officers, pays* (akçe). Müstahfız: Ahmed Ali dizdar 20, İbrahim Evrenos kethüda 12, remaining pay unchanged. Topçu: 7 and 5.

**1556–1557, 1557–1588** (ÖNB Mxt 578, pp. 63–64. Mxt 614, p. 215: pay lists)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	22	22	2 bölük	–	1 (4.5)
Topçu	2	2	–	–	–
<b>Total</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>24</b>		–	<b>1 (4.2)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız, topçu: Ferhad Bahadır dizdar 13, Ferhad kethüda, remaining pay unchanged.

**1560–1561** (BOA Tapu 333, pp. 70–80: icmal)

24 soldiers became salary timar holders. Dizdar 3000, kethüda 2500, serbölük 1500, ordinary soldiers 1400.

**1570** (BOA Tapu 551, pp. 88–105: icmal)

Branch	icmal heads	Units
Müstahfız	49	5 bölük
Topçu	5	1 bölük
<b>Total</b>	<b>54</b>	

*Officers, incomes* (akçe). Ferhad dizdar 3000, Ahmed kethüda 2500, serbölük 1500, ordinary soldiers 1400. Topçu: Hüseyin Abdullah ser 2000, serbölük and others 1600.

**1572–1574** (BOA MAD 1561, pp. 146, 178: pay account. ÖNB Mxt 626, pp. 182–184: pay list)

14.05.1572–02.05.1573. Faris: 95.

03.05.1573–22.04.1574. Faris: 99.

**1578** (BOA Tapu 570, p. 34: mufassal defteri. MAD 498, p. 33: pay account)

Branch	Mufassal / paid heads
Müstahfız	52
Topçu	[5?]
Faris	72
<b>Total</b>	<b>129(?)</b>

*Officers*. Müstahfız: Mustafa Hersek dizdar, Ahmed Abdullah kethüda, Nasuh Mehmed sertopi.

**1588–1589** (ÖNB Mxt 615, pp. 133–134: pay list)

Faris: 71. 9 oda. Bayezid ağa 16, seroda 9, ordinary soldiers 8.

# LİVA-İ SEGEDİN

**1612–1615** (BOA MAD 4133, pp. 19, 55, 106: pay account. MAD 4000, pp. 452–456: pay list)

Branch	28.08.1612– 20.02.1613	21.02.– 16.08.1613	31.01.– 26.07.1615
Müstahfız (incomplete)	7	9	18
Topçu (incomplete?)	6	5	
Faris	51	51	39
Martolos	13	13	13
<b>Total (incomplete)</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>70</b>
Hademe-i cami	5	6	

*Officers, pay in 1613* (akçe). Müstahfız, topçu: dizdar with salary timar, kethüda 12. Faris: Mehmed ağa 25, alemdar 7. Martolos: Şehsüvar ağa 30, sermiye 7, alemdar 6. Hademe-i cami: Selim halife hatib 10, Osman halife müezzin 6, Şahbaz muarraf 3, Mehmed halife devr-han 3, Bekir kayyum 3, Hızır şemci 3.

**1619** (BOA MAD 7320, pp. 230–233: pay list)

Müstahfız: 6, topçu: 7, faris: 51, azab: 13, total: 77. Hademe-i cami: 10.

**1628–1629** (ÖNB Mxt 636, p. 24: pay account)

Müstahfız, topçu: 13, faris: 44, azab: 13, total: 70. Hademe-i cami: 5.

**1665** (Evlîyâ Çelebi, 7. *Kitap*, 141): 150 defenders (which seems exaggerated).

## Parkan-i BAYA (Hu. Baja) Constructed at the beginning of the 1550s Ottoman possession to 1686

Nahiye centre, considered important among the fortresses defending the river Danube.

**1556–1557 / 1557–1558, 1560–1561** (ÖNB Mxt 578, p. 62. Mxt 614, pp. 214–215: pay lists.

BOA Tapu 333, pp. 110–117: icmal)

Branch	Pay list / icmal heads	Present heads		Units
		1557	1558	
Müstahfız 1560	21			1 bölük
Martolos 1556–1558	52	48	49	5 oda

The complete garrison cannot be reconstructed.

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Divane arnavud Ali dizdar 3600, Yusuf kethüda 2600, ser-bölük 1500, ordinary soldiers 1400. Martolos: Şaban Abdullah ağa 10, Ali Abdullah ser-miye 8, seroda 5, ordinary soldiers 4. 44 Christians.



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**1569–1570** (ÖNB Mxt 642, p. 232: pay list. Mxt 617, pp. 7, 17: pay account. BOA Tapu 551, pp. 107–122: icmal)

Branch	Pay list / icmal heads	Present heads	Paid heads	Units
Müstahfız	40			4 bölük
Topçu	6			–
Martolos	42	42	37	4 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>88</b>			

The martoloses received their last payment in the half-year ending on June 15, 1569, when they were dismissed from the fortress.

*Officers, pay (akçe).* Müstahfız: Davud dizdar 3600, Yusuf Abdullah kethüda 2600, serbölük 1500–1600, ordinary soldiers 1400. Topçu: Mustafa Abdullah ser 2300, others 1600. Martolos: Ali Hasan ağa 10, Živko Nikola sermiye 8, seroda 5, ordinary soldiers 4. 38 Christians.

**1605–1606** (BOA MAD 5158, pp. 24–28: pay account)

Branch	19.05.–11.11.1605	12.11.1605–08.05.1606
Müstahfız	32	32
Topçu	8	8
Faris	23	22
Azab	37	37
Martolos	20	20
<b>Total</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>119</b>

**1612–1615** (BOA MAD 4133, pp. 19, 56, 106: pay account. MAD 4000, pp. 461–466: pay list)

Branch	28.08.1612– 20.02.1613	21.02.– 16.08.1613	31.01.– 26.17.1615
Müstahfız	26	39	30
Topçu	8		
Faris	31	29	24
Azab	41	42	?
<b>Total</b>	<b>106</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>54(?)</b>
Hademe-i cami	3	3	with müstahfizes

*Officers, pay in 1613 (akçe).* Müstahfız: dizdar ba timar, İbrahim kethüda 17. Faris: Abdülhabib ağa 20. Azab: Durmuş kapudan 45, Hızır ağa 15, Sinan kethüda 12, reis 9. Hademe-i cami: Hüseyin imam 7, Mustafa müezzın 7, İsmail halife kayyum 7. 27 Christians.

**1628–1629, 1630** (ÖNB Mxt 636, p. 24. BOA MAD 5193, p. 8: pay accounts)  
Müstahfız: 25, topçu: 8, faris: 30, total: 63. Hademe-i cami: 3.

**1665** (Evliyâ Çelebi, 7. *Kitap*, 137): dizdar and 80 soldiers.

Parkan-i **TÖMÖRKİN** (Hu. Tömörkény)

Constructed in 1561,

I do not know for how long it was in use

It was built close to the Tisza, below Congrad; presumably it was intended to join the chain of fortresses guarding the Tisza. It was probably judged to be superfluous and evacuated (or maybe it only disappeared from the sources).

**1560–1561, 1565–1566** (BOA Tapu 333, pp. 58, 68–70, 80–86: icmal. ÖNB Mxt 612, p. 38: pay account)

Branch	With timar / Paid
Müstahfız 1560	20
Topçu 1560	5
Faris 1565	55
Martolos 1565	32
<b>Total</b>	<b>112</b>

*Officers, incomes* (akçe). Müstahfız: Bali Abdullah dizdar 4200, serbölük 1500, ordinary soldiers 1400. Topçu: Behram Abdullah serbölük 1500, others 1400.

The fortress does not appear in later sources.

Parkan-i **SENKİRAL** (Hu. Szentkirály)

Constructed in 1570 or immediately before,

probably it was only used in the 16th century

The northernmost unit of the fortresses guarding the left bank of Danube with a garrison of 100 men.

**1570, 1572** (BOA Tapu 551, pp. 139–158: icmal. MAD 1561, pp. 146, 178: pay account)

Branch	With timar/ Paid heads	Units
Müstahfız	20	2 bölük
Topçu	3	–
Faris	46	?
Azab	36	4 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>105</b>	
Hademe-i mescid	1	

*Officers, incomes* (akçe). Müstahfız: Mustafa dizdar 5000, Mehmed Abdullah kethüda 2200, serbölük 1500, ordinary soldiers 1400. Topçu: Uruc Nasuh ser 3000, others 1500. Azab: Haydar(?) Şahin kethüda 2585, seroda 1500, ordinary soldiers 1400. Şaban imam 2800.

Later only the cavalrymen, whose number barely changed, appear in a few sources.

Parkan-i **MARTONOŞ** (Hu. Martonos)  
Constructed before 1590, in use until 1686(?)

One of the small fortresses defending the river Tisza.

**1590–1593, 1599** (Schwarz, Osmanische Sultansurkunden, 171. ÖNB Mxt 638, p. 11: pay account)  
1590–1593: the supervisor of the Vidin mukataa had to pay 24 müstafizes in cash for two and a half years.  
1599: 26 farises received payment.

**1604** (BOA MAD 5158, p. 23: pay account)  
42 müstafizes and topçus received payment.

**1612–1613, 1615** (BOA MAD 4133, pp. 18, 56, 106: pay account. MAD 4000, pp. 469–470: pay list)  
28.08.1612–20.02.1613. Müstahfız and topçu: 34.  
21.02.1613–16.08.1613. Müstahfız: 27, topçu: 7.  
31.01.1615–26.07.1615. Müstahfız and topçu: 24.

*Officers, pay in 1613* (akçe). Müstahfız: Ali ağa 20, Mehmed kethüda 10. Topçu: Lütfi ser 10, Ali kethüda 10. Mehmed müezzın 10.

**1619** (BOA MAD 7320, pp. 246–247: pay list)  
Müstahfız: 20. 2 bölük. Kurd Ali ağa 20, Mehmed kethüda 10, serbölük 7, 6, ordinary soldiers 5–6. Topçu: 5. Zülfikar ağa 10, Hasan Abdullah kethüda 11(!), serbölük 9, others 5–6. Mehmed İskender müezzın 10.

**1628–1630** (ÖNB Mxt 636, p. 24. BOA MAD 5193, p. 8: pay accounts)  
Müstahfız, topçu: 20.

**1665** (Evliyâ Çelebi, 7. *Kitap*, 141): dizdar and 15 soldiers.

Parkan / Palanka-i **FUTOK** (Hu. Futak)  
Built around the time of the outbreak of the Fifteen Years War(?),  
in use until 1686(?)

One of the small palankas guarding the river Danube, the full garrison of which is known at no date.

**1612–1615** (BOA MAD 4133, pp. 20, 56, 101: pay account. MAD 4000, p. 471: pay list)  
28.08.1613–20.02.1613. Müstahfız, topçu: 13.  
21.02.1613–16.08.1613. Müstahfız: 7, topçu: 5.  
31.01.1615–26.07.1615. Müstahfız, topçu: 12.

**1619** (BOA MAD 7320, pp. 249–250: pay list)  
Müstahfız: 7. 1 bölük. ... ağa 12, Ahmed Abdullah kethüda 8, serbölük 6, others 5.  
Topçu: 4. Hüseyin Ali ağa 11, serbölük(?) 7, others 6.

**1628–1629, 1630** (ÖNB Mxt 636, p. 24. BOA MAD 5193, p. 8: pay accounts)  
Müstahfız, topçu: 6.

**1665** (Evliyâ Çelebi, 7. *Kitap*, 140): Evliyâ Çelebi states that the fortress is dilapidated, but large and populous, there is a cami and three meschids in it, its soldiers number 80. His description, even if exaggerated, supports the theory that only a fraction of the soldiers in Futok received their payment from the Buda treasury.

Palanka / Parkan-i **MADARAŞ** (Hu. Madaras)  
Constructed at the beginning of the 17th century(?),  
I do not know for how long it was in use

Situated far from the river Danube and the Tisza, its primary task was defence against raiding Hungarian soldiers.

**1612–1615** (BOA MAD 4133, pp. 19, 56, 106: pay account. MAD 4000, pp. 456–460: pay list)

Branch	28.08.1612– 20.02.1613	21.02.– 16.08.1613	31.01.– 16.07.1615
Müstahfız, topçu	31	31	32
Faris	52	52	40
<b>Total</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>72</b>
Hademe-i cami	5	5	with müstahfizes

*Officers, pay in 1613* (akçe). Müstahfız: Fehmi dizdar 20, Abdi kethüda 10, bevvab, alemdar 9. Topçu: Timurhan ser. Faris: Pervane ağa. Hademe-i cami: İsa imam, hatib, sermahfil 18, Hüsrev Bosna müezzın, devr-han 9, Ali halife Sefer müezzın, devr-han 9, Sefer Ahmed kayyum, tarıf-han 8, Salık kayyum 6.

**1619, 1628–1629, 1630** (BOA MAD 7320, pp. 233–236: pay list. ÖNB Mxt 636, p. 24. BOA MAD 5193, p. 8: pay accounts)

The size of the garrison is presumably unchanged since 1613.

19.12.1618–07.12.1619. Müstahfız: 25, topçu: 6, faris: 52, total: 83. Hademe-i cami: 4.

31.08.1628–20.08.1629. No change.

10.08.1630–29.07.1631. No change.

Palanka / Parkan-i **MOŞORİN** (Hu. Mozsor)  
Constructed at the beginning of the 17th century(?),  
I do not know for how long it was in use

The palanka was assigned to a role in securing the territory around the mouth of the Tisza. Whether the sources describe the garrison in total is uncertain.

**1612–1613** (BOA MAD 4133, pp. 20, 56: pay account. MAD 4000, pp. 471–472: pay list)

28.08.1612–20.02.1613. Müstahfız, topçu: 21.

21.02.1613–16.08.1613. Müstahfız: 5, topçu: 8.

*Officers in 1613*. Yusuf ağa, Mustafa kethüda. 10 Christians.

**1628–1629** (ÖNB Mxt 636, p. 24: pay account)

The account book records the payment of the 31 müstahfizes of Titel and Moşorin as one item.

Palanka / Parkan-i **KOBİLA** or Lipik(?) (Hu. Kabol)

Constructed at the beginning of the 17th century, in use until 1686(?)

One of the insignificant palankas, the size of its garrison is uncertain.

**1612–1613** (BOA MAD 4133, pp. 20, 56: pay account. MAD 4000, p. 470: pay list)

28.08.1612–20.02.1613. Müstahfız, topçu: 19.

21.02.1613–16.08.1613. Müstahfız: 8, topçu: 8.

*Officers in 1613.* Ali ağa, Mustafa imam. 11 Christians.**1619, 1628–1629, 1630** (BOA MAD 7320, pp. 245–246: pay list. ÖNB Mxt 636, p. 24. BOA MAD 5193, p. 8: pay accounts)

All three sources registered 3 müstahfizes, but there must have been more.

**1665** (Evliyâ Çelebi, 7. *Kitap*, 140): a populous place with a dizdar and 50 soldiers.Palanka-i **PEŞTE** (Hu. Pest)

Constructed around 1610, I do not know for how long it was in use

One of the insignificant palankas along the Danube river, the size of its garrison is uncertain.

**1612–1613** (BOA MAD 4133, pp. 20, 57: pay account. MAD 4000, p. 474: pay list)

28.08.1612–20.02.1613. Müstahfız, topçu: 6.

21.02.1613–16.08.1613. Müstahfız: 6. As with the data about the previous fortresses, this is barely credible.

## LİVA-İ SEKÇÖY

Kale-i **SEKÇÖY** (Hu. Szekcső)

Ottoman possession between the winter of 1541–1542 and 1686

The fortresses of the sancak defended the river and the military road next to it (from the north of Ösek the road deviated from the river bank for a while, and reached the Danube only at Mohaç) on the stretch above the Danube's great southern turn. Its earliest fortress was Sekçöy, later to become a sancak centre. Its first garrison was just below 30 soldiers, but the number increased to about one hundred.

**1543** (ÖNB Mxt 550, pp. 66–67: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	22	16	2 bölük	10 (45.5)	4 (25)
Topçu	4	3	–	1 (25)	–
<b>Total</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>19</b>		<b>11 (42.3)</b>	<b>4 (21.1)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: İskender dizdar 30, Hacı Receb kethüda 20, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 6–7. Topçu: İlyas Mustafa serbölük 12, others 6–7. Only one Christian soldier.

**1553** (ÖNB Mxt 643, pp. 46–47: pay list)

From 1552 the two above-mentioned troops became salary-timar holders; the two new units, however, were paid in cash. The number of the increased garrison was around 100 soldiers.

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Faris	44	43	1 ağa, 4 oda	6 (13.6)	5 (11.6)
Martolos	41	41	4 oda	1 (2.4)	1 (2.4)

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Faris: Mehmed Yusuf ağa, pay unknown, seroda 8, ordinary soldiers 7. Martolos: Pervane Bosna ser 12, seroda 5, ordinary soldiers 4. 41 Christians.

**1569–1570** (ÖNB Mxt 642, pp. 243–244, 247–248: pay list. Mxt 617, pp. 8, 18: pay account. BOA MAD Tapu 505, pp. 77–80: icmal)

Some(?) of the topçus and müstahfizs are yet again unknown. From 1570 the azabs were also salary-timar holders. The total number of soldiers must have been around one hundred then, too.

Branch	Pay list / İcmal heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfiz	12		1 bölük		
Faris	42	41	1 ağa, 4 oda	2 (4.8)	1 (2.4)
Azab	33	32	1 ağa, 3 oda	1 (3)	1 (3.1)
Hademe-i cami	1				

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfiz: Hüseyin Mustafa dizdar 3325, Ahmed Hasan kethüda 2500, serbölük 1500, ordinary soldiers 1400. Faris: Mehmed Divane ağa 13, remaining pay unchanged. Azab: Ahmed Cafer ağa 15/10,000, İbrahim Abdullah kethüda 10/4000, reis 10/3600, seroda 6/1500, ordinary soldiers 5/1400. 3 Christians.

**1592, 1600** (Dresden Eb 353, pp. 11–16. BOA Tapu 652, p. 49: icmals. ÖNB Mxt 635, p. 30: pay account)

The sources drafted eight years apart might contain the complete garrison.

Branch	İcmal heads	Paid heads
Müstahfiz	13	
Topçu		11
Faris		51
Azab	30	32
<b>Total</b>	<b>105–107(?)</b>	

*Officers, incomes* (akçe). Müstahfiz: Ahmed dizdar 5000, İbrahim Memi kethüda 2500, serbölük 1700, ordinary soldiers 1400. Azab: Hüseyin Ahmed ağa 4000, Ömer Ali kethüda 2800, reis 1600, seroda 1500–1600, ordinary soldiers 1400.

**1607** (BOA MAD 5623, pp. 249–257: pay list, yoklama)

The dizdar and the kethüda are unknown, the azabs were transferred to Vişegrad.

Müstahfız: 24 (with dizdar and kethüda 26). 3 bölük. Topçu: 12. 1 bölük. Hasan ağa, Hasan kethüda. Faris: 50. 5 oda. Hasan ağa. Total: 88.

The sources, which continue as far as 1630, contain incomplete data. From 1612 there are no cavalymen, the müstahfizs appear with 18–25 men, with two artillerymen.

Parkan-i / Kale-i **BARANVAR** (Hu. Baranyavár)  
Ottoman possession 1543 or 1544–1686

The fortress guarded the military road half-way between Ösek and Mohaç. In the 1550s it was in ruins, and was rebuilt at the beginning of the 1560s. According to the descriptions, they did not renovate the old stone fortress, but constructed a new parkan. Its garrison was small, and was only reinforced at the time of the war.

**1565** (ÖNB Mxt 612, p. 39: pay account)  
Müstahfız: 20, faris: 47, total: 67.

**1569** (ÖNB Mxt 642, pp. 229–230: pay list. Mxt 617, pp. 8, 18: pay account)

Branch	1569			Paid	
	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	20.12.1568–15.06.1569	16.06.–09.12.1569
Müstahfız	17	16	2 bölük	26	18

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Mehmed İskender ağa 12, Mustafa kethüda 8, serbölük 7, ordinary soldiers 6.

**1570** (BOA Tapu 505, pp. 85–86: icmal)  
Artillerymen were stationed in the fortress, and they started paying the whole garrison with timars.  
Müstahfız: 19. 2 bölük. Mustafa dizdar 4000, serbölük 1800, ordinary soldiers 1700. Topçu: 4. İskender ser 1800, others 1700. Total: 23.

**1592** (Dresden Eb 353, pp. 20–22: icmal)  
Müstahfız: 19. 3 bölük. Seyyid Derviş Kasım b. Abdurrahman dizdar 4000, Ali Behram kethüda 2000, serbölük 1800–2000, ordinary soldiers 1700. Topçu: 2. Ahmed Abdullah ser 1800, other 1700. Total: 21.

**1597–1600** (BOA MAD 3370, pp. 102–103, 106–107: pay list. ÖNB Mxt 635, p. 31. Mxt 638, p. 11: pay accounts)

The total of partial sums: 160–180 soldiers.

Müstahfız in 1599: 30 (with dizdar and kethüda 32). Topçu in 1599: 5, paid in 1600: 4. Faris in 1597: 42, present 42. Mustafa ağa 22, alemdar 10, seroda 9, ordinary soldiers 8. Azab in 1597: 84, present 83, paid in 1600: 82. Receb ağa 22, Mustafa kethüda 12, reis 8–9, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5. Total: 160–180, paid in 1600: 183.

**1605–1606** (BOA MAD 5158, p. 112: pay account)  
Müstahfız: 30, topçu: 4, total: 34.

**1619** (BOA MAD 7320, pp. 143–144: pay list)

Müstahfız: 13 (with dizdar and kethüda 15). Serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 6. Topçu: 3. Ali Abdullah ser 11, others 5.

After this the müstahfizes disappear; presumably they lived off timars again, the Buda treasury calculated only on the basis of the pay of 3 artillerymen.

### Parkan-i **MOHAÇ** (Hu. Mohács)

Constructed in 1560, Ottoman possession to 1686

Originally the centre of the sancak which appeared after 1543 in south-east Transdanubia was Mohaç, then the honour was transferred to Peçuy. Mohaç was compensated with a fortress: in 1560, considerable forces were assembled and the palisade was built where the military road reached the banks of the Danube. The place had strategic importance, and its prestige was further increased by the victorious battle of 1526, thus the garrison of Mohaç remained about one hundred heads strong even when those of the other fortresses guarding the river Danube were significantly reduced. Its structure is characteristic of river-bank fortresses.

**1565** (ÖNB Mxt 612, p. 39: pay account)

Müstahfız, topçu: 29, faris: 45, azab: 24, martolos: 63, total: 161.

**1569–1570** (ÖNB Mxt 642, pp. 240–242, 245–246: pay list. Mxt 617, pp. 8, 18: pay account. BOA Tapu 505, pp. 80–84: icmal)

Branch	Pay list / Present heads	Units	Recruit heads (%)
Müstahfız	25	3 bölük	1 (4)
Topçu	7	–	–
Azab	28	1 ağa, 3 oda	5 (17.9)
Martolos	35	1 ağa, 4 oda	2 (5.7)
<b>Total</b>	<b>95</b>		<b>8 (8.4)</b>

From 1570 the infantry troops became salary-timar holders, and in this year we know their payment in cash and their annual income as well (their wages were very low; income from estates was as usual).

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Ali Bosna dizdar 8/5000, İskender kethüda 7/3500, serbölük 6–7/1800, ordinary soldiers 6/1700. Topçu: Mehdi Murad ağa 9/3500, others 6–7/1700. Azab: Süleyman Mehmed ağa 8/6000, Hüseyin Abdullah kethüda 6/2160, reis 8/2880, seroda 5–6/1500, ordinary soldiers 5/1400. Martolos: Ali ağa 10, Malkoç Divane sermiye 6, seroda 5, majority of ordinary soldiers 4. 34 Christians.

**1592** (BOA Tapu 652, p. 51. Dresden Eb 353, pp. 16–20: icmals)

Martoloses were not included in the accounts of the Buda treasury (BOA MAD 3762), although they were present both before and afterwards.

The salary-timar troops: Müstahfız: 27. 3 bölük. Pervane Abdullah dizdar 5600, Divane Bali kethüda 2000, serbölük 1700–2000, ordinary soldiers 1700. Topçu: 2.



Ahmed ser 4500, other 1700. Azab: 26. Perviz Divane ağa 3000, Hüseyin kethüda 1600, reis, seroda 1600, ordinary soldiers 1400. 22 Christians.

**1600** (ÖNB Mxt 635, p. 31: pay account)

Müstafizes are not included among cash-paid soldiers; if we count them in we can estimate that the garrison consisted of about 160 soldiers.

Topçu: 6, faris: 32, azab: 44, martolos: 52.

**1607** (BOA MAD 5623, pp. 253–258: pay list, yoklama)

The last page of the list is missing; the register of the martoloses is incomplete. The total number of soldiers was probably about 140.

Müstahfız: 20. 2 bölük. Kurd ağa, Hasan reis. Topçu: 20. Ser unknown. Faris: 24. 3 oda. Ömer ağa. Azab: 29. 3 oda. Hüseyin ağa, Hasan kethüda, Lukač Vuk [reis]. Martolos: 20. Süleyman ağa, Milosav Odor [sermiye].

**1612–1615** (BOA MAD 4133, pp. 15, 52, 72, 105: pay account. MAD 4000, pp. 348–352: pay list)

According to two later annotations in the pay list of 1607, in 1609 the müstafizes, whose number was raised to 30, as well as the existing azabs, were assigned salary timars yet again. The complete garrison, including them:

Branch	28.08.1612– 20.02.1613	21.02.– 16.08.1613	17.08.1613– 10.02.1614	31.01.– 26.07.1615
Müstahfız	[30]			
Topçu	10	10	10	4
Faris	24	24	24	18
Azab	[29]			
Martolos	46	45	46	34
<b>Total</b>	<b>ca. 140</b>			

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Faris: Malkoç ağa 20. Martolos: Süleyman ağa 20, Hasan Abdullah sermiye 10.

**1619** (BOA MAD 7320, pp. 140–142: pay list)

In 1615 the number of known troops was reduced (see the table above), and it seems that natural losses were not adequately made up either, thus the number of soldiers who continued to receive their pay in cash decreased further: Topçu: 6. Ömer Uruc [serbölük] 8, others 6. Faris: 18. Malkoç ağa 20, seroda 11, ordinary soldiers 10. Martolos: 26. Receb Hüseyin ağa 20, Hasan Abdullah sermiye 10, seroda 7, ordinary soldiers 6.

**1663** (Evliyâ Çelebi, 6. *Kitap*, 111): 300 soldiers.

#### Parkan-i FELEŞMARTA (Hu. Vörösmart)

There are data on the garrison only for the years of war;  
the palisade remained up to 1663

The town, situated on the west bank of the Danube above the mouth of the Drava, was the centre of a mukataa, and a ford where cattle was driven towards the south across the Danube. At this point no mention was made of its soldiers;

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maybe they existed, but were not paid by the treasury, but it is also possible that the place was garrisoned only in the years of the war. In 1599–1601 treasury accounts (ÖNB Mxt 638, p. 6. Mxt 635, p. 3, 25) mention 2 artillerymen, 3 müstafiz squads and 5 azab squads. Possibly there were more soldiers than these; the squads may or may not have been complete, consequently the size of the garrison cannot be estimated.

### Palanka / Parkan-i **DARDA** (Hu. Dárda) Constructed during the Fifteen Years' War, functioning until 1686

The fortress functioned as a fortification for the northern part of the bridge over the river Drava at Ösek, which up to that point had been guarded by the soldiers of Ösek, and by the separate garrison of the bridge, the latter consisted of 146 men in 1605–1606 (BOA MAD 5158, pp. 107–109).

**1605–1606** (BOA MAD 5158, p. 111: pay account)  
Müstahfız: 62, topçu: 12, total: 74.

**1612–1615** (BOA MAD 4133, pp. 15, 52, 72, 105: pay account. MAD 4000, pp. 355–357: pay list)

Branch	28.08.1612– 20.02.1613	21.02.– 16.08.1613	17.08.1613– 10.02.1614	31.01.– 26.07.1615
Müstahfız	42	32	32	32
Topçu	12	12	12	11
<b>Total</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>43</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: 3 bölük. Ahmed dizdar 25, İbrahim kethüda 19. Topçu: 1 bölük. Mehmed ser 30, Hüseyin kethüda 15.

**1619** (BOA MAD 7320, pp. 144–145: pay list)  
Müstahfız: 22. 2 bölük. İbrahim Kurd Ali ağa 15, Mustafa Ferhad kethüda 19, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 6. Topçu: 4. Hüseyin kethüda 15, serbölük 8, others 6.

Later data are incomplete.

**1663** (Evliyâ Çelebi, 6. *Kitap*, 111): 80 soldiers.

## LİVA-İ SEKSAR

### Kale-i **SEKSAR** (Hu. Szekszárd) Ottoman possession from winter of 1541–1542 to 1686

The fortresses of the sancak stood on the banks of the Danube or at the edge of its wide flood plain; they were part of the chain of fortresses guarding the river and the military road running parallel with it. The fortresses constructed earlier started their career with fairly substantial garrisons; then as the chain was being established, the number of soldiers stationed there started to fall, usually to be-

low one hundred. It is possible that even the sancak centre Seksar, the most important fortress, had to endure this degradation as well, although the defenders of this fortress are impossible to count.

**1543** (ÖNB Mxt 550, pp. 52–59: pay list, without personal annotations)

Branch	Pay list heads	Paid heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)
Müstahfız	102	55	10 bölük	47 (46.1)
Topçu	10	6	1 bölük	4 (40)
Faris	51	25	1 ağa, 5 oda	26 (51)
Azab	32	20	1 ağa, 1 riyaset, 3 oda	12 (37.5)
Martolos	51	50	1 ağa, 5 oda	1 (2)
<b>Total</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>156</b>		<b>90 (36.6)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Hoca Salih dizdar 30, Bali Divane kethüda 20, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 6–7, 1 neccar, 1 haddad 5. Topçu: seroda 10, others 6–7. Faris: Behram Divane, after him Mehmed ağa 15, seroda 8, majority of ordinary soldiers 7. Azab: Sinan ağa 25, reis 13, seroda 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Martolos: Musa ağa 15, first seroda 8, others 5, ordinary soldiers 4. 51 Christians.

In 1552 the müstahfizes and topçus became salary-timar holders. The azabs received payment last in December 1569 (ÖNB Mxt 617, p. 20), from 1570 they too lived off from timars. The cavalry was withdrawn from the fortress before 1565.

**1570** (BOA Tapu 505, pp. 64–67: icmal. ÖNB Mxt 617, pp. 10, 20: pay account)

Branch	İcmal heads	Units
Müstahfız	20	2 bölük
Topçu	4	–
Azab	32	1 ağa, 3 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>56</b>	

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Bayram Zvornik dizdar 5000, Yusuf kethüda 2850, serbölük 1800, ordinary soldiers 1700. Topçu: Hızır Abdullah ser 2500, others 1700. Azab: Sefer Abdullah ağa 4000, Mustafa Mehmed kethüda 2500, seroda 1500, ordinary soldiers 1400.

**1580** (BOA Tapu 663, pp. 13–21: icmal)

Müstahfız: 21. 2 bölük. Şaban Mehmed dizdar 3750, Pervane Mustafa kethüda 2400, first serbölük 1900, remaining pay unchanged. Topçu: 3. Mehmed Ahmed ser 2700, others 1700. Azab: 32. 3 oda. Mehmed Divane ağa 4400, Mustafa kethüda 3000, seroda 1600, ordinary soldiers 1400. Total 56.

In the Fifteen Years' War the garrison of Saksar was reinforced. The 'new' troops of the fortress were entered into the pay list on April 23, 1599: 12 müstahfizes, 1 topçu, 50 farises and 53 azabs, altogether 116 men (BOA MAD 3370, pp. 219–221). The 'old' ones are known from 1600: 26 farises and 41 azabs (ÖNB Mxt 635, p. 30). Given the contradictory data, all we can deduce is that during the war the garrison was reinforced.

**1605–1606** (BOA MAD 5158, pp. 78–80: pay account, certainly incomplete)

Branch	19.05.– 11.11.1605	12.11.1605– 08.05.1606
Müstahfız	10	6
Topçu	3	2
Faris	20	19
Azab	28	28
<b>Total (incomplete)</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>55</b>

Seksar has sources for another decade, but only cavalymen (20 people) and azabs (20–29 men) appear in all of them. The size of the garrison is impossible to establish.

**1663** (Evliyâ Çelebi, 6. *Kitap*, 121): 200 soldiers.

**Parkan-i BATASEK** (Hu. Bâtaszék)  
Constructed at the beginning of the 1550s,  
Ottoman possession up to 1686

The müstafizes and artillerymen of Batasek became salary-timar holders immediately; there are no early sources about them, so the initial period where fluctuation was great can only be measured on the three cash-paid units. The number of the soldiers of this garrison fell below one hundred only in the 17th century.

**1553** (ÖNB Mxt 643, pp. 47–50: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Faris	42	39	3 oda	6 (14.3)	3 (7.7)
Azab	31	28	3 oda	11 (35.5)	8 (28.6)
Martolos	30	30	3 oda	15 (50)	15 (50)

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Faris: Behram, after him Cafer Küçük ağa ba timar, seroda 8–11, ordinary soldiers 7. Azab: Piri Divane ser 12, seroda 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Martolos: first seroda 6, others 5, ordinary soldiers 5. 30 Christians.

**1557–1558** (ÖNB Mxt 614, pp. 206–207: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruit heads
Faris	40	39	No change	9 (22.5)	8 (20.5)
Azab	32	31		5 (15.6)	4 (12.9)
Martolos	33	29		17 (51.5)	13 (44.8)

The mobility of soldiers barely reduced, the majority of the missing ones were either dead or disappeared, but many left the fortress. Payments in cash started to decrease.

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Faris: Cafer Küçük ağa 10, seroda 8, ordinary soldiers 7. Azab: Piri Divane ağa 11, seroda 7, ordinary soldiers 5–6. Martolos: 4–7.

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**1565** (ÖNB Mxt 612, 39: pay account. BOA Tapu 353, pp. 10–12: icmal)

Branch	With timar / paid heads
Müstahfız	26
Topçu	3
Faris	38
Martolos	28
<b>Total</b>	<b>95</b>
Hademe-i mescid	1

*Officers, incomes* (akçe). Müstahfız: Ferhad dizdar 4000, Veli Karagöz kethüda 2500, serbölük 1800, ordinary soldiers 1700. Topçu: Mahmud Abdullah serbölük 1800, others 1700. İbrahim Ahmed imam 1700.

**1569–1570** (ÖNB Mxt 642, pp. 227–228: pay list. BOA Tapu 505, pp. 68–70: icmal)

Branch	With timar / paid heads
Müstahfız	29
Topçu	2
Martolos	23
<b>Total</b>	<b>54</b>
Hademe-i mescid	1

*Officers, incomes* (akçe). Müstahfız: Ferhad dizdar 4500, remaining officers and incomes unchanged. Topçu: without serbölük. Martolos: Turhan ağa 9, Drojko Mihal sermiye 6, seroda 5, majority of ordinary soldiers 4. 17 Christians.

**The 1580s** (BOA Tapu 663, pp. 22–26: icmal. ÖNB Mxt 615, pp. 135–137: pay list)

Branch	With timar / paid heads
Müstahfız 1581(?)	28 (+dizdar)
Topçu 1581(?)	3
Faris 1588	38
<b>Total</b>	<b>ca. 70</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: dizdar unknown, Rüstem Abdullah kethüda 3000, 3 serbölük 1900–2000, ordinary soldiers 1700. Topçu: Hasan Bosna ser 2000, others 1700. Faris: Derviş Veli ağa 12, seroda 7–9, ordinary soldiers 7.

**1600** (ÖNB Mxt 635, p. 30: pay account)

It is probable that only some of the müstahfizes and topçus were paid in cash, there are no data on the others.

Branch	Paid heads
Müstahfız, topçu	16 (incomplete)
Faris	32
Azab	60
<b>Total</b>	<b>108(+ ?)</b>

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**1605–1606** (BOA MAD 5158, pp. 81–83: pay account)

Branch	19.05.– 11.11.1605	12.11.1605– 08.05.1606
Müstahfız	14	14
Topçu	6	6
Faris	25	25
Azab	59	60
<b>Total</b>	<b>104(?)</b>	<b>105(?)</b>

The müstahfizes are probably incomplete here too.

**1607** (BOA MAD 5623, pp. 243–248: pay list, yoklama)

Müstahfız: 13. 1 bölük. Dizdar and some soldiers unknown, Ali kethüda. Topçu: 7. Kurd ağa, Ahmed Divane kethüda. Faris: 27. 4 oda. Ömer ağa. Azab: 60. 6 oda. Mustafa Ferhad ağa, Mustafa Abdullah kethüda, kâtib. Total: 108. 61 Christians.

**1612–1614** (BOA MAD 4133, pp. 11, 49, 71, 90: pay account)

Data incomplete.

Branch	04.03.1612– 20.02.1613	21.02.– 16.08.1613	17.08.1613– 10.02.1614
Müstahfız, topçu (incomplete)	5	8	8
Faris	24	22	24
Azab	40	39	35
<b>Total (incomplete)</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>67</b>

*Officers, pay in 1613* (akçe) (BOA MAD 4000, pp. 263–267: pay list). Müstahfız: 1. Mehmed dizdar 25. Topçu: 7. Ahmed Divane kethüda 12, others 8. Faris: 22. Ömer ağa 30, ordinary soldiers 10–11. Azab: 39. Mustafa ağa 25, Mustafa kethüda 15, reis 12, ordinary soldiers 7. 36 Christians.

In the sources available up to 1630 only a fraction of the soldiers appear.

**1663** (Evliyâ Çelebi, 6. *Kitap*, 121): 200 soldiers.

Parkan-i **PAKŞA** / PAKŞA-i BOZORG (Hu. Paks)  
Constructed between 1565 and 1568,  
Ottoman possession to 1686

The problem with its soldiers is the same as with the other fortresses of the sancak, but even greater. Two of its troops were salary-timar holders, on them no sources survive. And in the 17th century fewer defenders than were actually present can be counted. The complete garrison cannot be reconstructed for any given time.

**1569** (ÖNB Mxt 617, pp. 10, 20: pay account. Mxt 642, pp. 235–238: pay list)

The two known troops:

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Paid heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Faris	39	38	38	1 ağa, 4 oda	2 (5.1)	1 (2.6)
Martolos	31	31	23	1 ağa, 3 oda	9 (29)	9 (29)

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Faris: Kurd ağa 9(!), seroda 8, ordinary soldiers 7. Martolos: Sinan ağa 9, first seroda 8, others 5, ordinary soldiers 4. 21 Christians.

Until 1581 these two troops appear, faris: 36–39, martolos: 28–31 men.

**1588–1589** (ÖNB Mxt 615, pp. 137–138: pay list)

Farises were sent away from the fortress. Martolos: 30, present 24, paid 17.

**1599–1600** (ÖNB Mxt 638, p. 10: pay account)

Müstahfız: 16, topçu-i cedit: 6, faris: 35, azab: 51. Total: 108.

Some of the müstafizes were probably salary-timar holders. Knowing the usual proportions of the troops, the whole garrison can be estimated at between 130 and 150 men; probably it was so well-manned only in the years of war.

**1612–1614** (BOA MAD 4133, pp. 10, 49, 89: pay account. MAD 4000, pp. 250–255: pay list)

Yet again, the müstafizes are incomplete.

Branch	04.03.1612– 20.02.1613	21.02.– 16.08.1613	17.08.1613– 10.02.1614
Müstahfız (incomplete)	8	8	8
Topçu	7	7	7
Faris	44	41	41
Azab	25	30	30
<b>Total (incomplete)</b>	<b>84 (+?)</b>	<b>86 (+?)</b>	<b>86 (+?)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Gazanfer dizdar 30, Ali kethüda 20. Topçu: Piri ağa 25, Ramazan kethüda 15. Faris: Hasan ağa 25, alemdar 15. Azab: Mehmed ağa 30, Muharrem kethüda 20, reis, alemdar 12. 51 Christians.

**1619** (BOA MAD 7320, pp. 133–136: pay list)

The müstafizes are still incomplete. The whole garrison must have numbered around 90–100 men.

Branch	Pay list heads	Units
Müstahfız (incomplete)	8	2 bölük
Topçu	7	1 bölük
Faris	30	1 ağa, 4 oda
Azab	32	1 ağa, 2 oda
<b>Total (incomplete)</b>	<b>77</b>	

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: İbrahim Mehmed ağa 30, Ali kethüda 20, serbölük 8, 9, majority of ordinary soldiers 8. Topçu: Bekir Piri ser 20, Derviş Abdullah kethüda 15, ser-

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bölük 9, ordinary soldiers 8. Faris: Hasan ağa 25, seroda 9–13, ordinary soldiers 12, Christians farises 8. 11 Christians.

**1663** (Evliyâ Çelebi, 6. *Kitap*, 122): 200 soldiers.

Palanka-i **SERDAHEL** (Hu. Szerdahely),  
also known as **YENİPALANKA**  
Constructed at the turn of the century,  
Ottoman possession to 1686

It guarded the ford on the river Sárvíz on the road between Tolna and Seksar. Its first garrison was considered to be significant in this region, then, as can be seen even in the incomplete sources, the number was greatly reduced.

**1605–1606** (BOA MAD 5158, pp. 84–87: pay account)

Branch	19.05.– 11.11.1605	12.11.1605– 08.05.1606
Müstahfız	61	61
Topçu	8	8
Faris	62	61
Azab	28	28
<b>Total</b>	<b>159</b>	<b>158</b>

**1607** (BOA MAD 5623, pp. 235–240: pay list): of the 93 soldiers of the palisade, 62 were Balkan Christians.

**1612–1614** (BOA MAD 4133, pp. 10, 49, 71, 90: pay account. MAD 4000, pp. 261–363: pay list)

The müstafizes are missing from all further sources. The cavalymen were withdrawn from the garrison in two stages (1611, 1613).

Branch	04.03.1612– 20.02.1613	21.02.– 16.08.1613	17.08.1613– 10.02.1614
Topçu	7	7	7
Faris	20	–	–
Azab	25	27	27

*Officers, pay in 1613* (akçe). Topçu: Beşir ağa 12, Bali kethüda 12. Azab: Mustafa ağa 31, Ali kethüda 15, reis 12. 22 Christians.

Sources between 1614 and 1630 accounted for payments to 14–16 artillerymen and azabs, which surely indicates that the size of the garrison was decreasing.

Parkan-i **TOLNA** (Hu. Tolna)  
Constructed at the turn of the century,  
Ottoman possession to 1686

Populous town on the Danube bank, in which a kadı was based in the 16th century, however, it had no garrison. In the 17th century the kadı-office was dis-



solved, instead the town was given walls and soldiers. Among fortresses guarding the Danube and the road its garrison was considered large.

**1605–1606, 1607** (BOA MAD 5158, pp. 88–91: pay account. MAD 5623, pp. 228–235: pay list)

Branch	19.05.– 11.11.1605	12.11.1605– 08.05.1606	1607	
			Pay list heads	Units
Müstahfız	12	12	17	3 bölük
Topçu	4	6	8	1 bölük
Faris	38	28	26	5 oda
Azab	73	73	67	14 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>127</b>	<b>119</b>	<b>118</b>	

*Officers.* Müstahfız: Turak ağa, Keyvan kethüda. Topçu: Keyvan, Ahmed Ali, officers of unknown rank. Faris: ağa unknown. Azab: Erdoğdu kapudan, Ömer kethüda, 2 reis, kâtib. 45 Christians.

**1613** (BOA MAD 4000, pp. 256–261: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Units
Müstahfız	16	2 bölük
Topçu	8	1 bölük
Faris	28	1 ağa, 3 oda
Azab	54	1 kapudan, 5 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>106</b>	

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Turak dizdar 25, Keyvan kethüda 15. Topçu: Teknur(?) ser 20, Ahmed kethüda 15. Faris: Receb ağa 25. Azab: Erdoğdu kapudan 40, Ömer kethüda 40, reis 20, alemdar 20, kâtib 30.

**1615, 1619** (BOA MAD 4233, p. 96: pay account. MAD 7320, pp. 136–138: pay list)

Branch	Paid 1615 heads	Pay list 1619 heads
Müstahfız	14	16
Topçu	7	8
Faris	27	26
Azab	13	13
<b>Total</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>63</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Bali ağa 20, Bektaş Mehmed kethüda 15, majority of serodas and ordinary soldiers 7. Topçu: Muharrem Gazanfer ser 20, Ahmed Ali kethüda 15, seroda 8, ordinary soldiers 7. Faris: Mustafa Bayezid ağa 40, first seroda 11, others 16, ordinary soldiers 9–15. Azab: Erdoğdu ağa 40, Derviş Behram kethüda 20, reis 20, alemdar 20, kâtib 30, seroda 12, majority of ordinary soldiers 12.

**1628–1630** (ÖNB Mxt 636, p. 22. BOA MAD 5193, p. 6: pay accounts)

Total: 63 heads.

## LİVA-İ SİÇEN

Kale-i SİÇEN (Hu. Szécsény)  
Ottoman possession 1552–1593, 1663–1683

Kale-i Siçen was one of the most significant fortresses situated on the northern border, and at the same time the seat of the small sancak, whose garrison and offices were involved in the northern spread of taxation as well. Its garrison consisted of about 250 men, most of whom were the cavalry essential in border fortresses.

**1556–1557** (ÖNB Mxt 578, pp. 1–8: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	44	40	5 bölük	15 (34.1)	11 (27.5)
Topçu	19	17	2 bölük	3 (15.8)	1 (5.9)
Faris	138	129	2 ağa, 14 oda	32 (23.2)	23 (17.8)
Azab	31	26	3 oda	11 (35.5)	6 (23.1)
Martolos	22	19	2 oda	8 (36.4)	5 (26.3)
<b>Total</b>	<b>254</b>	<b>231</b>		<b>69 (27.2)</b>	<b>46 (19.9)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Mahmud dizdar ba timar, serbölük 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Topçu: Ali Abdullah ser 10, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 6–7. Faris: Ali ağa 10, Mustafa ağa 12, seroda 9–10, ordinary soldiers 9. Azab: İbrahim ağa 14, seroda 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Martolos: Hasan Abdullah ser 9, seroda 6 and 5, ordinary soldiers 5. 25 Christians.

**1557–1558** (ÖNB Mxt 614, pp. 108–113: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	48	43	no change	10 (20.8)	5 (11.6)
Topçu	19	19		3 (15.8)	3 (15.8)
Faris	136	118		31 (22.8)	13 (11)
Azab	31	27		10 (32.3)	6 (22.2)
Martolos	22	22		6 (27.3)	6 (27.3)
<b>Total</b>	<b>256</b>	<b>229</b>		<b>60 (23.4)</b>	<b>33 (14.4)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). No change in officers or pay.

**1558–1559** (ÖNB Mxt 633, pp. 149–155: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	48	48	no change	12 (25)	12 (25)
Topçu	19	12		10 (52.6)	3 (25)
Faris	136	130		29 (21.3)	23 (17.7)
Azab	31	31		5 (16.1)	5 (16.1)
Martolos	22	22		2 (9.1)	2 (9.1)
<b>Total</b>	<b>256</b>	<b>243</b>		<b>58 (22.7)</b>	<b>45 (18.5)</b>

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*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız, faris, azab, martolos: no change in officers or pay. Topçu: the first serbölük Kurd Timurhan become kethüda, pay unchanged.

**1565–1566, 1568–1569** (ÖNB Mxt 612, p. 37. Mxt 617, pp. 6, 16: pay accounts)

Branch	29.07.1565– 10.01.1566	20.12.1568– 15.06.1569	16.06.– 09.12.1569
Müstahfız, topçu	63	60	62
Faris	120	121	129
Azab	30	29	29
Martolos	18	19	19
<b>Total</b>	<b>231</b>	<b>229</b>	<b>239</b>

After 1570 three units of the garrison became salary timar holders, who can be only added to the cash-paid soldiers in 1591, maybe even then incompletely.

**1591** (BOA MAD 3762, p. 9: pay account. MOL Filmtár 3999, last item, pp. 12–15: icmal)

Branch	With timar / paid heads	Units
Müstahfız	46	6 bölük
Topçu	13	1 bölük
Faris	137	?
Azab	30	3 oda
Martolos	21	?
<b>Total</b>	<b>247</b>	

*Officers, incomes* (akçe). Müstahfız: Hüseyin dizdar 5000, first serbölük 2000, others 1800, ordinary soldiers 1700. Topçu: Bayezid Daud ser 4000, Mustafa Süleyman kethüda 2500, serbölük 1800, ordinary soldiers 1700. Azab: Divane İsa ağa 5300, Ahmed Abdullah kethüda 2200, seroda 1700, ordinary soldiers 1600.

There are no sources on the second Ottoman period of the fortress.

## Kale-i HOLLOKA (Hu. Hollókő) Ottoman possession 1552–1593, 1663–1583

50 military peasants, nöbetçi, were sent to this small fortress situated in the vicinity of Siçen, to the south-east. They became a small but regular garrison, consisting only of müstafizes and artillery. The fortress remained an insignificant member of the northern border fortress system.

**1554** (Berlin Ms. or. fol. 432, p. 71: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	51	45	5 bölük	13 (25.5)	7 (15.6)
<b>Total</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>45</b>			

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Mehmed Bosna dizdar 16 (earlier serbölük in Buda), serbölük 7–8, ordinary soldiers 6–7. Strange as it may seem for the müstafizes, 16 were Christians.

## LİVA-İ SİÇEN

### 1556–1559

Year / Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads
<b>1556–1557</b> (ÖNB Mxt 578, p. 11)					
Müstahfız	21	19	2 bölük	4 (19)	2 (10.5)
Topçu	3	2	–	1 (33.3)	1 (50)
Total	24	21		5 (20.8)	3 (14.3)
<b>1557–1558</b> (ÖNB Mxt 614, p. 113)					
Müstahfız	21	18	2 bölük	5 (23.8)	2 (11.1)
Topçu	3	3	–	1 (33.3)	1 (33.3)
Total	24	21		6 (25)	3 (14.3)
<b>1558–1559</b> (ÖNB Mxt 633, p. 145)					
Müstahfız	21	21	2 bölük	3 (14.3)	3 (14.3)
Topçu	3	3	–	–	–
Total	24	24		3 (12.5)	3 (12.5)

*Officers, pay in 1556–1558* (akçe). Mehmed ağa dizdar 15, Mehmed Mahmud kethüda 8. Other pays unchanged. Only one soldier is a Christian (Hungarian).

**1565–1566, 1568–1569** (ÖNB Mxt 612, p. 37. Mxt 634, pp. 6, 16: pay account)  
In both years 23 soldiers received payment.

**1570, 1580, 1591** (ÖNB Mxt 634, pp. 14–19. BOA Tapu 590, pp. 61–62. MOL Filmtár 3999, last item, pp. 12–15: icmal)  
1570. Müstahfız: 23. 2 bölük. Cafer Abdullah dizdar 4320, Mehmed Mahmud kethüda 3000, seroda 1800, ordinary soldiers 1700. 1580. Timar-holding soldiers in the Buda sancak: 17, one topçu. Ali Abdullah dizdar, incomes are unchanged. 1591. Timar-holding soldiers in the Siçen sancak: 6. 1580–1591: total 23.

No sources are available from the second Ottoman period of the fortress.

### Kale-i **BUYAK** (Hu. Buják) Ottoman possession 1552–1593, 1663–1685

This old stone fortress, situated east of Vaç, was an insignificant member of the group of strongholds defending Buda and the northern border.

**1554** (Berlin Ms. or. fol. 432, pp. 63, 70: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	21	19	2 bölük	5 (23.8)	3 (15.8)
Topçu	3	3	–	1 (33.3)	1 (33.3)
Azab	31	31	3 oda	–	–
Total	55	53		6 (10.9)	4 (7.5)

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Mehmed dizdar (earlier dizdar in Sonda) 20, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 6. Topçu: 6–7. Azab: Mehmed Şaban ağa (before kethüda in Vişegrad) 16, serbölük 7, ordinary soldiers 6. 98% of soldiers are of Balkan origin.

**1556–1557, 1557–1558, 1558–1559** (ÖNB Mxt 578, p. 97. Mxt 614, pp. 112–113. Mxt 633, p. 147: pay lists)

1556. Müstahfız: 31, present 24, recruit 1. Yusuf ağa dizdar 18, Halil Timur kethüda 8, remaining pay unchanged.

1557. Müstahfız: 30, present 30, recruit 6. Yusuf İnehan dizdar 18, kethüda and pays are unchanged.

1558. Müstahfız: 30, present 29, recruit 3. No change in officers or pay.

**1570, 1580** (ÖNB Mxt 634, pp. 14–19. BOA Tapu 590, pp. 57–59: icmals)

1570. Müstahfız: 31 with salary timars. Hasan Ali dizdar 4069, Halil Timur kethüda 3000, serbölük 1800, ordinary soldiers 1700.

1580. Müstahfız: 23 with salary timars. İbrahim Mustafa dizdar, Halil Timur kethüda, income unchanged.

### Kale-i **KEKÖY** (Hu. Kékkő)

A garrison was stationed here between 1575 and 1593

One of the furthest fortresses of the northern border section, and as a result the number of soldiers was maintained, it was constantly between 180 and 200, more than one third of which were cavalymen. In the barely two decades of its existence the garrison played a significant part in imposing Ottoman taxation on royal territories.

**1577–1581** (BOA MAD 1561, p. 332. MAD 498, pp. 30, 58, 119: pay accounts)

Branch	14.09.1577– 02.09.1578	03.09.1578– 23.08.1579	24.08.1579– 16.02.1580	17.02.1580– 04.02.1581
Müstahfız, topçu	55	55	53	54
Faris	69	70	67	62
Azab	46	46	49	49
Martolos	28	28	27	28
<b>Total</b>	<b>198</b>	<b>199</b>	<b>196</b>	<b>193</b>

**1588–1589** (ÖNB Mxt 615, pp. 86–91: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Paid heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	50	49	48	5 bölük	5 (10)	4 (8.2)
Topçu	5	5	5	–	1 (20)	1 (20)
Faris	71	69	66	7 oda	4 (5.6)	2 (2.9)
Azab	49	35	33	5 oda	15 (30.6)	1 (2.9)
Martolos	30	23	22	3 oda	7 (23.3)	–
<b>Total</b>	<b>205</b>	<b>181</b>	<b>174</b>		<b>32 (15.6)</b>	<b>8 (4.4)</b>

*Officers, pay (akçe).* Müstahfız: İbrahim ağa 15, Veli İnehan kethüda 8, serbölük 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Topçu: Kurd İskender ser 8, others 6. Faris: Hüseyin Ahmed ağa 18, seroda 9, ordinary soldiers 8. Azab: Bali ağa 13, Pervane kethüda 9, İbrahim Divane reis, pay unknown, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5. Martolos: Mehmed ağa 12, Receb sermiye 8, seroda 5, ordinary soldiers 4. 28 Christians.

## LİVA-İ SİÇEN

**1591** (BOA MAD 3762, p. 9: pay account)

Branch	Paid heads
Müstahfız, topçu	53
Faris	63
Azab	45
Martolos	20
<b>Total</b>	<b>181</b>

## LİVA-İ SİGETVAR

After 1600 it was transferred to the vilayet of Kanija, the description of its fortresses continues there.

### Kale-i SİGETVAR (Hu. Szigetvár) Ottoman possession 1566–1689

The sancak was vested with the role of a shield facing the Austrian hereditary provinces from its very foundation when its fortresses, occupied at the same time, were built into a defensive system. Its strength, both defensive and offensive, was greatly increased, its garrisons were kept in order, and vacant positions in the garrison were carefully filled. It is in this border area that we continuously meet regular garrisons, with one hundred soldiers in a company and ten in a squad, the proportions of their personnel being determined by the tasks set by the location of the given fortress.

The strongest fortress of the southern Transdanubian border area was Sigetvar; however, with the establishment of the zone, its garrison was halved. It still kept its military importance, at the same time as it became an administrative and cultural-religious centre.

**1569** (ÖNB Mxt 642, pp. 182–197: pay list. Mxt 617, pp. 8, 18: pay account)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
<b>Kale-i enderun</b>					
Müstahfız	152	144	5 bölük	13 (8.6)	5 (3.5)
Topçu	62	57	6 bölük	8 (12.9)	3 (5.3)
Cebeci	3	3	–	–	–
Neccar	5	4	–	1 (20)	1 (25)
Haddad	5	5	–	–	–
<b>Kale-i birun</b>					
Müstahfız	102	90	10 bölük	23 (22.5)	11 (12.2)
Faris	301	283	3 ağa, 30 oda	35 (11.6)	17 (6)
Azab	95	89	1 ağa, 3 riyaset, 9 oda	14 (14.7)	3 (3.4)
Martolos	101	86	1 ağa, 10 oda	19 (18.8)	4 (4.7)
<b>Total</b>	<b>826</b>	<b>761</b>		<b>113 (13.7)</b>	<b>44 (5.8)</b>

Its local soldiery was reinforced with yeniçeris of the Porte as well, but their number is unknown (7 Numaralı mühimme, No. 327).

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*Officers, pay* (akçe). Kale-i enderun. Müstahfız: Hızır dizdar 30, Gazi kethüda 20, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 6–7. Topçu: Murad Şahin ser ba timar, Mustafa kethüda 10, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 7. Cebeci: İnehan Mehmed ser 7, others 6–7. Neccar: 6. Haddad: 6. Kale-i birun. Müstahfız: Ramazan dizdar 23, Mustafa kethüda 19, serbölük 8, majority of ordinary soldiers 7. Faris: Gani ağa ba timar, İlyas ağa 16, Hasan ağa 11, majority of serodas 10, majority of ordinary soldiers 9. Azab: Ferhad İbrahim ağa 25, Osman kethüda 12, reis 9, 10, 6, seroda 6–7, ordinary soldiers 6. Martolos: Hasan Hamza ağa 22, Ali Abdullah sermiye 8, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5. 57 Christians.

**1570, 1573–1574** (BOA Tapu 503, pp. 20, 23–45: icmal. ÖNB Mxt 626, pp. 187–189, 205: pay list)

Branch	İcmal / Pay list heads	Units
<b>Kale-i enderun</b>		
Müstahfız	153	15 bölük
Topçu	22	2 bölük
Cebeci	3	–
Neccar	5	1 bölük
Haddad	5	1 bölük
Azab	95	1 ağa, 3 riyaset, 9 oda
Ağa-i martolosan	1	
<b>Kale-i birun</b>		
Müstahfız	54	6 bölük
Topçu	8	1 bölük
Faris in 1573	140	2 ağa, 14 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>486</b>	
Hademe-i cami	4	

*Officers, pay, income* (akçe). Kale-i enderun. Müstahfız: Hızır ağa dizdar 20,000, Ferhad İlyas kethüda 8300, kâtib 3000, serbölük 1700, ordinary soldiers 1600. Topçu: Murad Şahin ser ba timar, Mustafa kethüda 3500, serbölük 1800, ordinary soldiers 1700. Cebeci: ser 2000, others 1700. Neccar: serbölük 1800, others 1700. Haddad: serbölük 1800, others 1700. Azab: Ferhad İbrahim ağa 9000, Osman kethüda 4320, reis 3500, seroda 1500, ordinary soldiers 1400. Hasan ağa-i martolosan 6000. Kale-i birun. Müstahfız: Ramazan dizdar 8000, Mustafa kethüda 8000, serbölük 1800, ordinary soldiers 1700. Topçu: serbölük 1880, ordinary soldiers 1700. Faris: Derviş ağa 21, Musa ağa 16, seroda 9–10, ordinary soldiers 8–9. Hademe der cami-i sultan Süleyman: Ahmed hatib, imam, sermahfil 17, Mehmed müezzın, devr-han, muarraf 8, Mehmed müezzın, devr-han 6, İbrahim kayyum, çirağı, devr-han 6. Of the martoloses only the ağa is known, the payments made to the troops are not registered in the pay account.

## LİVA-İ SİGETVAR

**1590–1592** (BOA MAD 3762, pp. 12–13: pay account. Tapu 638, pp. 31–43. Tapu 652, pp. 43–44. Dresden Eb 353, pp. 22–27: icmal)

Branch	With timar / paid heads
<b>Kale-i enderun</b>	
Müstahfız	135
Topçu-i kale-i enderun ve birun	45
Cebeci	4
Haddad, neccar	9
Azab	88
<b>Kale-i birun</b>	
Müstahfız	50
Faris	57
<b>Total</b>	<b>388</b>

*Officers, incomes* (akçe). Kale-i enderun. Müstahfız: dizdar and kethüda unknown, serbölük 1800, ordinary soldiers 1700. Topçu: Ömer Ali ser 4000, Piyale Abdullah kethüda 2000, serbölük 1800–1900, ordinary soldiers 1700, Gazanfer Mehmed serbölük, mimar 3700. Cebeci: Osman Timurhan ser 3000, serbölük 1800, others 1700. Neccar, haddad: serbölük 1800, others 1700. Azab: 2 ağa unknown, İbrahim kethüda 4200, Behram Abdullah kethüda-i azeban-i bab-i sağır 1800, seroda 1500, ordinary soldiers 1400. Kale-i birun. Müstahfız: dizdar unknown, Osman Mahmud kethüda 3000, serbölük 1800–1900, ordinary soldiers 1700.

In the palanka built around the türbe of Sultan Süleyman, in the cami inside it and in the cami in Sigetvar altogether 40 müstafizes and hademe-i türbe received payment and daily wages; their position is not detailed in the pay account.

After 1600 Sigetvar too was transferred to the vilayet of Kanija; its description continues there.

### Kale-i **ŞİKLOŞ** (Hu. Siklós) Ottoman possession 1543–1686;

first part of the sancak of Peçuy, it belonged to Sigetvar after 1566

Şikloş was the first fortress to be taken in south Transdanubia, with an initial garrison of 500–600 men. With the Ottoman occupation of the other fortresses of the region, and the establishment of a fortress-system, the garrison of Şikloş was significantly reduced. As it stood on the northern banks of the river Drava, it never lost its strategic significance. Unfortunately the sources available on Şikloş, especially in the 17th century, are very poor.

**1545–1546** (ÖNB Mxt 581, pp. 53–54: pay account)

Branch	12.06.– 07.09.1545	08.09.– 05.12.1545	06.12.1545– 03.03.1546
Müztahfız, topçu	289	315	245
Faris	130	160	108
Azab	99	114	95
<b>Total</b>	<b>518</b>	<b>589</b>	<b>448</b>



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**1569–1570** (ÖNB Mxt 617, pp. 9, 19: pay account. Mxt 642, pp. 197–200: pay list. BOA Tapu 505, pp. 52–68: icmal)

From this time onwards we never find the cavalrymen of the fortress in the sources. Their definitive dismissal is hardly credible.

Branch	16.06.– 09.12.1569	October 1570	Units
<b>Kale-i enderun</b>			
Müstahfız		52	5 bölük
Topçu	20	17	2 bölük
Cebeci		5	–
Haddad		4	–
Neccar		10	1 bölük
Kumbaracı		4	–
Mehter		2	–
Bevvab		1	–
<b>Kale-i birun</b>			
Müstahfız		62	6 bölük
Azab	79	[79]	1 ağa, 4 riyaset, 8 oda
<b>Total</b>		<b>236</b>	

*Officers, incomes* (akçe). Kale-i enderun. Müstahfız: Hızır dizdar 10,500, Yahya kethüda 3500, serbölük 1800, ordinary soldiers 1700, kâtib 1700. Topçu: Beşir Murad ser 6000, Piri Mehmed kethüda 3500, serbölük 1600, ordinary soldiers 1500. Cebeci: Perviz Abdullah ser 2000, [serbölük] 1800, others 1700. Haddad: 1500. Neccar: serbölük 1800, others 1500. Kumbaracı: Mustafa Derviş ser 2000, others 1700. Mehter: 1700. Bevvab: 1700. Kale-i birun. Müstahfız: Yusuf dizdar 4500, Mezid Hamza kethüda 3500, serbölük 1800, ordinary soldiers 1700. Azab: Nasuh Mora ağa 25, Mehmed Hamza kethüda 15, reis 7–8, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5. 6 Christians.

**1592** (BOA Tapu 638, pp. 44–56. Tapu 652, p. 48: icmals)

Branch	İcmals heads
Müstahfız-i kale-i enderun	52
Müstahfız-i kale birun	54
Topçu	18
Cebeci	4
Kumbaracı	4
Kemani	2
Anbari	2
Bevvab-i kale-i enderun	1
Haddad	2
Neccar	10
<b>Total</b>	<b>149</b>

After 1600 Şikloş was transferred to the vilayet of Kanija as well; its description continues there.

Kale-i **BOBOFÇA** (Hu. Babócsa)

Ottoman possession in 1555–1556, 1566–1686

(changed hands several times during the Fifteen Years' War and in 1664)

Until the 19th–20th century regulation of the river Drava, Bobofça stood on the river bank, guarding both the river and the western borders. The Ottomans rebuilt the fortress into a double fortification; among the soldiery the main role was given to the raiding cavalry and the azabs, who fought on water as well. Although with the passing of time the number of soldiers fell slightly here too, obvious attempts were made to maintain the strength of the garrison by continuously replacing the missing defenders.

**1569** (ÖNB Mxt 642, pp. 215–226: pay list. Mxt 617, pp. 9, 19: pay account)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Paid heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	102	102	95	10 bölük	7 (6.9)	7 (6.9)
Topçu	42	42	36	4 bölük	5 (11.9)	5 (11.9)
Faris	201	199	173	2 ağa, 20 oda	42 (20.9)	40 (20.1)
Azab	154	150	117	2 ağa, 5 riyaset, 15 oda	10 (6.5)	6 (4)
Martolos	103	103	99	2 ağa, 10 oda	6 (5.8)	6 (5.8)
<b>Total</b>	<b>602</b>	<b>596</b>	<b>520</b>		<b>70 (11.6)</b>	<b>64 (10.7)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Mehmed Alagöz dizdar 25, Ali kethüda 13, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 7. Topçu: Ali Bayezid ser 15, İbrahim kethüda 9, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 7. Faris: Ali ağa 15, Bali Divane ağa 15, seroda 9, ordinary soldiers 8–9. Azab: Şehsüvar ağa 25, Sefer Mehmed kethüda 12, Mustafa Ali ağa 14, Ali kethüda 10, reis 8–9, seroda 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Martolos: Hubyar ağa 12, Receb İskender sermiye 8, Memi ağa 12, Hasan Veli sermiye 9, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5. 78 Christians. The difference between soldiers who were present and those who received payment in cash is striking, and is not explained by any of the sources.

**1570, 1573** (BOA Tapu 503, pp. 46–60: icmal. ÖNB Mxt 626, pp. 189–193: pay list. BOA MAD 1561, pp. 147, 179: pay account)

Branch	İcmal / Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız 1570	86	?	8 bölük		
Topçu 1570	22	?	2 bölük		
Faris 1573	153	151	2 ağa, 15 oda	14 (9.1)	12 (7.9)
Azab 1570	147	?	2 ağa, 14 oda		
Martolos 1573	51	51	1 ağa, 5 oda	2 (3.9)	2 (3.9)
<b>Total</b>	<b>459</b>				

*Officers, incomes* (akçe). Müstahfız: Mehmed Alagöz dizdar 10,000, Ali Bosna kethüda 5000, serbölük 1800, ordinary soldiers 1700. Topçu: ağa unknown, İbrahim kethüda 3500, serbölük 1800, ordinary soldiers 1700. Faris: Divane Aydın ağa 15, Divane Ayas ağa 15, seroda 9, ordinary soldiers 8. Azab: Ali ağa 10,000, Sefer Mahmud kethüda 5000, Mustafa Ali ağa 6000, Hüseyin kethüda 4000, seroda 1500, ordinary soldiers 1400. Martolos: İbrahim ağa 12, Receb İskender sermiye 8, seroda and majority of ordinary soldiers 5. 16 Christians.

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**1580** (BOA MAD 1561, p. 335. MAD 498, pp. 34, 63, 122: pay accounts. Dresden Eb 352, pp. 25–38: icmal)

Branch	With timar / paid heads	Units
Müstahfız	83	8 bölük
Topçu	22	2 bölük
Faris	125	
Azab	95	1 ağa, 9 oda
Martolos	42	
<b>Total</b>	<b>367</b>	

*Officers, incomes* (akçe). Müstahfız: Receb dizdar, Mehmed Tammim(?) kethüda, incomes unchanged. Topçu: Alican ser 5500, İsa Bayezid kethüda 3700, other incomes unchanged. Azab: Ferhad Osman ağa, Hacı Hasan kethüda, incomes unchanged, reis 1700, seroda 1500–1700, ordinary soldiers 1400.

**1590–1592** (BOA MAD 3762, p. 12: pay account. Tapu 638, pp. 56–63. Tapu 652, p. 45–47: icmals)

Branch	With timar / paid heads	Units
Müstahfız	83	8 bölük
Topçu	21	2 bölük
Faris	120	
Azab	139	1 ağa, 4 riyaset, 12 oda
Martolos	42	
<b>Total</b>	<b>405</b>	

*Officers, incomes* (akçe). Müstahfız: Receb dizdar 11,000, Bali Şadi kethüda 5999, seroda 1800–1900, ordinary soldiers 1700. Topçu: Hamza Abdullah ser 5900, Hasan Abdullah kethüda 2900, seroda 1800, ordinary soldiers 1700. Azab: Ferhad Osman ağa 10,000, Hasan İlyas kethüda 5700, Musa Hasan kethüda 2000, Piri Mehmed kethüda-i azaban-i bab-i sağır 2000, reis 1700–2000, seroda 1500–1800, ordinary soldiers 1400.

After 1600 Bobofça was also transferred to the vilayet of Kanija, its description continues there.

### Kale-i **BERZENÇ** (Hu. Berzence) Ottoman possession 1566–1686

(changed hands several times during the Fifteen Years' War and in 1664)

It stood on the furthest point of the south-west border, close to the river Drava. Due to its position, the size of its garrison had to be maintained, and it was manned throughout by about 400 soldiers, rather more than less. In its garrison general defense (müstafizes, topçus) water patrol (azabs, martoloses), and border guard duties (farises, martoloses) were perfectly balanced.

LİVA-İ SİGETVAR

**1569** (ÖNB Mxt 642, pp. 169–177: pay list. Mxt 617, pp. 9, 19: pay account)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Paid heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	102	91	87	10 bölük	32 (31.4)	21 (23.1)
Topçu	11	11		1 bölük	2 (18.2)	2 (18.2)
Faris	101	99	89	1 ağa, 10 oda	8 (7.9)	6 (6.1)
Azab	104	101	86	1 ağa, 2 riyaset, 10 oda	22 (21.2)	19 (18.8)
Martolos	94	94	92	1 ağa, 10 oda	–	–
<b>Total</b>	<b>412</b>	<b>396</b>	<b>354</b>		<b>64 (15.5)</b>	<b>48 (12.1)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Ahmed Mehmed dizdar 12, İhtiyar Hüseyin kethüda 10, serbölük 8, majority of ordinary soldiers 7. Topçu: Ali Abdullah ser 10, seroda 7, others 6. Faris: Hüseyin ağa 20, seroda 9, majority of ordinary soldiers 9. Azab: Kurd, after him Mehmed ağa ba timar, Ömer İlyas kethüda 10, reis 9, seroda 6–7, ordinary soldiers 6. Martolos: Kara Mehmed ağa ba timar, Marko Radosav sermiye 8, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5. 89 Christians.

**1570, 1573** (BOA Tapu 503, pp. 61–72: icmal. ÖNB Mxt 626, pp. 193–197: pay list. BOA MAD 1561, pp. 147, 179: pay account)

Branch	İcmal / Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız 1570	93		9 bölük		
Topçu 1570	11		1 bölük		
Faris 1573	160	160	1 ağa, 16 oda	10 (6.2)	10 (6.2)
Azab 1570	100		1 ağa, 10 oda		
Martolos 1573	87	86	1 ağa, 10 oda	2 (2.3)	2 (2.3)
<b>Total</b>	<b>451</b>				
Hademe-i cami	2				

*Officers, incomes* (akçe). Müstahfız: Ahmed Mehmed dizdar 5500, İhtiyar Hüseyin kethüda 3550, serbölük 1800, ordinary soldiers 1700. Topçu: Ali Abdullah ser 2500, seroda 1500, ordinary soldiers 1400. Faris: Hasan ağa 22, seroda 9, majority of ordinary soldiers 8. Azab: Kurd ağa 5000, Ömer İlyas kethüda 3600, seroda 1500, 1800, ordinary soldiers 1400, 1700. Martolos: Hüsrev ağa 15, Ali Divane sermiye 8, seroda 5–6, ordinary soldiers 5. 81 Christians.

**1591–1592** (BOA MAD 3762, p. 13: pay account. Tapu 638, pp. 63–72. Tapu 652, pp. 47–48: icmals)

Branch	With timar / paid heads	Units
Müstahfız	85	9 bölük
Topçu	20	2 bölük
Faris	199	
Azab	71	2 ağa, 3 riyaset, 7 oda
Martolos	80	
<b>Total</b>	<b>455</b>	
Hademe-i cami	1	

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*Officers, incomes* (akçe). Divane Hasan dizdar 6000, Ömer Hasan kethüda 4000, serbölük 1800, ordinary soldiers 1700. Topçu: İbrahim Yahya ser 4500, ordinary soldiers 1400, 1700. Azab: Mehmed Veli ağa 5000, Veli Piri ağa 3000, reis 2500, 3000, 1700, seroda 1500–1800, ordinary soldiers 1400, 1700.

After 1600 Berzenç was also transferred to the vilayet of Kanija; its description continues there.

### Parkan-i **BARÇA** (Hu. Barcs) Constructed in 1567, in use until 1664

It was built on the banks of the Drava with a harbour and a base of the Drava fleet. The question is whether the 1569 sources describe the whole garrison. It is possible that at first only the martoloses and azabs, whose presence on river banks was essential, were placed in the new parkan, or maybe a few müstafizes, long-standing salary-timar holders, were installed here (possibly from the territory between the Drava and Sava); they were, however, paid from an unknown source. Although little data survive on the fortress, it is clear that it was not one of the strong and regular garrisons of the sancak.

**1569** (ÖNB Mxt 642, pp. 164–168: pay list. Mxt 617, pp. 9, 19: pay account)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Azab	104	102	1 ağa, 2 riyaset, 10 oda	5 (4.8)	3 (2.9)
Martolos	102	95	1 ağa, 10 oda	9 (8.8)	2 (2.1)

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Azab: Mustafa ağa 18, Osman kethüda 12, reis 9, seroda 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Martolos: Sefer ağa 12, Mustafa Divane sermiye 7, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5. 78 Christians.

**1577–1581** (BOA MAD 1561, p. 336. MAD 498, pp. 35, 64, 123: pay accounts)

During the four years, the payments of 68, 67, 65 and 65 farises were accounted for in Buda; there is no mention of martoloses.

**The first half of the 1590s** (Schwarz, Osmanische Sultansurkunden, pp. 166–170. BOA MAD 3763, p. 13: pay account)

Branch	Paid heads
Müstahfız, topçu	74
Faris	67
Azab	84
<b>Total</b>	<b>225</b>

After 1600 Barça was also transferred to the vilayet of Kanija; its description continues there.

Parkan/Kale-i **ŞEGEŞ** (Hu. Segesd)  
Ottoman possession 1566–1686  
(reconstructed and manned with a garrison in 1570)

It stood on the furthest border section, and as a result its significance was the greatest in the sancak, overtaking even that of Sigetvar in the 17th century.

**1572–1574** (ÖNB Mxt 626, pp. 197–205: pay list. BOA MAD 1561, pp. 147, 180: pay account)

The sources only include troops paid in cash. Together with the salary-timar holders, the number might have reached 450 men.

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Paid heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Faris	152	151	124	2 ağa, 15 oda	23 (15.1)	22 (14.6)
Azab	104	104	102	1 ağa, 2 riyaset, 10 oda	9 (8.7)	9 (8.7)
Martolos	112	112	108	2 ağa, 11 oda	3 (2.7)	3 (2.7)

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Faris: Hasan ağa 19, Rüstem ağa 15, seroda 9, majority of ordinary soldiers 8. Azab: Osman ağa 20, Turhan kethüda 12, reis 9, seroda 6–7, ordinary soldiers 5–6. Martolos: Sinan ağa 12, Hüsrev Divane sermiye 9, Receb ağa 12, Mehmed Divane sermiye 7, seroda and majority of ordinary soldiers 5. 78 Christians.

The müstafizes and topçus never appeared in the 16th century. The number of soldiers in the three cash-paid units decreased steadily, but not significantly; in 1591, for example, they were distributed as follows (BOA MAD 3762, p. 13: pay account): farises 142, azabs 104, martoloses 79, altogether 325 (the sum of the 'paid' column of the previous table is 334).

After 1600 Şegeş was also transferred to the vilayet of Kanija; its description continues there.

## LİVA-İ ŞİMONTORNA

Kale-i **ŞİMONTORNA** (Hu. Simontornya)  
Ottoman possession 1545–1686

The first soldiers stationed in this fortress, which had been conquered by the local forces, and quickly became the seat of a sancak, were transferred here from already existing garrisons (İstolni Belgrad, Seksar, Anyavar). It took one and a half decades for them to settle down in the new place. Their number sometimes came near 200, but usually ranged from 130 to 150. Of the fortresses guarding the corridor between Danube and Balaton it was the largest on the banks of the Sárvíz.

**1545–1546** (ÖNB Mxt 561, pp. 45–50: pay list. Mxt 581, p. 50: pay account)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Paid heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfiz	52	48	48	5 bölük	10 (19.2)	5 (10.4)
Topçu	8	6	6	–	3 (37.5)	1 (16.7)
Faris	98	88	88	1 ağa, 10 oda	17 (17.3)	7 (8)
Azab	31	23	23	1 ağa, 3 oda	14 (45.2)	6 (26.1)
<b>Total</b>	<b>189</b>	<b>165</b>	<b>165</b>		<b>44 (23.3)</b>	<b>19 (11.5)</b>
Hademe-i cami	1	1				

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*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Yusuf dizdar 20, Mehmed Seydi kethüda 12, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 6–7, 2 are neccar and haddad. Topçu: Yusuf ser 15, Mehmed kethüda 10, ordinary soldiers 6. Faris: Mürüvvet ağa 25, seroda 10, ordinary soldiers 9. Azab: Hüseyin ağa pay unknown, Ahmed Mehmed reis pay unknown, seroda 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Salih hatib, imam 10. 3 Christians.

**1553** (ÖNB Mxt 643, pp. 1–5: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	36	33	4 bölük	13 (36.1)	8 (24.2)
Topçu	8	7	–	2 (25)	1 (14.3)
Faris	88	69	1 ağa, 8 oda	33 (37.5)	14 (20.3)
Azab	23	23	1 ağa, 2 oda	3 (13)	3 (13)
Martolos	33	25	3 oda	17 (51.5)	9 (36)
<b>Total</b>	<b>188</b>	<b>157</b>		<b>68 (36.2)</b>	<b>35 (22.3)</b>
Hademe-i cami	2	2			

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Hüseyin dizdar 20, Mehmed Seydi, after his death Hüstevarnavut kethüda 11, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 6–7. Topçu: Mehmed ser 12, Mahmud kethüda 10, ordinary soldiers 6. Faris: Behram ağa 20, seroda 10, ordinary soldiers 9. Azab: Ali ağa ba timar, after him Mahmud ağa (kethüda-i müstahfızan) 10, seroda 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Martolos: Piri Divane, after him Osman Yunus ser 10, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5. Hademe-i cami: Salih imam, hatib 20, İsmail müezzin 9. 17 Christians.

**1557–1558** (ÖNB Mxt 614, pp. 176–179: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	35	35	4 bölük	5 (14.3)	5 (14.3)
Topçu	7	7	–	–	–
Faris	45	42	1 ağa, 7 oda	5 (11.1)	5 (11.9)
Azab	23	23	1 ağa, 2 oda	1 (4.3)	1 (4.3)
Martolos	26	23	1 ağa, 3 oda	7 (26.9)	4 (17.4)
<b>Total</b>	<b>136</b>	<b>130</b>		<b>18 (13.2)</b>	<b>15 (11.5)</b>
Hademe-i cami	2	2			

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Hüseyin dizdar 20, Seydi Ahmed, after him İbrahim kethüda 10, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 6–7. Topçu: Yahya Mehmed [ser] 10, others 6. Faris: Mustafa İsa ağa 10(!), seroda 9–10, majority of ordinary soldiers 9. Azab: Mahmud Ali ağa 10, seroda 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Martolos: Uruc Mustafa ağa 10, seroda 5–6, ordinary soldiers 4–5. Hademe-i cami: Salih hatib 15, Mehmed İsmail müezzin 9. 13 Christians.

LİVA-İ ŞİMONTORNA

**1558–1559** (ÖNB Mxt 633, pp. 215–220: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	35	35	No change	2 (5.7)	2 (5.7)
Topçu	7	7		–	–
Faris	45	41		8 (17.8)	4 (9.8)
Azab	23	23		–	–
Martolos	26	26	1 sermiye, 3 oda	4 (15.4)	4 (15.4)
<b>Total</b>	<b>136</b>	<b>132</b>		<b>14 (10.3)</b>	<b>10 (7.6)</b>
Hademe-i cami	2	2			

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: no change in officers, kethüda 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Topçu: no change in officers or pay. Faris, azab: no change. Martolos: Uruc Mustafa sermiye 10, seroda 5, majority of ordinary soldiers 4. Hademe-i cami: Salih hatib 15, Mustafa Yusuf [müezzin] 7. 14 Christians.

**1565–1566, 1568–1569** (ÖNB Mxt 612, p. 39. Mxt 617, pp. 10, 20: pay accounts)

Branch	29.07.1565– 21.01.1566	20.12.1568– 15.06.1569	16.06.– 09.12.1569
Müstahfız, topçu	41	43	41
Faris	40	46	46
Azab	21	21	22
Martolos	25	24	25
<b>Total</b>	<b>127</b>	<b>134</b>	<b>134</b>

**1570** (BOA Tapu 505, pp. 39–42: icmal. ÖNB Mxt 642, p. 198: pay list, list of martoloses is missing)

Branch	İcmal / Pay list heads	Units
Müstahfız	35	3 bölük
Topçu	7	1 bölük
Faris	46	1 ağa, 5 oda
Azab	23	1 ağa, 2 oda
Martolos	[25]	
<b>Total</b>	<b>[136]</b>	

In 1570 three troops became salary timar holders.

*Officers, incomes* (akçe). Müstahfız: Hüseyin Abdullah dizdar 5000, İbrahim Abdullah kethüda 3500, serbölük 1800, ordinary soldiers 1700. Topçu: Hasan Abdullah ağa 3000, seroda 1500, ordinary soldiers 1400. Faris: Hasan Ahmed ağa 11, seroda 9–10, ordinary soldiers 8–9. Azab: İnehan ağa 6000, seroda 1500, ordinary soldiers 1400.



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**1577–1581** (BOA MAD 1561, p. 337. MAD 498, pp. 38, 66, 124: pay accounts. Tapu 659, pp. 30–33. Tapu 663, pp. 37–40: icmals)

Branch	14.09.1577– 02.09.1578	03.09.1578– 23.08.1579	24.08.1579– 16.02.1580	17.02.1580– 04.02.1581
Müstahfız				36
Topçu				6
Faris	48	47	48	46
Azab				24
Martolos	26	24	25	25
<b>Total</b>				<b>137</b>

*Officers, incomes in 1580* (akçe). Müstahfız: Mezid İskender dizdar 5300, Mehmed Hüseyin kethüda 3000, serbölük 1900, ordinary soldiers 1700. Topçu: Uruc Barak ser 3000, others 1700, 1500, 3x1400. Azab: Hızır Hasan ağa 1100 (+pay?), Atlu Ferhad kethüda 2000, seroda 1700, ordinary soldiers 1400.

Between 1588 and 1601 sources survive only on cash-paid troops. Their numbers changed only by one or two; presumably the size of the whole garrison was stable as well.

**1604–1605** (BOA MAD 5158, pp. 40–47: pay account)

Branch	Heads
Müstahfızan-i enderun	10
Müstahfızan-i birun	8
Topçu	12
Faris	37
Azab	24
Zaim	10
Merd-i timar	31
<b>Total</b>	<b>132</b>
Hademe-i cami	6

In the first decades of the 17th century the number of müstafizes was suspiciously low. Presumably, some of them received their income from timar estates, but no sources on them are available.

**1612–1613, 1615** (BOA MAD 4133, pp. 11, 50, 91: pay account. MAD 4000, pp. 268–280: pay list. BOA MAD 4133, p. 100: pay account)

Branch	04.03.1612– 20.02.1613	21.02.– 16.08.1613	31.01.– 26.07.1615
Müstahfızan-i enderun	9	20	11
Müstahfızan-i birun	10		
Topçu	12	13	12
Faris	38	40	39
Azab	122	122	73
<b>Total</b>	<b>191</b>	<b>195</b>	<b>135</b>
Hademe-i cami	?	8	8

## LİVA-İ ŞİMONTORNA

*Officers, pay in 1613* (akçe). Müstahfızan-i kale-i enderun: Mehmed dizdar 25, İbrahim Uruc kethüda 15. Müstahfızan-i kale-i birun: Ömer dizdar 25, Sefer Abdullah kethüda 15. Topçu: Behram ser 25, Mehmed Behram kethüda 15. Faris: Sefer(?) ağa 40. Azab: Hasan ağa 40, Rizvan kethüda 20, Hüseyin ağa 18, Ramazan kethüda 12, Osman ağa 18, Mustafa kethüda 14, reis 4, 8, alemdar 8. Hademe-i cami-i sultan Süleyman: Selim Ahmed vaiz 15, Ahmed hatib, imam 15, Pervane müezzin 10, Rizvan müezzin 12, Mehmed kayyum 10, Abdullah siraci 10, Mehmed cüz-han 10, Abdullah cüz-han, sala-han 10.

**1619** (BOA MAD 7320, pp. 145–159: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Units
Müstahfız (enderun, birun)	18	–
Topçu	12	1 bölük
Faris	37	1 ağa, 5 oda
Azab	87	3 ağa, 5 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>154</b>	
Hademe-i cami	8	

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Sinan ağa 40, İbrahim kethüda-i enderun 20, Sefer kethüda-i birun 15, majority of ordinary soldiers 8. Topçu: Behram ser 25, Mehmed Behram kethüda 15, serbölük 10, ordinary soldiers 9. Faris: Hasan ağa 20, seroda 13, ordinary soldiers 8–12. Azab: there is no first ağa, Rizvan kethüda 20, Hüseyin Mustafa ağa 18, Ramazan kethüda 13, Mahmud ağa 20, Mustafa kethüda 14, reis, alemdar 8, kâtib 8, seroda 7, ordinary soldiers 4–6.

**1628–1629, 1630–1631** (ÖNB Mxt 636, p. 22. BOA MAD 5193, p. 7: pay accounts)

Branch	31.08.1628– 20.08.1629	10.08.1630– 29.07.1631
Müstahfız	18	18
Topçu	12	12
Faris	35	35
Azab	63	64
<b>Total</b>	<b>128</b>	<b>129</b>
Hademe-i cami	8	8

**1664** (Evliyâ Çelebi, 7. *Kitap*, 20): 500 soldiers, difficult to believe.

### Kale-i ANYAVAR (Hu. Anyavár)

A garrison was stationed here only between 1545 and 1566

The small, obsolete fortress was only in use while the other surrounding fortresses were not yet manned.

**1545–1546** (ÖNB Mxt 561, pp. 63–64: pay list. Mxt 581, p. 51: pay account)

Müstahfız: 32, present and paid in the first half-year 24, in the second 19. 3 (2) bölük. Hasan Tursun dizdar 20, Ali arnavud kethüda 15, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 6.

Kale-i **ENDRİK** (Hu. Endréd)  
Ottoman possession 1544–1686

The southern shore of the Balaton represented a long stretch of the western border of Ottoman Hungary, and for more than two decades only a single Ottoman fortress, Endrik, stood there. Attempts were made to put its garrison together accordingly. These attempts, however, were complete failures: whole units were missing, some of the soldiers sent here never arrived or moved on immediately. When the garrison was set up, with great difficulty, it resembled not so much the garrison of a border fortress as that of a riverside fortification.

**1545–1546** (ÖNB Mxt 561, pp. 52–62: pay list. Mxt 581, p. 51: pay account)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present / Paid heads			Units	Vacant posts (%) (recec)	Recruits heads (%) (lezez)
		12.06.1545	08.09.1545	06.12.1545			
		07.09.1545	05.12.1545	03.03.1546			
Müstahfız	47	22	28	30	5 bölük	26 (55.3)	12 (40)
Faris	51	15	15	17	1 ağa, 5 oda	41 (80.4)	7 (41.2)
Martolos	41	3	25	26	1 ağa, 4 oda	38 (92.7)	23 (88.5)
<b>Total</b>	<b>139</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>73</b>		<b>105 (75.5)</b>	<b>42 (57.5)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Mehmed ağa dizdar 30, Ahmed, after his death his son Ahmed kethüda 11, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 6 (two of them neccar and haddad). Faris: İnehan absent, after him Mehmed Divane ağa 17, seroda 8, ordinary soldiers 7. Martolos: Mustafa Ali mazul, after him Haydar ağa 15, Radič Vukašin sermiye 8, seroda 5, ordinary soldiers 4. In lezez 27 Christians.

**1553** (ÖNB Mxt 643, pp. 9–11: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	44	30	4 bölük	18 (40.1)	4 (13.3)
Faris	41	36	1 ağa, 4 oda	16 (39)	11 (30.6)
Azab	34	29	1 ağa, 3 oda	6 (17.6)	1 (3.4)
Martolos	25	20	1 ağa, 2 oda	10 (40)	5 (25)
<b>Total</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>115</b>		<b>50 (34.7)</b>	<b>21 (18.3)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Ali dizdar 25, Hüseyin kethüda 11, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 6. Faris: Emirşah ağa 14, later ba timar, seroda 9, ordinary soldiers 8. Azab: Gazi Mustafa ağa 18, seroda 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Martolos: Hızır Mehmed ağa 12, Uruc Mustafa sermiye 6, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 4. 11 Christians.

**1557–1558** (ÖNB Mxt 614, pp. 182–183: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	43	40	No change	10 (23.3)	7 (17.5)
Azab	34	34		6 (17.6)	6 (17.6)
Martolos	22	20		6 (27.3)	4 (20)
<b>Total</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>94</b>		<b>22 (22.2)</b>	<b>17 (18.1)</b>

## LİVA-İ ŞİMONTORNA

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Turali Karagöz ağa 18, Hüseyin, after him Mustafa Ahmed, after him Daud kethüda 11, remaining pay unchanged. Azab: Hüseyin ağa 14, remaining pay unchanged. Martolos: Timur Mahmud, after his death Mehmed Ahmed ağa 12, seroda 5–6, others 4. 10 Christians.

**1558–1559** (ÖNB Mxt 633, pp. 231–233: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	43	43	No change	–	–
Azab	34	33		1 (2.9)	–
Martolos	23	20		4 (17.4)	1 (5)
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>96</b>		<b>5 (5)</b>	<b>1 (1)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Turali ağa, Hüseyin kethüda, pay unchanged. Azab, martolos: no change in officers or pay. 13 Christians.

**1569–1570** (ÖNB Mxt 617, pp. 10, 20: pay account. BOA Tapu 505, pp. 48–51: icmal)

Branch	20.12.1568– 15.06.1569	16.06.– 09.12.1569	1570 icmal
Müstahfız	29	31	32
Azab	30	30	34
Martolos	19	18	?
<b>Total</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>?</b>

From 1570 onwards the infantry units lived on the income from salary timars.

*Officers, incomes* (akçe). Müstahfız: Ahmed dizdar 6000, Hüseyin kethüda 4000, serbölük 1800, ordinary soldiers 1700. Azab: Ali Hasan ağa 6000, seroda 1500, ordinary soldiers 1400.

**1577–1581** (BOA MAD 1561, p. 338. MAD 498, pp. 38, 66, 124: pay accounts. Tapu 659, pp. 35–36. Tapu 663, pp. 27–33: icmals)

Branch	14.09.1577– 02.09.1578	03.09.1578– 23.08.1579	24.08.1579– 16.02.1580	17.02.1580– 04.02.1581
Müstahfız				32
Topçu				5
Faris	37	37	37	36
Azab				29
Martolos	26	20	21	22
<b>Total</b>				<b>124</b>

*Officers, incomes* (akçe). Müstahfız: Mehmed Abdullah dizdar, Hüseyin kethüda, no change in incomes. Topçu: Ali Hamza ser 2100, ordinary soldiers 1700. Azab: Mehmed ağa 2800, Ali İnehan kethüda 2000, others 1400–1500.

In the 1580s and 1590s only the numbers of farises and martoloses are known, the former fluctuated between 31 and 38, the latter between 19 and 21. Presumably, the whole garrison did not change either. In the last years of the 16th century 36 müstafizes and 53 azabs were transferred here from Veszprém. From the

beginning of the 17th century, two employees of the cami appeared (1607, 1613: Hasan halife imam, hatib, Ahmed halife müezzin). Between 1613 and 1630 all sources mention two units: that of the farises (22–34 men) and the azabs (33–34 men). On the others no sources are available.

**Kale-i OZORA / OZOR (Hu. Ozora)**  
Ottoman possession 1545–1686

This small fortress located close to the sancak centre was usually manned only by a token garrison, which was slightly reinforced during the Fifteen Years' War, then reduced again.

**1545–1546** (ÖNB Mxt 561, pp. 65–68: pay list. Mxt 581, p. 51: pay account)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present/ Paid heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız [and topçu?]	53	49	5 bölük	8 (15.1)	4 (8.2)
Azab	53	44	1 ağa, 5 oda	25 (47.2)	19 (43.2)
<b>Total</b>	<b>106</b>	<b>93</b>		<b>33 (31.1)</b>	<b>23 (24.7)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız [and topçu?]: Ali dizdar 30, Sinan kethüda 15, Yusuf Mustafa ser-i topçuyan 12, serbölük 8, majority of ordinary soldiers 6. Azab: Cafer ağa 25, İdris kethüda 15, reis 12, seroda 7, ordinary soldiers 6.

**1553** (ÖNB Mxt 643, pp. 5–6: pay list)

Müstahfız: 40, present 26. 4 bölük. İskender dizdar 15, remaining pay unchanged. Topçu: 3, present 3. Mustafa ser 12, others 6. Total: 43, present 29.

**1557–1558, 1558–1559** (ÖNB Mxt 614, pp. 179–180. Mxt 633, p. 221: pay lists)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	39	39	4 bölük	4 (10.3)	4 (10.3)
Topçu	3	3	–	1 (33.3)	1 (33.3)
<b>Total</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>42</b>		<b>5 (11.9)</b>	<b>5 (11.9)</b>

**1558–1559:** Total: 42, present 41, vacant 1, recruit 1.

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: İskender Trabzon ağa, pay unchanged. Topçu: Ömer Seydi, after him Mehmed Hamza ağa 9, others 6.

**1570** (BOA Tapu 505, pp. 43–45: icmal)

From this year on all the soldiers were paid with collective timars. The data: Müstahfız: 39. Hüseyin Abdullah dizdar 5000, Hüseyin Nasuh kethüda 3000, serbölük 1800, ordinary soldiers 1700. Topçu: 3. Mehmed Hamza ser 3000, others 1400.

**1580** (BOA Tapu 659, p. 33. Tapu 663, pp. 33–37: icmals)

Müstahfız: 35. Dizdar unknown, Hüseyin Nasuh kethüda, income unchanged. Topçu: 3. Ali Hasan ser 3000, others 1700.

## LİVA-İ ŞİMONTORNA

**1607** (BOA MAD 5623, pp. 149–150: pay list, incomplete. MAD 4654, p. 137: pay account)

Branch	Pay list heads	Paid heads	Units
Müstahfız (incomplete)	2	10	?
Topçu	3		–
Azab	22	21	2 ağa, 3 reis, 4 oda
Martolos	19	19	1 ağa, 1 oda
<b>Total (incomplete)</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>50</b>	

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Ali Abdullah ağa, İbrahim kethüda, pay unknown; most of the corps comprised of salary-timar holders. Topçu: Hüseyin Ali ağa, Ali Abdullah kethüda, pay unknown. Azab: Hasan Behram ağa, Berber(?) hoca kethüda, Malkoç ağa, İbrahim kethüda, 3 reis, 4 seroda (half the corps were officers), pay unknown. Martolos transferred from Bak'an: Vujić ağa 25, Vuk sermiye 12, seroda 9, ordinary soldiers 6–8. 18 Christians.

**1612–1615** (BOA MAD 4133, pp. 11, 50, 100: pay account. MAD 4000, pp. 279, 280: pay list)

Branch	14.03.1612– 20.02.1613	21.02.– 16.08.1613	31.01.– 26.17.1615
Müstahfız, topçu	11	12	10
Azab	15	15	11

The majority of the müstafizes are unknown yet again, while the martoloses were dismissed from the fortress.

*Officers, pay in 1613* (akçe). Müstahfız: Bali dizdar 20, İbrahim kethüda 12. Azab: Hüseyin ağa 25, İbrahim kethüda 15, reis 15.

The pay accounts, which last up to 1630, indicate that the treasury paid fewer and fewer soldiers (18 in 1630); I presume the villages, which had been destroyed in the war and then revived, were once more able to support men who had been salary-timar holders.

### Kale-i **TOMAŞİN** (Hu. Tamási) Ottoman possession 1545–1686

A small fortress on the shore of the Koppány river, on the western border of the sancak. Its soldiers were transferred here from Peçuy, Şikloş and Sas. Its first, medium-sized garrison quickly shrank. For the first decades of the 17th century sources survive only on a fraction of the soldiers.

**1545–1546** (ÖNB Mxt 561, pp. 77–82: pay list. Mxt 581, p. 52: pay account)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present/Paid heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	42	41	4 bölük	–	–
Topçu	10	8	–	2 (20)	–
Faris	70	50	1 ağa, 10 oda	20 (28.6)	–
Azab	36	32	1 ağa, 4 oda	8 (22.2)	4 (12.5)
Kalafatçı	3	2	–	3 (100)	2 (100)
<b>Total</b>	<b>161</b>	<b>133</b>		<b>33 (20.5)</b>	<b>6 (4.5)</b>

# VİLAYET-İ BUDUN

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Ahmed ağa dizdar 27, İlyas Bayezid kethüda 15, serbölük 8, majority of ordinary soldiers 6. Topçu: Hasan Abdullah ser 10, others 4–7. Faris: Behram ağa 25, seroda 8–11, ordinary soldiers 7. Azab: Bali ağa 25, Mustafa Kurd kethüda 18, seroda 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Kalafatçı: 5. 5 Christians.

**1552–1553** (ÖNB Mxt 643, pp. 6–7: pay list. BOA Tapu 1030, pp. 15–20: icmal)

Branch	Pay list / İcmal heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	42		4 bölük		
Topçu	4		–		
Azab	31	30	1 ağa, 3 oda	6 (19.4)	5 (16.7)
Martolos	21	20	2 oda	5 (23.8)	4 (20)
<b>Total</b>	<b>98</b>				

Very early on, the infantry troops were paid with the income from timars.

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Pir Ahmed dizdar 5000, Hasan kethüda 3000, serbölük 1800, ordinary soldiers 1700. Topçu: İsa Mehmed ser 3000, others 1700. Azab: Bali ağa 25, seroda 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Martolos: Firuz Divane ser 12, seroda 5, 7, ordinary soldiers 4. 19 Christians.

**1557–1558, 1558–1559** (ÖNB Mxt 614, pp. 180–181. Mxt 633, pp. 226–228: pay lists)

The lists only include cash-paid troops.

Azab: 31, present 30. No change in officers or pay. Martolos: 20, present 17. Firuz Divane, after his death İbrahim Ali ağa, pay unchanged.

Since up to 1570 the number of müstahfizs and topçus was always 46, the size of the whole garrison can be estimated at around 93 men.

**1565** (BOA Tapu 353, pp. 26–29: icmal. ÖNB Mxt 612, p. 39: pay account)

Müstahfız: 42. 4 bölük. Turhan dizdar 5450, Pervane Abdullah kethüda 3000, remaining income unchanged. Topçu: 4. Mahmud Ali ser 3000, others 1700. Martolos: paid 20. Total: 66.

**1569–1570** (BOA Tapu 505, pp. 52–55: icmal. ÖNB Mxt 617, pp. 10, 20: pay account)

Müstahfız: 42. 3 bölük. Hüsrev Abdullah dizdar 5500, Uruc Hamza kethüda, remaining income unchanged. Topçu: 4. Nasuh Mustafa ser, income unchanged. Martolos: paid 21. Total: 67.

**1577–1581** (BOA MAD 1561, p. 338. MAD 498, pp. 38, 66, 125: pay accounts. Tapu 659, pp. 33–35: icmal)

Branch	14.09.1577–02.09.1578	03.09.1578–23.08.1579	24.08.1579–16.02.1580	17.02.1580–04.02.1581
Müstahfız				22
Topçu				1
Martolos	21	19	21	21
<b>Total</b>				<b>44</b>
Hademe-i mescid				1

*Officers, incomes* (akçe). Müstahfız: 2 bölük, Herseklü Bayezid dizdar 5900, Uruc Hamza kethüda 3000, remaining income unchanged. Topçu: 1700. Mustafa hoca imam 1800.

## LİVA-İ ŞİMONTORNA

**1604–1605** (BOA MAD 5158, pp. 61–63: pay account)

Müstahfız: 21, topçu: 8, azab: 34, total: 63.

**1607** (BOA MAD 5623, pp. 220–223: pay list, yoklama. MAD 4654, p. 138: pay account)

Müstahfız: 21, paid 21. 2 bölük. Hasan ağa. Topçu: 8, paid 7. Receb Keyvan ser. Azab: 33, paid 31. 3 oda. Mustafa ağa, Ali kethüda, 2 reis.

**1612–1613** (BOA MAD 4133, pp. 12, 50, 92, 100: pay account. MAD 4000, pp. 286–289: pay list)

Branch	04.03.1612– 20.02.1613	21.02.– 16.08.1613	Pay list heads	Units
Müstahfız	21	21	21	2 bölük
Topçu	7	7	7	–
Azab	20	21	21	1 ağa, 2 reis, 2 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>49</b>	

The sources of the 1610s and 1620s give us the impression that by this time the whole garrison was once again being paid cash.

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Hasan ağa 20. Topçu: Receb Keyvan ser 10. Azab: Mehmed ağa 25, Ali kethüda 15, reis 12.

First the topçus, then the müstahfizes too disappear from the sources between 1619 and 1630: they retained their salary timars.

**1664** (Evliyâ Çelebi, 7. *Kitap*, 16): 300 soldiers.

### Kale-i DÖBREKÖS (Hu. Döbrököz)

Ottoman possession 1545–1686

One of the strong garrisons in the territory between Peçuy and Şimontorna was set up in this fortress, which guarded the western border and the Kapos river in the 1540s. Following the conquest of southern Transdanubia its importance lessened, and it became one of the many small fortresses which were tasked with holding up the raiding Hungarian forces. Its 17th-century data are probably incomplete.

**1545–1546** (ÖNB Mxt 561, pp. 69–77: pay list. Mxt 581, p. 51: pay account)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Paid heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	52	50	50	5 bölük	7 (13.5)	5 (10)
Topçu	9	9	9	–	–	–
Faris	72	54	52	1 ağa, 7 oda	48 (66.7)	30 (55.6)
Azab	45	37	35	1 ağa, 4 oda	24 (53.3)	16 (43.2)
Martolos	69	65	64	7 oda	11 (15.9)	7 (10.8)
<b>Total</b>	<b>247</b>	<b>215</b>	<b>210</b>		<b>90 (36.4)</b>	<b>58 (27)</b>



*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Hamza Mustafa dizdar 24, Ferhad kethüda 16, serbölük 8, majority of ordinary soldiers 6. Topçu: Behram ser pay unknown, ordinary soldiers 6–7. Faris: Mustafa ağa ba timar, seroda 8, ordinary soldiers 7. Azab: Hasan ağa 20, Ferhad Divane kethüda 11, seroda 5, ordinary soldiers 4–5. Martolos: Mehmed ser 12, Jovan Radić sermiye 9, seroda 5, ordinary soldiers 4. 70 Christians.

**1552–1553** (BOA Tapu 1030, pp. 21–28: icmal. ÖNB Mxt 643, pp. 7–9: pay list)

Branch	Pay list/icmal heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	52		5 bölük		
Topçu	8		–		
Faris	54	52	1 ağa, 5 oda	17 (31.5)	15 (28.8)
Azab	32	26	1 ağa, 3 oda	7 (21.9)	1 (3.8)
<b>Total</b>	<b>146</b>				
Hademe-i mescid	1	1			

The müstahfizes and topçus had already become salary timar holders then.

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Hamza dizdar 5000, Daud Ahmed kethüda 3000, serbölük 1800, ordinary soldiers 1700. Topçu: Bayram ser 3000, others 1700. Faris: Gani(?) Divane ağa ba timar, seroda 8, ordinary soldiers 7. Azab: Ferhad ağa 18, seroda 6–7, ordinary soldiers 5. Mehmed Ahmed imam 8.

**1565** (BOA Tapu 353, pp. 30–35: icmal. ÖNB Mxt 612, p. 39: pay account)

Müstahfız: 42. 4 bölük. Behram dizdar 5100, Ali kethüda 3300, remaining income unchanged. Topçu: 7. Mahmud ser, income unchanged. Azab: paid 16. Total: 65.

**1570** (BOA Tapu 505, pp. 55–58: icmal)

Müstahfız: 16. 3 bölük. İdris dizdar 5600, Mustafa İlyas kethüda 1800, remaining income unchanged. Topçu: 4. Mustafa ser, income unchanged. Total: 20. The azabs do not appear in any sources; they were probably withdrawn from the fortress.

**1592** (BOA Tapu 652, p. 49: icmal)

Müstahfız: 20. 2 bölük. Dizdar unknown, Mustafa İlyas kethüda 2000, remaining income unchanged. Yusuf Abdullah imam 2000. The 20 known soldiers cannot have been the whole garrison.

**1612–1615, 1619** (BOA MAD 4133, pp. 12, 50, 100: pay account. MAD 7320, pp. 156–158: pay list)

Branch	04.03.1612– 20.02.1613	21.02.– 16.08.1613	31.01.– 26.07.1615	19.12.1618– 07.12.1619
Müstahfız	31	32	31	30
Topçu	6	6	6	7
<b>Total</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>37</b>

*Officers, pay in 1619* (akçe). Müstahfız: 4 bölük, İbrahim ağa 20, Memi Farhad kethüda 9, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 7. Topçu: Ahmed ser 12, others 7.

**1630** (BOA MAD 5193, p. 7: pay account)

Müstahfız: 18, topçu: 4, total: 22.

## LİVA-İ ŞİMONTORNA

### Parkan-i **HİDVİG** (Hu. Hidvég) Constructed between 1565 and 1570, Ottoman possession to 1686

This fortress was built to defend the corridor between Balaton and the Danube, half-way between Şimontorna and Endrik. It was first manned with a small garrison, which increased to 90–100 soldiers. The sources are incomplete from the end of the 1580s.

**1570** (BOA Tapu 505, pp. 46–47: icmal)

All soldiers were transferred here from Döbrekös, already as salary timar holders. Müstahfız: 22. 2 bölük. Murad Yusuf dizdar 4000, Pervane kethüda 3000, serbölük 1800, ordinary soldiers 1700. Topçu: 3. Kurd Uruc serbölük 1800, others 1700. Total: 25.

**1577–1581** (BOA MAD 1561, p. 338. MAD 498, pp. 38, 66, 125: pay lists. Tapu 659, pp. 36–39: icmal)

Branch	14.09.1577– 02.09.1578	03.09.1578– 23.08.1579	24.08.1579– 16.02.1580	17.02.1580– 04.02.1581
Müstahfız				44
Topçu				3
Faris	50	47	48	49
<b>Total</b>				<b>96</b>

*Officers, incomes in 1580* (akçe). Müstahfız: Veli Piri dizdar 4500, Hamza Mehmed kethüda 3000, serbölük 1800, ordinary soldiers 1500. Topçu: Murteza Veli serbölük 1800, others 1700.

After this, there are data only about cash-paid troops.

Year	Source	Faris	Azab
1588–1589	ÖNB Mxt 615, pp. 147–148	47	–
1604–1605	BOA MAD 5158, pp. 59–60	12	13
1607	BOA MAD 5623, pp. 214–215. MAD 4654, p. 138	12	13
1612–1613	BOA MAD 4133, pp. 12, 50, 92, 95. MAD 4000, pp. 280–282	13	23
1619	BOA MAD 7320, pp. 152–153	12	16
1628–1629	ÖNB Mxt 636, p. 22	13	26
1630	BOA MAD 5193, p. 7	13	24

The numbers change very little, which may indicate that the size of the whole garrison was also between 70 and 80.

### Parkan-i **BOGAR** (Hu. Bogárd) There are data on its garrison only from 1608

This palisade was one of the short-lived garrisons set up during the Fifteen Years' War to reinforce the defence of the corridor between the Balaton and the Danube. Only azabs served here; they were transferred from Istolni Belgrad.

**1608** (ÖNB Mxt 620, pp. 28–29: pay list)

Azab: 44. 4 oda. Süleyman ağa 20, Ali kethüda 10, reis 8, seroda 7, ordinary soldiers 6.

## VİLAYET-İ BUDUN

Parkan-i **PİNÇEH**EL (Hu. Pincehely)  
Constructed between 1615 and 1619;  
I do not know for how long it functioned

One of the small garrisons guarding the corridor between the Balaton and the Danube, in which only one unit served.

**1619** (BOA MAD 7320, pp. 158–159: pay list)

Martolos: 34. 1 big oda. Veli Divane ağa 17, Vuk sermiye 6, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5.

**1628–1629** (ÖNB Mxt 636, p. 22: pay account)

Martolos: paid 29.

**1630** (BOA MAD 5193, p. 7: pay account)

Martolos: paid 29.

## LİVA-İ SOLNOK

Transferred to the vilayet of Eğri after 1596, the description of its fortresses continues there.

Kale-i **SOLNOK** (Hu. Szolnok)  
Ottoman possession 1552–1585

The fortress of Solnok, whose construction was completed by the Hungarians in 1551, stood where the river Zagyva flows into the Tisza. Its location vested it with an outstanding strategic role: it became the most important fortress on Ottoman Hungary's north-eastern border; at the same time it was the northern gate opening to the Transylvanian Principality, which also oversaw the imposition of Ottoman taxation on counties located on the border of the Kingdom and Transylvania. The Ottoman military leadership ordered it to be manned with a great garrison appropriate to the task, but the resettlement was a giant failure, 60% of the soldiers did not even arrive.

The 1550s was a decade of reorganisation: the abundant surviving pay lists clearly reflect this process. After 1560 the number of soldiers in Solnok stabilized at 350–400 men, backed up by the military might of Senmikleş, built on the other side of the Tisza in 1554, and the northern fortresses of the vilayet of Temeşvar.

**1552–1553** (ÖNB Mxt 643, pp. 30–45: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads 1552	Present heads 1553	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	263	107	119	26 bölük	171 (65)	27 (22.7)
Topçu	52	28	38	5 bölük	28 (53.8)	14 (36.8)
Faris	302	166	212	3 ağa, 30 oda	158 (52.3)	68 (32.1)
Azab	155	25	24	5 reis, 15 oda	133 (85.8)	2 (8.3)
Martolos	151	52	82	15 oda	102 (67.5)	33 (40.2)
<b>Total</b>	<b>923</b>	<b>378</b>	<b>475</b>		<b>592 (64.1)</b>	<b>144 (30.3)</b>

# LİVA-İ SOLNOK

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Hüseyin Ali, after his death Hamza Hasan (previously kethüda in Vaç) dizdar 30, Veli Süleyman kethüda 15, Hüseyin Hasan kâtib 12, first seroda 9, others 8, ordinary soldiers 7 (among them 2 haddad, 1 neccar, 1 kumbaracı, all absent). Topçu: Ferhad Ahmed ser ba timar, Hasan İlyas kethüda 10, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 7 (Christians' pay 6). Faris: Turali ağa, Mustafa ağa, Ramazan ağa each ba timar, seroda 10, ordinary soldiers 9. Azab: Veli ser ba timar, Kurd Yusuf kethüda 13, Mustafa Mehmed reis 12, Piri Yusuf reis 10, Ramazan Hızır reis 9, seroda 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Martolos: Üveys ağa ba timar, Sluba Radosav sermiye 10, Tomaš G'ura sermiye 9, seroda 6–7, ordinary soldiers 5. 98 Christians.

**1554** (Berlin Ms. or. fol. 432, pp. 64–69, 72–83: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	253	217	25 bölük	155 (61.3)	119 (54.8)
Müteferrika	10	6	–	5 (50)	1 (16.7)
Topçu	45	45	2 ser, 4 bölük	–	–
Faris	303	275	3 ağa, 30 oda	123 (40.6)	95 (34.5)
Azab	111	34	5 riyaset, 15 oda	95 (85.6)	18 (52.9)
Martolos	151	109	15 oda	71 (47)	29 (26.6)
<b>Total</b>	<b>873</b>	<b>686</b>		<b>449 (51.4)</b>	<b>262 (38.2)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Hasan dizdar 20, Şirmerd kethüda 13, Nebi Mehmed kâtib 12, first seroda 9, others 8, ordinary soldiers 7. Müteferrika: 4 mehter, 2 haddad, 3 neccar, 1 of unknown rank, 7. Topçu: Ferhad Ahmed ser ba timar, Hasan İlyas kethüda 10, seroda 8, ordinary soldiers 7. Faris: Turali ağa, Mustafa ağa ba timar, Ramazan, after him Perviz ağa 20, seroda 10, ordinary soldiers 9. Azab: Yusuf Abdullah ağa 19, reis 10, remaining pay unchanged. Martolos: Üveys ser ba timar, sermiye 8, remaining pay unchanged. 84% of soldiers of Balkan origin.

**1556–1557** (ÖNB Mxt 578, pp. 65–76: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	202	191	20 bölük	18 (8.9)	7 (3.7)
Müteferrika	10	10	1 bölük	–	–
Topçu	41	40	4 bölük	2 (4.9)	1 (2.5)
Faris	201	162	2 ağa, 20 oda	69 (34.3)	30 (18.5)
Azab	59	56	4 riyaset, 9 oda	7 (11.9)	4 (7.1)
Martolos	91	86	10 oda	6 (6.6)	1 (1.2)
<b>Total</b>	<b>604</b>	<b>545</b>		<b>102 (16.9)</b>	<b>43 (7.9)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: no change in officers or pay. Müteferrika: Vuk Skorsa serbölük 8, 9 Christians of unknown rank 7 (further down they turn out to have been ship builders). Topçu: no change. Faris: Cafer ağa ba timar, Koçi Divane ağa ba timar, remaining pay unchanged. Azab: Raşid ağa [ba timar?], Bali kethüda 10, reis 10, seroda 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Martolos: Timur Bali ağa 10, seroda 5–8, ordinary soldiers 5. 106 Christians.

VİLAYET-İ BUDUN

**1557–1558** (ÖNB Mxt 614, pp. 127–138: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	203	190	20 bölük	43 (21.2)	30 (15.8)
Müteferrika	10	10	1 bölük	–	–
Topçu	42	42	4 bölük	10 (23.8)	10 (23.8)
Faris	200	183	2 ağa, 20 oda	69 (34.5)	52 (28.4)
Azab	70	60	4 riyaset, 9 oda	20 (28.6)	10 (16.7)
Martolos	96	92	10 oda	13 (13.5)	9 (9.8)
<b>Total</b>	<b>621</b>	<b>577</b>		<b>155 (25)</b>	<b>111 (19.2)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız, müteferrika, topçu: no change in officers or pay. Faris: Hasan, after him Resul ağa 15, Koçi Divane, after him Bali ağa 10, remaining pay unchanged. Azab: Raşid ağa 12, Bali Hamza kethüda 12, Ali Hamza kethüda 10, reis 10, seroda 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Martolos: no change. 115 Christians.

The first data on yeniçeris of the Porte stationed also in Solnok date back to 1558, but their number is unknown (repairs to their dwellings appear among the expenses of the Buda treasury) (ÖNB Mxt 574, p. 47).

**1561–1562** (ÖNB Mxt 607, pp. 201–210: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	141	137	14 bölük	22 (15.6)	18 (13.1)
Topçu	32	32	3 bölük	2 (6.2)	2 (6.2)
Faris	121	109	2 ağa, 12 oda	33 (27.3)	21 (19.3)
Azab	74	56	4 riyaset, 9 oda	28 (37.8)	10 (17.9)
Martolos	47	40	5 oda	10 (21.3)	3 (7.5)
<b>Total</b>	<b>415</b>	<b>374</b>		<b>95 (22.9)</b>	<b>54 (14.4)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Hasan ağa 20, Pervane Musa kethüda 10, Ali Nasuh kâtib 8, majority of serbölük 7, ordinary soldiers 6–7. Topçu: Ferhad ağa ba timar, Hasan İlyas kethüda 10, remaining pay unchanged. Faris: Resul ağa 15, Hayırcan(?) ağa 15, majority of serodas 9, ordinary soldiers 8–9. Azab: Mehmed ağa 10, Bali Hamza kethüda 10, reis 10, 9, seroda 6–7, ordinary soldiers 5–6; the last squad consists of Christian ship builders (previously registered as müfterrikas), their corporal is Vuk Skorsa again. Martolos: Timur ağa is dead, seroda 6–7, majority of ordinary soldiers 4. 51 Christians.

**1569–1570** (ÖNB Mxt 642, pp. 199–209: pay list. Mxt 617, pp. 7, 17: pay account)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Paid heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	141	141	171	14 bölük	5 (3.5)	5 (3.5)
Topçu	32	32		3 bölük	5 (15.6)	5 (15.6)
Faris	119	119	114	1 ağa, 12 oda	18 (15.1)	18 (15.1)
Azab	49	45	45	4 riyaset, 9 oda	13 (26.5)	9 (20)
Müteferrika	3	3		–	1 (33.3)	1 (33.3)
Martolos	46	46	43	5 oda	–	–
<b>Total</b>	<b>390</b>	<b>386</b>	<b>373</b>		<b>42 (10.8)</b>	<b>38 (9.8)</b>

## LİVA-İ SOLNOK

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Mehmed dizdar 20, Pervane Musa kethüda 13, Ali Nasuh kâtib-i anbar, pay unchanged. Topçu: Hasan ağa ba timar, Hasan kethüda, pay unchanged. Faris: Turak ağa 15, seroda 9, ordinary soldiers 8. Azab: Bali Hamza ağa 10, Ahmed Mustafa kethüda, pay unknown, reis 7, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5. Müteferrika: 7. Martolos: Yusuf ağa 10, first seroda 7, others 5, ordinary soldiers 4. 53 Christians.

From 1570 infantry units were paid with timars, we only know the complete garrison in 1591. In the 1570s and 1580s the number of cash-paid troops did not change; nor, presumably did the size of the whole garrison.

**1572–1574, 1577–1581** (BOA MAD 1561, pp. 145, 177. MAD 1560, p. 334. MAD 498, pp. 32, 60, 120: pay accounts)

Branch	14.05.1572– 02.05.1573	03.05.1573 22.04.1574	14.09.1577– 02.09.1578.	03.09.1578– 23.08.1579	24.08.1579– 16.02.1580	17.02.1580– 04.02.1581
Faris	113	108	111	112	115	110
Martolos	41	41	40	32	40	38

**1588–1589** (ÖNB Mxt 615, pp. 121–124: pay list)

Faris: 117, present 113. 12 oda. Hamza Şadi(?) ağa 20, seroda 9–12, ordinary soldiers 8. Martolos: 75, present 68. 2 ağa, 9 oda. Yusuf Mahmud ağa 12, Veli Ali yüzbaşı 7, Bali Hüseyin ağa 10, seroda 5, ordinary soldiers 4.

**1591** (BOA Tapu 658, pp. 56–126: icmal. MAD 3762, p. 11: pay account)

Branch	With timar / paid
Müstahfız	134
Cebeci	3
Topçu	30
Faris	114
Azab	44
Martolos	70
<b>Total</b>	<b>395</b>

After 1596 Solnok was transferred to the vilayet of Eğri; the description continues there.

Parkan / Palanka-i **SENMIKLOŞ** (Hu. Szentmiklós)  
Constructed in 1554, Ottoman possession to 1685  
(Hungarian possession 1595–1596)

The palanka was built opposite Solnok, on the other side of the Tisza, outside the river's floodplain: towards the north the defense of the Ottoman section of the Tisza was ensured by the combined strength of the two fortresses.

VİLAYET-İ BUDUN

**1556–1557** (ÖNB Mxt 578, pp. 77–82: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	51	51	5 bölük	8 (15.7)	8 (15.7)
Topçu	10	9	1 bölük	2 (20)	2 (22.2)
Faris	101	94	1 ağa, 10 oda	23 (22.8)	16 (17)
Azab	23	21	1 riyaset, 3 oda	4 (17.4)	2 (9.5)
Martolos	45	42	5 oda	3 (6.7)	–
<b>Total</b>	<b>230</b>	<b>217</b>		<b>40 (17.4)</b>	<b>28 (12.9)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Veli Süleyman dizdar 17, Hüseyin Ali kethüda 12, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 7. Topçu: 6–7. Faris (transferred from Solnok): Perviz ağa 20, seroda 10, ordinary soldiers 9. Azab: Abdurrahman Mehmed ağa, pay unknown, Habil kethüda 12, reis 9, seroda 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Martolos: Rizvan Abdullah ağa 12, sermiye 8, seroda 5–6, ordinary soldiers 5. 50 Christians.

**1557–1558** (ÖNB Mxt 614, pp. 139–143: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	52	44	no change	14 (26.9)	6 (13.6)
Topçu	10	10		2 (20)	2 (20)
Faris	101	82		32 (31.7)	13 (15.9)
Azab	23	19		8 (34.8)	4 (21.1)
Martolos	48	46		7 (14.6)	5 (10.9)
<b>Total</b>	<b>234</b>	<b>201</b>		<b>63 (26.9)</b>	<b>30 (14.9)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). No change in officers or pay. 55 Christians.

**1569–1570** (ÖNB Mxt 642, pp. 210–214: pay list. Mxt 617, pp. 7, 17: pay account)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Paid heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	52	52	61	no change	2 (3.8)	2 (3.8)
Topçu	10	10			–	–
Faris	101	99	94		7 (6.9)	5 (5)
Azab	22	22	21		1 (4.5)	1 (4.5)
Martolos	41	41	38		2 (4.9)	2 (4.9)
<b>Total</b>	<b>226</b>	<b>224</b>	<b>214</b>		<b>12 (5.3)</b>	<b>10 (4.5)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Mehmed Osman dizdar, Yusuf Ali kethüda, pay unchanged, serbölük 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Topçu: 6. Faris: Bali Abdullah ağa ba timar, seroda 9, ordinary soldiers 8. Azab: Mustafa Ahmed ağa 12, Hasan Hamza kethüda and Yusuf Mahmud reis, pay unknown, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5. Martolos: Pervane Ali ağa 12, Nikola Radosav sermiye 8, seroda 5, ordinary soldiers 4. 46 Christians.

After 1570 the infantry units were paid with timars, we only know the complete garrison in 1591. In the 1570s and 1580s the number of cash-paid troops did not change, presumably nor did that of the whole garrison.

**1572–1589**

1572–1574. Faris: 96 / 95. Martolos: 40 / 40. (BOA MAD 1561, pp. 145–146, 177: pay account)

1588–1589. Faris: pay list 98, present 78. Ahmed İbrahim ağa 13, seroda 9, ordinary soldiers 8. Martolos: 41, present 40. Gazi Mahmud ağa 12, Ali Divane yüzbaşı 8, seroda 5, ordinary soldiers 4. (ÖNB Mxt 615, pp. 128–131: pay list)

**1591** (BOA Tapu 658, pp. 125–152: icmal. MAD 3762, p. 11: pay account)

Branch	With timar / paid
Müstahfız	50
Topçu	10
Faris	93
Azab	22
Martolos	40
<b>Total</b>	<b>215</b>

*Officers, incomes* (akçe). Müstahfız: Haydar Ahmed dizdar 4540, Turhan İnebeyi 1800, serbölük 1700–2000, ordinary soldiers 1700. Topçu: Ali Ferhad ser 3000, others 1700. Azab: Mehmed Hüseyin ağa 5900, Firuz Mehmed kethüda 3000, seroda 1700, ordinary soldiers 1600.

After 1596 Senmikloş was transferred to the vilayet of Eğri; the description continues there.

Parkan / Palanka / Kale-i **ÇONGRAD** (Hu. Csongrád)

Constructed in 1561

Ottoman possession to 1685

The palanka was built on an important site from the point of view of traffic and trade: at the meeting of the Tisza and Körös rivers and the roads running alongside them, beside a medium-sized town made into a nahiye centre. Its garrison was unusual: it guarded rivers, yet there were no serving azabs in it, and later the martoloses were withdrawn as well.

**1561–1562** (ÖNB Mxt 607, pp. 269–272: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	38	31	4 bölük	9 (23.7)	2 (6.5)
Topçu	10	9	–	1 (10)	–
Faris	60	51	1 ağa, 6 oda	10 (16.7)	1 (2)
Martolos	39	34	4 oda	5 (12.8)	–
<b>Total</b>	<b>147</b>	<b>125</b>		<b>25 (17)</b>	<b>3 (2.4)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız (transferred from Solnok): Zahid ağa 15, Behram Cafer kethüda 10, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 6–7. Topçu (transferred from Solnok): Mustafa ağa 10, others 6–7. Faris: Şaban ağa 10, seroda 8–10, ordinary soldiers 8–9. Martolos: Mustafa ağa 10, seroda 5–6, ordinary soldiers 4–5. 35 Christians.



## VİLAYET-İ BUDUN

**1565–1566, 1568–1569** (ÖNB Mxt 612, p. 39. Mxt 617, pp. 7, 17: pay accounts)

Branch	29.07.1565– 21.01.1566	20.2.1568– 15.06.1569	16.06.– 09.12.1569
Müstahfız, topçu	37	45	46
Faris	45	50	58
Martolos	30	34	32
<b>Total</b>	<b>112</b>	<b>129</b>	<b>136</b>

After 1570 the infantry units were paid with timars, we only know the complete garrison in 1591. The number of cash-paid soldiers did not change until the second half of the 1580s, when the martoloses were withdrawn.

**1591** (BOA Tapu 658, pp. 152–167: icmal. ÖNB Mxt 607, pp. 273–74: pay list. MAD 3762, p. 11: pay account)

Branch	İcmal / Pay list heads
Müstahfız	37
Topçu	9
Faris	pay list 60, present 59, paid 56
<b>Total</b>	<b>105</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Kurd İskender dizdar 5500, Hasan Ahmed kethüda 3600, serbölük 1800, ordinary soldiers 1700. Topçu: Bektaş Bali ser 1900, serbölük 1800, ordinary soldiers 1700. Faris: Salih Divane ağa.

After 1596 Çongrad was transferred to the vilayet of Eğri, the description continues there.

## VİLAYET-İ TEMEŞVAR

After the capture of Irşova in 1522 a few fortresses along the Danube, located on the territory of what was later to become the vilayet of Temeşvar, already came under Ottoman rule. However, the establishment of the first administrative unit of the vilayet, the sancak of Beçe–Beçkerek, was set up at the command of Sokollu Mustafa only after the taking of the two fortresses in September 1551. The organisation of the sancaks of Temeşvar, Çanad, Arad, Lipova and Modava was made possible by the 1552 campaign in the territories east of the Tisza: the sancak of Beçe–Beçkerek became part of the sancak of Çanad, while the sancak of Modava in the lower Danube region was separated from the sancak of Temeşvar between 1554 and 1565.<sup>1</sup> The conquest of G'ula and Yanova in 1566 led to yet another reorganisation of the vilayet. The sancak of Arad merged with that of G'ula,<sup>2</sup> and the sancak of Yanova, initially also called Pankota, was set up as the

1 Káldy-Nagy, *A csanádi szandzsák*, 6–8. Káldy-Nagy, *A budai szandzsák 1559*, 10. Engel, *A temesvári és a moldovai szandzsák*, 7. 5 Numaralı mühimme, Nos. 911, 924, 955, 1462, 1839, 1905.

2 Géza Dávid, 'A magyarországi török archontológiai kutatások lehetőségei (arad-gyulai szandzsákbegek) [The possibilities of research in Turkish archontology in Hungary (the sancak-beyis of Arad and Gyula)]', *Történelmi Szemle* 36:1–2 (1994) 111–127.

sixth sancak. These six livas, Temeşvar, Çanad, Lipova, Modava, G'ula and Yanova, lasted until the end of the century.

During the Fifteen Years' War, in 1595 the army of the Transylvanian Principality recaptured many fortresses on the banks of the Körös and Maros rivers from the Ottomans, thus inflicting serious territorial losses on the province of Temeşvar. Of the sancaks, only Yanova disappeared for decades, but G'ula and Lipova shrank as well. In 1616 the Transylvanian Prince Gábor Bethlen gave the majority of fortresses along the Maros, first of all Lipova, back to the Porte. The old order was restored in 1658 by the Transylvanian campaign of Mehmed Köprülü; what is more, in the wake of his further conquests two more sancaks were created in order to reinforce the defense of the eastern border, those of Şebeş-Lugoş and Irşova. After the 1660s the basic administrative unit was no longer the sancak but the kaza, an account drawn up in 1664 registered twelve of these.<sup>1</sup>

Significantly less source material survives on the fortresses and the garrisons of the vilayet than on those which belonged to Buda (unfortunately there was no document-saving Marsigli present when Temeşvar was recaptured). I know of no pay lists or accounts from before 1591, and even the relative wealth of source materials between 1591 and 1634 is not quite as copious as what we became accustomed to in the case of Buda.

I publish the data on the fortresses divided into the six sancaks they belonged to in the last decades of the 16th century. Ottoman sources on the garrisons never mention Pankota,<sup>2</sup> so it is not described here. Nor do we find the fortresses which fell to the Ottomans between 1658 and 1660 and were incorporated not into the vilayet of Varad, but into that of Temeşvar, because apart from Evliya Çelebi's description there are no extant sources on them. These are: Feketebátor (Ott. Bator), Karánsebes (Şebeş), Lugos (Lugoş), Zsidóvár (Jidovar), Deszni (Desni). Radna appears only in Evliya Çelebi's writings as well, while the much later fortresses of Alibunar and Marzsina (Marjina) only appear at the turn of the 17th–18th centuries; they too are left out of the description of the fortresses.

## LİVA-İ TEMEŞVAR

### Kale-i TEMEŞVAR (Hu. Temesvár)

Ottoman possession 1552–1716

At the end of the 14th century, Temeşvar became the centre for Temesköz, the territory bordered by the lower Danube and the rivers Tisza and Maros. It was the headquarters of the ispán (comes) of Temes County, who also bore the title 'Captain of the Lower Parts of Hungary' with wide military authority. Naturally, the Ottomans made Temeşvar the centre of the second Hungarian vilayet, the territory east of the Tisza, captured in 1552. In the east, the vilayet bordered the Transylvanian Principality, and just as Buda mediated and supervised diplomatic relations with the Habsburg rulers of the Hungarian Kingdom, Temeşvar did the same with Transylvania.

Until the campaign of 1552, Ottoman rule was represented on the eastern bank of the Tisza by three fortresses, Beçe, Beçkerek and Araç, with altogether

<sup>1</sup> Fodor, 'A temesvári vilájet', 195–198.

<sup>2</sup> The decree of the imperial council issued on March 27, 1568 ordered the demolition of several fortresses that were no longer in use, among them Pankota. *7 Numaralı mühimme*, No. 1148.

VİLAYET-İ TEMEŞVAR

about 1,600 soldiers. Temeşvar's conqueror, Ahmed Pasha, transferred 750 of these to guard the fortress, and needed 1,600 more, to which the imperial council agreed (Dávid-Fodor, *Az ország ügye*, 554–556). These are the only data on the initial garrison of Temeşvar and they are not reliable. In the 16th century we only know about its salary timar troops, as no pay lists survive from the vilayet, only a few icmals.

**1554** (BOA Tapu 298, pp. 30, 47–78: icmal)

Branch	With salary timar heads	Units
Müstahfız-i kale-i enderun	151 [+ kethüda]	15 bölük
Müstahfız-i kale-i birun	100 [+ dizdar and kethüda]	10 bölük
Topçu	50 [+ ser and kethüda]	5 bölük
Cebeci	4	1 bölük
Kumbaracı	5	1 bölük
<b>Total (salary timar holders only)</b>	<b>310</b>	

*Officers, incomes* (akçe). Müstahfız-i enderun: İbrahim dizdar 14,000, serbölük 1800, ordinary soldiers 1700; the incomes of corporals and ordinary soldiers are the same in each unit. Müstahfız-i birun: dizdar and kethüda unknown. Topçu: ser and kethüda unknown. Cebeci: Bali Şirmerd 2000, serbölük 1800. Kumbaracı: serbölük 1800.

**1569** (BOA Tapu 552, pp. 53–121: icmal)

Here too we only know about the salary timar holders, who were granted prebends in their own sancaks. It is also possible that the number did not drop so significantly, if some of the soldiers had estates in other sancaks.

Branch	With salary timar heads	Units
Müstahfız-i enderun	91	9 bölük
Müstahfız-i birun	62	6 bölük
Topçu	41	4 bölük
Cebeci	6	–
<b>Total (with salary timar holders in the liva of Temeşvar only)</b>	<b>200</b>	
Hademe-i cami	1	

*Officers, incomes* (akçe). Müstahfız-i enderun: Abdi ağa dizdar 14,920, İskender kethüda 5541, serbölük 1800–1850, ordinary soldiers 1700, 1712). Müstahfız-i birun: Mehmed dizdar 6487, Hasan Turgud kethüda 5410, serbölük 1800 (three serbölüks' were 1814, 1815, 1875), ordinary soldiers 1700. Topçu: Hasan ser 8320, İbrahim kethüda 5041, serbölük 1800, ordinary soldiers in the first squad 1700, in the second one 1768, 2 haddads, 7 Christians. Cebeci: Hüseyin Abdullah ser 2396, ordinary soldiers 1700–1704. Hızır meremmati-i cami-i şerif 1700.

# LİVA-İ TEMEŞVAR

**1579** (BOA Tapu 674, pp. 79–157: icmal)

Once again, only troops with estates in the sancak of Temeşvar are known.

Branch	With salary timar heads	Units
Müstahfız-i enderun	93	9 bölük
Müstahfız-i birun	62	6 bölük
Topçu	41	4 bölük
Cebeci	3	–
Barutçu	24 [+ser]	3 bölük
<b>Total (with salary timar holders in the livā of Temeşvar only)</b>	<b>223</b>	
Hademe-i cami	1	

*Officers, incomes* (akçe). Müstahfız-i enderun: Haydar dizdar, Mehmed Hızır kethüda, incomes unchanged, serbölük 1800 (two 1810, 1820), ordinary soldiers 1700 (one of them 1710). Müstahfız-i birun: Kurd dizdar 6487, Hasan kethüda 5999, serbölük 1800 (one of them 1814), ordinary soldiers 1700. Topçu: Mehmed ser 8120, İbrahim Mahmud kethüda 5041, other incomes unchanged, 5 are Christians. Cebeci: Hüseyin Abdullah ser 2396, others 1700. Barutçu: ser unknown, Mehmed kethüda 3500, first seroda 1800, others and ordinary soldiers 1700. Hızır meremmatı-i cami 1700.

**1591** (ELTE Könyvtára, Kézirattár, Orient 8, pp. 5, 89, 114–122: pay list)

Now, at last, we know about the cash-paid troops. With considerable hesitation, I estimate the complete garrison to have been around 600 men including the salary timar holders, whose number presumably did not change, as well as the yeniçeris from the Porte and supposing that there were no soldiers with estates in other sancaks. A certain Hüseyin ağa appears in the list as the foreman of the kenezes and müsellems, which indicates that besides paid soldiers military peasants also participated in the defence of the fortress.

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Faris	96	94	2 ağa, 10 oda	6 (6.2)	4 (4.3)
Azab	120	120	2 ağa, 5 riyaset, 12 oda	6 (5)	6 (5)
Martolos	41	41	1 ağa, 4 oda	2 (4.9)	2 (4.9)
Müteferrika	4	[4]			
<b>Total (with pay)</b>	<b>261</b>	<b>259</b>		<b>14 (5.4)</b>	<b>12 (4.6)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Faris: Emrullah ağa 32, Halil Behram ağa 20, bayraktar 8, seroda 9–10, ordinary soldiers 8. Azab: Hüseyin ağa 15, Turak kethüda 10, Ahmed ağa 27, Haydar kethüda 12, reis 9–12, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5. Martolos: Halil ağa 10, seroda 5, ordinary soldiers 4. Müteferrika: Bali kethüda mütekaid 20, Hüseyin ağa-i kenez ve müselleman 13, Zülfikar Mustafa yasakçı 10, Ali Çelebi Kadizade mütekaid 16. 38 Christians.

**1597** (BOA MAD 5241, pp. 37–59: list of yeniçeris)

In 1595 the Transylvanian army recaptured a substantial number of fortresses along the Maros and Yanova. In response, the Ottomans reinforced the garrison of Temeşvar with yeniçeris. In the quarter year between August 25 and November 21, 1596 1417 yeniçeris from the Porte were stationed in the fortress.

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**1610s** (BOA MAD 116, pp. 28–30, 86–93, 130–135, 229–233, 281–285, 335–339. MAD 4968, pp. 50–51, 96–97: lists of yeniçeris)

Years 1022–1023, 1026–1027	Yeniçeri heads
21.02.1613–20.05.1613	195
21.05.1613–16.08.1613 (complete change of personnel)	150 / 302
17.08.1613–13.11.1613	294
14.11.1613–10.02.1614	305
11.02.1614–10.05.1614	299
11.05.1614–06.08.1614	299
07.08.1614–03.11.1614	295
04.11.1614–30.01.0615	158
02.10.1617–28.12.1617	129
29.12.1617–27.03.1618	120

**About 1621(?)** (BOA MAD 3729, pp. 20–71: pay list, the date is uncertain. Bab-i defteri, Yeniçeri kalemi 33718, pp. 104–105, 136–137: list of yeniçeris)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units
Müstahfız-i kale-i enderun	67 [+ dizdar, kethüda]	67	8 bölük
Müstahfız-i kale-i birun	10	10	1 bölük
Topçu-i kale-i enderun	20	18	1(!) bölük
Topçu-i kale-i birun	35	32	3 bölük
Pasban	13	13	–
Müteferrika	15	15	–
Barutçu	69	67	5 bölük
Faris	278	276	5 ağa
Azab	202	198	3 ağa, 10 riyaset, 19 oda
Köprücü	11	11	–
Martolos	22	22	1 ağa, 5 oda
<b>Total (local troops)</b>	<b>742</b>	<b>729</b>	
Yeniçeri in 1619–1620	82		
<b>Total</b>	<b>824</b>		
Hademe-i cevami	14		
Mütekaid, duagu	48		

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız-i enderun: dizdar and kethüda unknown, kâtib 20, alemdar 12, çetei 12, first serbölük 15, others 10, ordinary soldiers 7–9. Müstahfız-i birun: Erkulu dizdar 35, Mustafa kethüda 15, alemdar 10, ordinary soldiers 7. Topçu-i enderun: İlyas ağa 35, Mustafa kethüda 15, alemdar 12, serbölük 15, ordinary soldiers 8–11. Topçu-i birun: Ahmed ağa 25, Hüseyin kethüda 25, serbölük 9–11, ordinary soldiers 7–10. Pasban: Derviş Abdullah ağa 20, ordinary soldiers 12. Müteferrika: Receb kapudan 40, Ali kâtib and İsmail kâtib 20, others of unknown rank 12–33. Barutçu: Ali ağa 51, İbrahim kethüda 12, two officers of unknown rank 16, 14, serbölük 14–15, Muslim barutçu 9–12, Christians 7. Faris: Murad ağa 50, Mehmed ağa 49, İbrahim ağa 46, Hüseyin ağa 40, Receb ağa 60, alemdar 8–16, seroda 12–22, ordinary soldiers 8–13. Azab: İbrahim ağa 60, Nasuh kethüda 25, Hüseyin ağa 40, Abdurrahman kethüda 18, Ahmed ağa 25, Receb Divane kethüda 15, alemdar 9–17, reis 11–20, bevvab 20, 10, kâtib 20, seroda 7–15, ordinary soldiers 7. Köprücü: Kasım ağa 20, others 6 (Christians). Martolos: Hurrem ağa 35, Sava Mihal sermiye 10, alemdar, first seroda 8, others 6, ordinary soldiers 4. 46 Christians.

LİVA-İ TEMEŞVAR

**1629–1630** (BOA MAD 15998, pp. 5–6. MAD 7089, pp. 30–31, 50–51, 58–59: pay accounts)

Branch	24.02.– 20.08.1629	21.08.1629– 13.02.1630	14.02.– 09.08.1630
Müstahfız-i enderun	87	82	80
Müstahfız-i birun	18	18	18
Müstahfız-i baruthane	13	13	13
Topçu-i enderun	47	46	47
Topçu-i birun	23	23	23
Pasban	16	17	17
Müteferrika	20	20	17
Barutçu	71	71	71
Faris	289	284	287
Azab	224	214	212
Köprücü	14	14	14
Martolos	63	63	63
Porte yeniçeri	[161]	159	156
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,046</b>	<b>1,024</b>	<b>1,018</b>
<b>Vazife-horan</b>			
Cami-i kebir	11	?	13
Cami-i kale-i enderun	8	7	9
Cami-i mahalle-i Siget	9	9	8
Cami-i mahalle-i Hızır ağa	7	7	7
Mescid-i mahalle-i Mehmed kethüda	5	5	5
Cami-i kale-i Fenlak	2	5	3
Mütekaid, duagu, hademe-i hazine	55	55	58
Çavuş-i divan	5	5	5

**1631–1632** (ÖNB Mxt 618, pp. 1–24: pay list)

The scribe forgot to include the müstafizes of the outer fortress; including them, and counting in the yeniçeris, whose number is yet again unknown but can be estimated at around 150–160, the garrison must have been about 1050 men.

Branch	Pay list heads	Units
Müstahfız-i kale-i enderun	83 (+ kethüda)	9 bölük
Müstahfız-i kale-i birun		?
Müstahfız-i baruthane	13	–
Topçu-i enderun	23	2 bölük
Topçu-i birun	53	5 bölük
Pasban	18	–
Müteferrika	17	–
Barutçu	73	8 bölük
Faris	295	4 ağa, 33 oda
Azab	216	3 ağa, 9 riyaset, 20 oda
Köprücü	14	–
Martolos	63	2 ağa, 10 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>868</b>	
Çavuş-i divan	5	

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız-i enderun: Hüseyin ağa ba timar, kethüda unknown, kâtib 30, alemdar 17, çetei 12, 8, 10, bevvab, anbari 10, serbölük 15, ordinary soldiers 7–10. Müstahfız-i baruthane: Hamza ağa 31, bevvab 17, majority of ordinary soldiers 8. Topçu-i enderun: Zülfikar ağa 30, Halil kethüda 20, alemdar 8, serbölük 15, ordinary soldiers 8. Topçu-i birun: Ahmed ağa ba timar, Hüseyin kethüda 18, officer of unknown rank 27, serbölük 10–16, ordinary soldiers 7–9. Pasban: Ferhad ağa 26, Mustafa kethüda 19, ordinary soldiers 10–16. Müteferrika: Receb ağa 37, Ayyaz(?) kapudan 40, others of unknown rank 12–26. Barutçu: Memi ağa 56, Ahmed kethüda 27, kâtib 16, Ali çavuş 30, alemdar 18, duagu 11, mimar 20, serbölük 12–21, ordinary soldiers 10–16; the 7<sup>th</sup> squad was carpenters, the 8<sup>th</sup> blacksmiths, the payment in these squads was 8. Faris: Ali ağa 50, Sefer ağa 49, Mustafa ağa 46, Mehmed ağa 60, alemdar 12–16, duagu 10, 15, kâtib 10, 15, 10, seroda 12–20, ordinary soldiers 10. Azab: Ömer ağa 50, Mahmud kethüda 20, Ali kapudan 40, Hasan ağa 40, Mehmed kethüda 20, Mehmed ağa 23, Ali kethüda 23, alemdar 14, 12, 13, bevvab 14, kâtib 12, seroda 11–16, ordinary soldiers 7–10. Köprücü: Mehmed ağa 20, others 6. Martolos: Hasan ağa 30, Şehman sermiye 16, Memi ağa 35, Miloş Branik sermiye 16, seroda 4–12, ordinary soldiers 4. Çavuş: 20, 25, 25, 30. 82 Christians.

**1633–1634** (ÖNB Mxt 619, pp. 2–20: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units
Müstahfız-i enderun	95 (+2)	95	10 bölük
Müstahfız-i birun	25	25	3 bölük
Müstahfız-i baruthane	14	14	1 bölük
Topçu-i enderun	23	21	2 bölük
Topçu-i birun	54	54	6 bölük
Barutçu	75	69	8 bölük
Pasban	17	17	–
Müteferrika	14	14	–
Faris	320	286	4 ağa, 35 oda
Azab	249	236	3 ağa, 11 riyaset, 25 oda
Köprücü	14	14	–
Martolos	63	50	2 ağa, 10 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>963</b>	<b>895</b>	
Çavuş	6		

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız-i enderun: dizdar and kethüda unknown, kâtib, alemdar, çetei, bevvab, pay unchanged. Müstahfız-i birun: Yusuf ağa 40, alemdar 10, bevvab 11, serbölük 10, 12, 20, ordinary soldiers 7–10. Müstahfız-i baruthane: no change in officers and their pay, seroda 11, ordinary soldiers 7–10. Topçu-i enderun: no change in officers or pay. Topçu-i birun: ağa unknown, Selim kethüda 30, Hamza Selim halife-i kârhane 15, alemdar 9, other pay unchanged. Barutçu: Ali ağa, Ahmed kethüda, Ali nazır, Yusuf kâtib, Mehmed duagu, pay unchanged; 6. bölük: dökmeçyan, 7. bölük: naccaran, mimar, 8. bölük: had-dadan. Pasban: no change in officers or pay. Müteferrika: Receb ağa 32, Hasan ağa 25, Mehmed ağa 20, Ayyaz(?) kapudan 40, others of unknown rank 15–26. Faris: no change in officers or pay. Azab: İbrahim ağa, Mahmud kethüda, Hasan ağa, Mahmud kethüda, Mehmed ağa, Ali kethüda, pay unchanged. Köprücü, martolos: no change. 65 Christians.

**1666–1671** (BOA MAD 5996: list of yeniçeris)

This list, which was kept for five years, does not mention yeniçeris in Temeşvar

in any quarter year. After the capture of Yanova and Varad the troops from the Porte sent to the eastern part of Ottoman Hungary was stationed in these two fortresses.

**Turn of the 17th and 18th centuries** (Fodor, 'A temesvári vilájet', 206–208. Andreev, 'Török iratok', Nos. 25, 29–35, 37–38, 40, 45, 51, 56–57, 60–61, 63, 67–68, 70–72)

In 1700 4262 local soldiers were registered in the fortress, at the end of 1706 3371, and in spring of 1707 3034. In the letters exchanged between Istanbul and Temeşvar yeniçeris, sipahis, topçus, cebecis and levends from the Porte are mentioned. Their numbers cannot be added up for any year, but the total came to several thousand.

### Kale-i VİRŞİÇ / ŞEMLİK (Hu. Versec)

Ottoman possession 1552–1716

(changed hands several times during the Fifteen Years' War)

Virşiç was a staging and guard post on the main road running from Haram on the lower Danube to Temeşvar. We know about only a fraction of its garrison in the 16th century; their numbers may not have reached one hundred. The 17th century garrison corresponds to the importance of the fortress, which was the result of its location.

The surviving icmals contain only those soldiers who had estates in the sancak of Temeşvar:

**1554** (BOA Tapu 298, p. 79: icmal)

Müstahfız: 10. Seroda 1800, ordinary soldiers 1700

**1569** (BOA Tapu 552, pp. 152–155: icmal)

Müstahfız: 11. Pervane Abdullah dizdar 3485, seroda 1500, others 1400

**1579** (BOA Tapu 674, pp. 158–162: icmal)

Müstahfız: 11. Nasuh Abdullah dizdar, income unchanged

**1591** (ELTE Könyvtára, Kézirattár, Orient 8, p. 3: pay list)

Müstahfız: 1, martolos: 22.

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Mustafa kethüda 8. Martolos: 2 oda, Ali Pervane ağa 15, Hasan Abdullah kethüda 8, seroda 4–5, ordinary soldiers 4. 15 Christians.

**About 1621(?)** (BOA MAD 3729, pp. 100–108: pay list)

Source incomplete; the majority of müstafizes may have been salary timar holders.

Branch	Pay list heads	Units
Müstahfız	2 (+?)	
Topçu	12	1 bölük
Faris	28	3 oda
Faris (Braniks)	49	5 oda
Azab	24	1 ağa, 1 riyaset, 5 oda
Martolos	64	2 ağa, 7 oda
<b>Total (incomplete)</b>	<b>179 (+?)</b>	
Hademe-i cami	2	



## VİLAYET-İ TEMEŞVAR

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Mercan kethüda 12, seroda 7. Topçu: Hüseyin ağa 20, Ali kethüda 14, seroda 8, ordinary soldiers 7. Faris: Mehmed ağa 30, alemdar 11, first seroda 25, others 8, ordinary soldiers 7. Faris (independent cemaat; they were all Christians, their second names were all Branik): G'uro ağa 30, alemdar 10, first seroda 20, others 9, ordinary soldiers 8. Azab: El-hacı ağa 27, Şaban kethüda 16, reis 10, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5. Martolos: Osman ağa 20, Vujič sermiye 10, Hasan ağa 20, G'urag' sermiye 9, alemdar 5, 9, seroda 5, ordinary soldiers 4. Hademe-i cami: İbrahim halife imam, hatib 25, Hasan halife müezzın, kayyum, ...-han 16. 142 Christians.

**1634** (ÖNB Mxt 641, pp. 4–6, 8, 17: pay list)

The müstafizes are still incomplete.

Branch	Pay list heads	Units
Müstahfız (incomplete)	12 (+?)	1 bölük
Topçu	10	1 bölük
Faris	35	1 ağa, 4 oda
Azab	26	1 ağa, 1 riyaset, 4 oda
Martolos	33	1 ağa, 4 oda
<b>Total (incomplete)</b>	<b>116 (+?)</b>	
Hademe-i cami	3	

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: dizdar unknown, Yahya kethüda 16, bevvab 10, serbölük 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Topçu: Hasan ağa 20, Mehmed kethüda 14, serbölük 8, others 7. Faris: Şaban ağa 30, alemdar 12, seroda 10, ordinary soldiers 8. Azab: Mustafa ağa 27, İbrahim kethüda 16, reis, alemdar 10, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5. Martolos: Keyvan ağa 25, Mustafa sermiye 12, alemdar, seroda 5, ordinary soldiers 4. Hademe-i cami: Yusuf halife imam 25, Mustafa müezzın 16, Abubekir müezzın 10. 42 Christians.

**1665** (Evliyâ Çelebi, 7. *Kitap*, 166):

The stone fortress on top of the mountain is ruined and uninhabited. It was defended by 20 soldiers in a small, square-shaped palanka situated on the shore of a lake under it. It does not need any more than this, as it stands in the protected inner part of the country.

## Kale-i FELNAK / FELLAK (Hu. Felnak)

Ottoman possession 1552–1716

(in Hungarian hands 1595–1598)

Among the fortresses on the banks of the river Maros two sancak centres, Çanad, closer to the mouth of the river and Lipova, halfway along, were major military concentrations. The garrison of Felnak, situated between them, was small, in the 16th century it must have been about 30–40 men. In the next century one source speaks of more than 100 soldiers there, the others mention fewer (the source material is incomplete). In combination, the fortresses along the Maros provided sufficient defence.

The surviving icmals contain only the soldiers with timars in the sancak of Temeşvar.

**1554** (BOA Tapu 298, p. 87–89: icmal)

Müstahfız: 25. 3 bölük. Dizdar unknown, Mustafa Aydın kethüda 2000, seroda 1800, ordinary soldiers 1700. Topçu: 4. Ser unknown, others 1700.

**1569** (BOA Tapu 552, p. 131–137: icmal)

Müstahfız: 17. 2 bölük. Ali dizdar 4539, Hasan Bosna kethüda 2004, others' incomes unchanged.

**1579** (BOA Tapu 674, p. 167–172: icmal)

Müstahfız: 1 bölük. Yusuf dizdar 2004, İbrahim Köbbeli(?) kethüda 1700, seroda, others 1700.

In the **1591** pay list the fortress does not appear, which might mean that no cash-paid troops were stationed there.

**About 1621(?)** (BOA MAD 3729, pp. 78–82: pay list)

This source is incomplete.

Branch	Pay list heads	Units
Müstahfız (incomplete)	2 (+?)	
Topçu	2 (+?)	
Faris from Yanova	34	1 ağa, 4 oda
Azab	46	3 ağa, 3 riyaset, 6 oda
Martolos	27	3 ağa, 3 oda
<b>Total (incomplete)</b>	<b>111 (+?)</b>	
Hademe-i cami	1	

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Hurrem ağa 16, Mehmed bevvab 10. Topçu: Hasan ağa 15, İbrahim kethüda 11. Faris: Ali ağa 40, seroda 10–13, majority of ordinary soldiers 8. Azab: Mehmed ağa 25, Zülfiyar Mehmed kethüda 12, Veli ağa 22, Hasan kethüda 20, Hasan ağa 26, Yusuf kethüda 15, reis 10, 15, 12, bevvab 12, seroda 6–9, ordinary soldiers 5. Martolos: Mehmed ağa 15, Şaban sermiye 8, Hasan ağa 16, Stepan sermiye 8, Ali ağa 14, Hüseyin Ali sermiye 8, seroda 5–6, majority of ordinary soldiers 4. İbrahim halife hatib, imam 20. 43 Christians.

**1629–1630** (BOA MAD 15998, pp. 7–9. MAD 15983, pp. 16–18: pay accounts)

All that we learn from the source, which contains only partial numbers, is that with dizdar Osman to lead them the müstafizes, topçus, farises and martoloses were all present.

**1634** (ÖNB Mxt 641, pp. 3, 7: pay list)

Even the list of cash-paid troops seems to be incomplete.

Faris: 23. 2 oda. İsa ağa 25, alemdar 9, seroda 10, 12, ordinary soldiers 8. Martolos: 8. 2 oda. Rizvan ağa 17, Memi sermiye 10, seroda 5, others 4. Mehmed halife müezzın 11. 14 Christians.

**1660** (Evliyâ Çelebi, 5. *Kitap*, 207): dizdar and 50 soldiers.

Kale-i FAÇET (Hu. Facset)  
Ottoman possession 1552–1716  
(in Hungarian hands 1595–1616)

This fortress stood to the east of Temeşvar, on the banks of the Bega stream, on the frontier between the Transylvanian Principality and Ottoman Hungary. It was manned with a garrison of medium strength, the most important unit being the faris.—The surviving icmals contain only those soldiers who had estates in the sancak of Temeşvar.

**1554** (BOA Tapu 298, pp. 83–86: icmal)

Müstahfız: 26. 3 bölük. Dizdar and kethüda unknown, serbölük 1800, ordinary soldiers 1700. Topçu: 4. 1 bölük. Ser, kethüda unknown, serbölük 1800, others 1700.

**1569** (BOA Tapu 552, pp. 138–151: icmal)

Müstahfız: 32. 3 bölük. Hüseyin dizdar 5943, Murad Abdullah kethüda 1831, seroda 1800, 1867, 1831, ordinary soldiers 1700. Topçu: 8. 1 bölük. Ser, kethüda unknown, serbölük 1835, others 1700, 1723.

**1579** (BOA Tapu 674, pp. 173–186)

Müstahfız: 31. 3 bölük. İbrahim dizdar, Keyvan Kasım kethüda, income unchanged. Topçu: 8. 1 bölük. Ser, kethüda unknown, serbölük 1735, ordinary soldiers' income unchanged. Ahmed Mehmed hatib 1700.

**1591** (ELTE Könyvtára, Kézirattár, Orient 8, pp. 108–112: pay list)

The list contains only cash-paid units. The total number of soldiers must have been over 150.

Branch	Pay list heads	Paid heads	Units	Recruits heads (%)
Topçu	1	1		
Faris	91	84	2 ağa, 8 oda	4 (4.8)
Azab	12	11	1 ağa, 1 riyaset, 1 oda	–

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Topçu: Mehmed ağa 8(!). Faris: İbrahim ağa 20, Ali ağa 21, seroda 9–10, majority of ordinary soldiers 8. Azab: Süleyman ağa 12, Beşir kethüda 7, reis 6 (the payments were outstandingly low), seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5.

**1628–1630** (BOA MAD 15998, pp. 6–8. MAD 15983, pp. 15, 19: pay accounts)

The accounts list müstahfizes, topçus, farises and azabs in such a chaotic way that they are impossible to count. It gives the impression that after the recapture of the fortress in 1616 it had no garrison of its own for a long time; its soldiers were registered in other fortresses, but as from Façet.

**1634** (ÖNB Mxt 641, pp. 9–10, 14–15: pay list)

The lists were kept untidily and left incomplete. Two cash-paid units are registered, but whether all the men in them are listed is unclear.

Faris: 34. 5 oda. Süleyman ağa 40, alemdar 17, seroda 12–15, ordinary soldiers 8–10. Azab: 18. 3 oda. Halil ağa 25, Bektaş kethüda 16, reis 12, seroda 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Receb halife imam 14, Musli halife müezzin 12. 8 Christians.

**1660** (Evliyâ Çelebi, 5. *Kitap*, 207): 300 soldiers; seems to be a distinct exaggeration.

**Early 18th century** (Fodor, 'A temesvári vilájet', 208)

The fortress functioned as a menzil, in 1700 and 1706 with 25 soldiers, in 1707 with 21 soldiers.

Kale-i **BOKÇA** / BOĞÇA (Hu. Bokcsa / Bogsán)

Ottoman possession 1552–1716

(in Hungarian hands 1595–1607)

Situated south east of Temeşvar, on the border between Ottoman Hungary and the Transylvanian Principality. In the 16th century its garrison must have been around one hundred men, which seems to have decreased in the 17th century. The sources are incomplete.

The surviving icmals contain only those soldiers who had estates in the sancak of Temeşvar.

**1554** (BOA Tapu 298, pp. 80–82: icmal)

Müstahfız: 20. 2 bölük. Dizdar, kethüda unknown, serbölük 1800, ordinary soldiers 1700. Topçu: 3. 1 bölük. Ser, kethüda unknown, serbölük 1800, others 1700.

**1569** (BOA Tapu 552, pp. 126–131: icmal)

Müstahfız: 21. 1 bölük. Kurd Ali dizdar 5710, Mehmed Sinan kethüda 2440, serbölük 1806, ordinary soldiers 1700. Topçu: 3. 1 bölük. Serbölük 1800, others 1700.

**1579** (BOA Tapu 674, pp. 187–195: icmal)

Müstahfız: 23. 2 bölük. Kurd Ali dizdar, Turak kethüda, income unchanged. 2 are topçu, 1 is hatib. Yusuf hatib-i cami-i şerif 1700.

**1591** (ELTE Könyvtára, Kézirattár, Orient 8, pp. 103–107: pay list)

Faris: 31. 3 oda. Süleyman ağa 25, seroda 9–10, ordinary soldiers 8–9. Martolos: 32. 3 oda. Haydar ağa 10, Rizvan sermiye 8, seroda 5, ordinary soldiers 4. 24 Christians.

**About 1621(?)** (BOA MAD 3729, pp. 88–91: pay list)

Faris: 27. 5 oda. İbrahim ağa 32, alemdar 9, seroda 9–10, ordinary soldiers 8. Azab: 22. 3 oda. Hüseyin ağa 30, Bali kethüda 16, reis 12, seroda 7–9, ordinary soldiers 5–6. Martolos: 16. 3 oda. İbrahim ağa 33, Piyale Abdullah 8, first seroda 7, others 5, ordinary soldiers 4.

**1634** (ÖNB Mxt 641, pp. 26–27: pay list)

There is no trace of the azabs in the source, either they were withdrawn, or they were no longer paid in cash.

Faris: 19. 5 oda. Mustafa ağa 32, alemdar 9, seroda 10–12, ordinary soldiers 8. Martolos: 11. 3 oda. Hızır ağa 33, Mehmed İbrahim sermiye 10, seroda 5–7, ordinary soldiers 4. Abdurrahman imam, hatib 12.

# VİLAYET-İ TEMEŞVAR

## Kale-i ÇAKOVA (Hu. Csákova)

Ottoman possession in 1552

I do not know for how long it remained in use

A small guard post south west of Temeşvar, in the 16th century probably with a token garrison. Its significance increased in the next century, when it became one of the fortresses defending the vilayet centre.

The 16th-century icmals contain only those soldiers who had estates in the sancak of Temeşvar.

**1554** (BOA Tapu 298, pp. 90–91: icmal)

Müstahfız: 13. 1 bölük. Dizdar unknown, İbrahim kethüda 2500, seroda 1800, ordinary soldiers 1700; one is seroda-i topçuyan 1800, one is topçu 1700.

**1569** (BOA tapu 552, pp. 122–125: icmal. Tapu 364, p. 142: mufassal)

Müstahfız: 11. 1 bölük. Hızır dizdar 5797, kethüda unknown, seroda 1870, others 1700; one is topçu, one neccar.

Mufassal defteri: of the 14 inhabitants of the fortress of Çakova 11 are identical with the soldiers in the icmal, the others are Kurd kethüda and two men of unknown profession.

**1579** (BOA Tapu 674, pp. 163–166: icmal)

Müstahfız: 10. Kurd dizdar 2600, ordinary soldiers 1700.

The fortress is not mentioned in the **1591** pay list, which might indicate that cash-paid troops did not serve there.

**About 1621(?)** (BOA MAD 3729, pp. 83–85: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Units
Müstahfız	4 (+?)	
Topçu	?	
Faris	17	1 ağa, 2 oda
Azab	18	1 ağa, 2 riyaset, 4 oda
Martolos	29	2 ağa, 4 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>68 (+?)</b>	

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Mustafa ağa 19, Mustafa kethüda 16, alemdar 7, soldiers of unknown rank 7. Faris: Živko ağa 30, seroda 9; all Christians. Azab: Mehmed ağa 22, Zülfiyar kethüda 15, reis 12, 13, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5. Martolos: Kublat(?) ağa 35, Radivoj sermiye 8, Radul ağa 20, Milašin sermiye 12, seroda 5, ordinary soldiers 4. 54 Christians.

**1634** (ÖNB Mxt 641, pp. 21, 25: pay list)

The pay list is very incomplete, and serves yet to prove that the garrison existed. Müstahfız: 5. Hasan ağa 20, Abdulaziz(?) kethüda 12, alemdar 10, seroda 7, ordinary soldier 6. Martolos: 17. 3 oda. Salih ağa 30, Vasil sermiye 8, first seroda 7, others, alemdar 6, majority of ordinary soldiers 4. 12 Christians.

Palanka-i **PANÇOVA** (Hu. Pancsova)  
Constructed before 1566, Ottoman possession to 1716

The palanka was built where roads and rivers meet. It stood in the Danube estuary of the Temes, and it was the first major post on the road running from Belgrade to Temeşvar. A decree by the imperial council issued on March 27, 1568 ordered the paşa of Temeşvar to demolish four fortresses, Virşiç, Arad, Pankota and Pançova, which had become redundant, and have their soldiers transferred to Lipova (7 Numaralı mühimme, No. 1148). Virşiç and Arad survived, Pançova's history in the 16th century is unknown, but it functioned throughout the 17th century.

**1606** (BOA MAD 5158, pp. 152–154: pay account)

Müstahfız: 37, faris 46, azab (2 ağa) 50, martolos (3 ağa) 80. Total: 213.

**About 1621(?)** (BOA MAD 3729, pp. 105, 108–110, 112: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Units
Müstahfız	31	4 bölük
Faris	49 (present 48)	1 ağa, 7 oda
Azab	31	1 ağa, 1 riyaset, 3 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>111</b>	
Hademe-i cami	1	

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Receb dizdar 20, El-hac Lupkova(?) kethüda 16, serbölük 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Faris: Sefer ağa 55, seroda 13, ordinary soldiers 8–12. Azab: Hüseyin ağa 22, Sefer kethüda 13, reis 11, alemdar 9, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5. Hüseyin halife imam, hatib 18, Bekir halife müezzın, kayyum, siraci 9. 37 Christians.

Later the list of the farises dated October 12, 1649 was bound into the defter. They numbered 48, 7 oda, Mustafa ağa 55, alemdar 15, seroda 13, ordinary soldiers 8–15.

**1634** (ÖNB Mxt 641, pp. 23, 30–32: pay list) The list is probably incomplete.

Müstahfız, topçu: 35. 4 bölük. Receb ağa dizdar, Ali kethüda, seroda, 2 topçu 7, ordinary müstahfız 6. Faris: 43. 8 oda. Sefer ağa 45, seroda 10–15, ordinary soldiers 8. Hademe-i cami: 3. Hüseyin imam 18, Ali müezzın 9, Ahmed halife kayyum, siraci 6.

**1660** (Evliyâ Çelebi, 5. *Kitap*, 201): dizdar and 50 soldiers.

**Early 18th century** (Fodor, 'A temesvári vilájet', 208). In 1700 169 soldiers, in 1706 169, in 1707 151.

Palanka / Parkan-i **KÖFIN** / KÖVIN (Hu. Keve)  
Built around the turn of the 17th century(?),  
its garrison is only documented until 1630

One of the small fortresses guarding the lower Danube. Its garrison is typically river-side; there were no cavalry.

**1606** (BOA MAD 5158, pp. 152–153: pay account)

Müstahfız: 29, topçu: 8, azab: 29, martolos: 40. Total paid: 106.

## VİLAYET-İ TEMEŞVAR

**About 1621(?)** (BOA MAD 3729, pp. 115–117: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Units
Müstahfız	17	2 bölük
Topçu	6	–
Azab	19	1 ağa, 1 riyaset, 3 oda
Martolos	15	1 ağa, 2 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>57</b>	

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Ahmed dizdar 20, Hüseyin kethüda 10, alemdar 7, serbölük 6, ordinary soldiers 5. Topçu: Mustafa ağa 15, others 5. Azab: G'urak ağa 19, reis 8, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5. Martolos: Luka ağa 20, G'uro sermiye 15, alemdar 8, seroda 7, ordinary soldiers 4–6. 50 Christians.

**1629–1630** (BOA MAD 15998, p. 8. MAD 15983, pp. 15, 18–19: pay accounts)

In the accounts only three branches appear now: müstahfız: 14, topçu: 4, martolos: number unknown.

### Palanka-i DENTA (Hu. Denta)

The date of construction unknown; Ottoman possession to 1716

A post on the road leading from Haram to Temeşvar. Whether it existed in the 16th century is uncertain. The sources are very incomplete in the 17th century, an almost complete garrison is only known in 1621.

**About 1621(?)** (BOA MAD 3729, pp. 96–99: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Units
Müstahfız	12 (+?)	3 bölük
Topçu	?	
Faris	30	1 ağa, 4 oda
Azab	18	1 ağa, 2 riyaset, 3 oda
Martolos	26	2 ağa, 2 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>86 (+?)</b>	
Hademe-i mescid	1	

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Kurd ağa 20, Yusuf kethüda 15, first serbölük 9, others 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Faris: Mustafa ağa 30, seroda 12, alemdar 9, ordinary soldiers 9–10. Azab: Ahmed ağa 25, Mehmed Ali kethüda 16, reis 12, first seroda 10, others 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Martolos: Petre ağa 20, Doma sermiye 8, Budak ağa 30, Balaş sermiye 8, alemdar 8, seroda 5, 6, ordinary soldiers 4–5. Salih imam 18. 31 Christians.

**1634** (ÖNB Mxt 641, p. 16: pay list)

The payment of only one unit, that of the cavalry was paid from the treasury of Temeşvar, even they seem to be incomplete.

Faris: 17. 2 oda. Musli ağa 30, seroda, alemdar 9, ordinary soldiers 8. İbrahim halife imam 12.

**1660** (Evliyâ Çelebi, 5. *Kitap*, 201): dizdar and 50 soldiers.

**Early 18th century** (Fodor, 'A temesvári vilájet', 208)

In 1700 37, in 1706 40, in 1707 36 soldiers. Denta's title is menzil.

### Parkan-i İKTAR (Hu. Iktár)

The dates of construction and use are unknown

It stood to the east of the vilayet centre, on the bank of the Bega stream, on the road leading to Temeşvar from the east. I found traces of its garrison in only one source, however, even the dating of this source is uncertain. Its two cash-paid units lead us to suspect that its garrison must have been around 90–100 strong.

**About 1621(?)** (BOA MAD 3729, pp. 91–95: pay list)

Faris: 34. 5 oda. Hüseyin ağa 40, seroda 11–13, ordinary soldiers 8–10. Martolos: 36. 2 ağa, 6 oda. Ahmed ağa 25, Lazar Borbaşin(?) sermiye 9, Pejo ağa 14, Lukač sermiye 11, alemdar 8, seroda 5, ordinary soldiers 4. 43 Christians.

The register included the third unit of martoloses, consisting of 20 men, with the note that they had been transferred to Lipova.

### Palanka-i ÇONBOL (Hu. Zsombolya)

The date of construction is unknown

Located on the edge of the wide stretch of lakes and marshes west of Temeşvar, it one of the small fortresses with which the defence of the vilayet centre was reinforced either during or after the Fifteen Years' War. The size of its garrison is impossible to determine.

**1628–1630** (BOA MAD 15998, p. 7. MAD 15983, pp. 15, 18: pay accounts)

Martolos: their number is unknown, money was transferred to cover their expenses.

**1634** (ÖNB Mxt 641, p. 24: pay list)

Martolos: 23. 3 oda. Hasan ağa 20, Ahmed sermiye 9, alemdar 6, seroda 5, ordinary soldiers 4. 20 Christians.

**1652–1653** (Film archive of the Turkish Department of ELTE, the sicill of the kadı of Temeşvar No. 214) The source mentions the palanka and its inhabitants in a court case.

### Palanka-i RUDNA (Hu. Rudna)

The date of construction is unknown

An old customs post. It was one of the small fortresses defending the vilayet centre. Located on the bank of the river Temes, on the edge of the marshes, south west of Temeşvar. The size of its garrison is impossible to determine.

**1618–1630** (BOA MAD 15998, p. 7. MAD 15983, pp. 15, 18: pay accounts)

Martolos in 1628–1629: 29, in 1629–1630: 32. 2 ağa. Hüseyin dizdar 16. It is possible that its garrison consisted only of this single unit.



## VİLAYET-İ TEMEŞVAR

**1634** (ÖNB Mxt 641, pp. 11–12: pay list)

Mehmed dizdar 16 akçe. Martolos: 14. 3 oda. Yusuf ağa 20, Nikola sermiye 8, seroda 5, ordinary soldiers 4. 12 Christians.

### Palanka-i **ŞARAD** (Hu. Sárád) The date of construction is unknown

Built either during or after the Fifteen Years' War, it was one of the small palankas defending the vilayet centre on the road leading from Temeşvar to Lipova. Maybe initially it was only manned by martoloses.

**1629–1630** (BOA MAD 15983, p. 16: pay account) Martolos: 14.

**1634** (ÖNB Mxt 641, p. 19: pay list)

Martolos: 14. 2 oda. Ahmed ağa 20, Ilije sermiye 10, seroda 5, ordinary soldiers 4.

**1650** (BOA MAD 3729, p. 73: pay list)

A page dated December 1, 1650 was bound into the pay list drafted around 1621(?). It reveals that besides the existing garrison of 14, on the recommendation of the paşa of Temeşvar, cavalymen were also quartered in the fortress, as the palanka was located in a dangerous spot. Faris: 30. 3 oda. Ahmed ağa 40, alemdar 12, first seroda 15, others 10, ordinary soldiers 8.

## LİVA-İ ÇANAD

### Kale-i **ÇANAD** (Hu. Csanád) Ottoman possession 1552–1716 (in Hungarian hands 1595–1598)

The fortress stood to the east of Segedin, on the southern bank of the river Maros, in a protected area, thus even as a sancak centre it did not require a huge garrison. Up to 1591 neither pay lists nor payment accounts or icmals survive: we know nothing about the soldiers. In the first decades of the 17th century the garrison was continuously reinforced.

**1591** (ELTE Könyvtára, Kézirattár, Orient 8, pp. 10–12: pay list)

The source only includes cash-paid troops, with low salaries.

Faris: 43. 1 ağa, 5 oda. Hasan ağa 18, seroda 9, ordinary soldiers 8. Martolos: 31. 1 ağa, 3 oda. Selim ağa 12, Hasan Ramazan kethüda 6, sermiye 7, seroda 6, 5, ordinary soldiers 4. 25 Christians.

**Around 1621(?)** (BOA MAD 3729, pp. 118–122: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Units
Müstahfiz	20	3 bölük
Topçu	10	1 bölük
Faris-i cedit	38	1 ağa, 4 oda
Azab	19	1 ağa, 2 riyaset, 2 oda
Martolos	15	1 ağa, 2 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>102</b>	
Hademe-i cami	4	

## LİVA-İ ÇANAD

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Uruc dizdar 20, Ahmed kethüda 10, serbölük 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Topçu: Ali ağa 14, Ali kethüda 10, seroda 7, ordinary soldiers 6 (these two squads received very low wages). Farisan-i cedit: Hasan ağa 52, after him El-hac İbrahim ağa 60, alemdar 11, first seroda 16, others 9, ordinary soldiers 8. (The 'new' cavalrymen had originally been divided into eight troops. Now, with fewer men in service, they were divided into four, and the troop-leaders who were no longer needed became ordinary soldiers.) Azab: Mustafa ağa 22, Halil Mehmed kethüda 15, reis 12, 10, alemdar 9, seroda 10, ordinary soldiers 5. Martolos: Hüseyin ağa 20, Rizvan sermiye 10, seroda 5, ordinary soldiers 4. Hademe-i cami: Mahmud halife imam, hatib 20, Mustafa halife müezzın 16, İbrahim müezzın 11, Hasan kayyum 5. 42 Christians.

**1628–1630** (BOA MAD 15998, p. 17. MAD 15983, p. 17: pay accounts)

Branch	31.08.1628– 20.08.1629	21.08.1629– 09.08.1630
Müstahfız	26	31
Topçu	11	10
Faris	46	45
Azab	23	31
Martolos	18	20
<b>Total</b>	<b>124</b>	<b>137</b>
Hademe-i cami	?	10

**1634** (ÖNB Mxt 616, pp. 7–9: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Units
Müstahfız	31 (+ dizdar)	3 bölük
Topçu	11 (+ ser)	1 bölük
Faris	69	1 ağa, 11 oda
Azab	31	1 ağa, 2 riyaset, 4 oda
Martolos	19	1 ağa, 5 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>161</b>	

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: dizdar ba timar(?), İdris kethüda 12, kâtib 6, alemdar 12, serbölük 7, majority of ordinary soldiers 6. Topçu: ağa ba timar(?), Mustafa kethüda 11, serbölük 7, ordinary soldiers 5–6. Faris: Kurd ağa 40, alemdar 11, first seroda 16, others 10–13, seroda-i cedit 7, majority of ordinary soldiers 8. Azab: Mustafa ağa 30, Mehmed kethüda 15, alemdar 10, reis 13, bevvab 6, seroda 7–10, ordinary soldiers 5, azeban-i cedit 4. Martolos: Hüseyin ağa 20, Ahmed, after him Yusuf kethüda 12, alemdar 7, first seroda 9, others 5, ordinary soldiers 4, martolosan-i cedit 3. 29 Christians.

**1665** (Evliyâ Çelebi, 7. *Kitap*, 143): officers and 300 soldiers, which seems to be an exaggeration.

**Early 18th century** (Fodor, 'A temesvári vilájet', 208)

In 1700: 40, in 1706: 40, in 1707: 34 soldiers. The peace treaty of Karlowitz (1699) prescribed the demolition of the fortress; afterwards its reduced garrison lived in the town.

# VILAYET-İ TEMEŞVAR

## Kale-i BEÇKEREK (Hu. Becskerek)

Ottoman possession 1551–1716

(changed hands many times during the Fifteen Years' war and the War of Liberation)

The Ottomans began the conquest of the territories east of the river Tisza in 1551. Their first acquisitions were Beçkerek, Beçe and Araç, which opened a gateway for the great campaign of the following year, then for the ongoing occupation of the territories lying east of the Tisza, which lasted for decades. When Ottoman Hungary had established a lasting regime here, Beçkerek was given the task of overseeing the security of the south-eastern bank of the Tisza, and the structure of its garrison was suited to this. Its first garrison was large; in 1552 two companies of farises were transferred from here to Temeşvar, and one to Lipova, where the azabs and martoloses were also sent.

**1552** (BOA MAD 77, pp. 1–16: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units
Müstahfız	132	110	13 bölük
Topçu	16	11	2 bölük
Haddad, neccar	5	5	–
Ulufeciyan-i süvari	201	?	1 ağa, 20 oda
Faris	101	?	1 ağa, 10 oda
Azab	134	91	1 ağa, 4 riyaset, 13 oda
Martolos	101	99	1 ağa, 10 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>690</b>	<b>?</b>	

*Officers, pay* (akçe), the muster signs of transferred troops and their payments were not registered on the list by the scribe. Müstahfız: Yakub ağa 30, Sinan kethüda, pay unknown, serbölük 6, ordinary soldiers 5. Topçu: Hızır Bosna ağa 12, kethüda absent 8, serbölük 6, ordinary soldiers 5. Haddad, neccar: Christians, 5. Ulufeciyan-i süvari: Hızır ağa ba ziamet, pay unknown. Faris: Hasan, after him Mehmed ağa ba ziamet, pay unknown. Azab: Ali ağa ba ziamet, Şah Veli kethüda, pay unknown. Martolos: Mustafa ağa, Petre Vukče yüzbaşı, pay unknown. The wages were unusually low.

**In 1552** yeniçeris from the Porte also served in the fortress, but their numbers are unknown (Dávid–Fodor, *Az ország ügye*, No. 12).

**Around 1621(?)** (BOA MAD 3729, pp. 74–75: pay list)

The reduced garrison was almost certainly supported by military peasants, their two commanders, the ağas of braniks served for pay.

Branch	Pay list heads (all present)	Units
Müstahfız-i parkan	19	4 bölük
Topçu-i kale-i enderun	6	1 bölük
Topçu-i kale-i birun	5	1 bölük
Faris, azab der muhafaza-i cisir	11	1 ağa, 1 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>41</b>	

## LİVA-İ ÇANAD

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Hasan ağa 15, Daud kethüda 10, alemdar, pasban 7, serbölük 7, ordinary soldiers 6, Sefer ağa of braniks 20. Topçu-i enderun: Hüseyin ağa 11, sebölük 7, others 6. Topçu-i birun: Hasan ağa 21, others 6. Faris, azab-i cistr: Osman ağa 15, İbrahim kethüda 10, reis 10, alemdar, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5, Nikola ağa of braniks 10.

**Early 18th century** (Fodor, 'A temesvári vilájet', 208)

In 1700 and 1706: 40, in 1707: 34 soldiers.

## Kale-i BEÇEY (Hu. Becse) Ottoman possession 1551–1716

The situation and fate of the fortress, as well as the sources available on it, correspond to those of Beçkerek. In 1552 its farises were transferred to Temeşvar. The peace treaty of Karlowitz ordered the demolition of the fortress; after that it had no garrison.

**1552** (BOA MAD 77, pp. 17–28: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units
Müstahfız	104	?	10 bölük
Topçu	28	17	2 bölük
Faris	201	195	1 ağa, 20 oda
Azab	165	77(?)	1 ağa, 4 riyaset, 16 oda
Martolos	100	100	1 ağa, 10 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>598</b>	<b>?</b>	
Hademe-i cami	2		

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Murad dizdar 30, Yusuf hacı kethüda 15, bevvab, anbari 8, serbölük 6, ordinary soldiers 5. Topçu: Mustafa Hızır ser 16, Hüseyin(?) kethüda 10, serbölük 6, ordinary soldiers 5. Faris: Ramazan ağa 30, seroda 9, majority of ordinary soldiers 8. Azab: Mustafa ağa 20, Yusuf kethüda 12, reis 8–10, seroda 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Martolos: Sinan ağa 15, Cvetko sermiye 8, seroda 5, ordinary soldiers 4. Hademe-i cami: Kılıç Hızır hatib 7, Ramazan Veli müezzın 6. 127 Christians.

**In 1552** Porte yeniçeris also served in the fortress, but in unknown numbers (Dávid–Fodor, *Az ország ügye*, No. 12, 323).

**About 1621(?)** (BOA MAD 3729, pp. 122–124: pay list)

The commander of the military peasants in this case was probably the single martolos-ağa.

Branch	Pay list heads (all present)	Units
Müstahfız	18	2 bölük
Topçu	5	–
Azab	26	1 ağa, 2 riyaset, 3 oda
Martolos	1	–
<b>Total</b>	<b>50</b>	
Hademe-i cami	2	

## VİLAYET-İ TEMEŞVAR

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Behram dizdar 10, Hasan kethüda 10, serbölük 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Topçu: Ahmed ser 10, others 6. Azab: Ali Osman kapudan 20, Mustafa Sefer ağa 20, Derviş kethüda 15, reis 10, seroda 6–7, majority of ordinary soldiers 5. Martolos: Piri ağa 16. Hasan halife imam, hatib 13, Hasan müezzın 8. 13 are Christians. Wages are very low.

**1629–1630** (BOA MAD 15998, p. 9. MAD 15983, p. 17: pay accounts)

Müstahfız: 19, topçu: number unknown, azab: 27, martolos: 1. Total: 47 + topçus. Hademe-i cami: 4.

**1634** (ÖNB Mxt 616, pp. 9–10: pay list)

The list is incomplete: in the case of three units it includes only the officers.

Müstahfız: 1, topçu: 1, azab: 27, martolos: 1.

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Abdi kethüda 15. Topçu: Ali ağa 17. Azab: Hüseyin kapudan 20, Bekir ağa 25, Mahmud kethüda 15, reis 10, seroda 5–9, ordinary soldiers 5. Martolos: Hasan ağa 16. 9 Christians.

**1665** (Evliyâ Çelebi, 7. *Kitap*, 144): 40 soldiers.

### Kale-i ARAÇ (Hu. Aracs)

Manned only in 1551

Located very near Beçe, after the establishment of the vilayet of Temeşvar it was no longer needed.

**1551** (BOA MAD 77, pp. 31–34: pay list)

Branch	Pay list, heads	Present heads	Units
Müstahfız	66	?	10 bölük
Topçu	16	14	1 bölük
Faris	37	31	1 ağa, 6 oda
Azab	98	59	1 ağa, 1 riyaset, 10 oda
Martolos	101	101	10 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>318</b>	<b>?</b>	

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: İskender dizdar 15, Musli kethüda 10, serbölük 6, ordinary soldiers 5. Topçu: Osman Ömer ser 10, serbölük 6, ordinary soldiers 5. Faris: Hızır ağa 20, seroda 9, ordinary soldiers 8. Azab: Murad ağa 15, İlyas Ferhad kethüda 10, reis 8, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5. Martolos: ağa 12.

### Palanka-i BEŞENOVA (Hu. Besenyő)

We do not know when it was built or for how long it stood,  
but it was still in use in 1665

The palanka was built south-west of Çanad, on the bank of one of the tributaries of the Maros; the reasons for its construction are unclear. Its garrison was insignificant.

## LİVA-İ ÇANAD

**About 1621(?)** (BOA MAD 3729, pp. 124–126: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Units
Müstahfız	15	1 bölük
Topçu	5	–
Faris	21	1 ağa, 2 oda
Martolos	21	1 ağa, 2 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>62</b>	

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Hüseyin dizdar 15, Hasan kethüda 10, alemdar, bevvab, serbölük 6, ordinary soldiers 5. Topçu: Mehmed ser 6, others 5. Faris: Aydın ağa 25, [alemdar], seroda 9, ordinary soldiers 8. Martolos: Vuk ağa 12, Avram sermiye 10, seroda 5. 21 Christians. Payments were lower here than in other fortresses in this century, too.

**1628–1630** (BOA MAD 15998, p. 171. MAD 15983, p. 17: pay accounts)

1628–1629. Müstahfız, topçu: 18, martolos: 18. Total: 36.

1629–1630. Müstahfız, topçu: 14, martolos: 17. Total: 31.  
Farises were removed.

**1634** (ÖNB Mxt 616, p. 10. Mxt 641, p. 11: pay lists)

Branch	Pay list heads	Units
Müstahfız	14	1 bölük
Topçu	4	–
Martolos	18	1 ağa, 2 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>36</b>	

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Yusuf dizdar 20, Hasan kethüda 10, alemdar 10, bevvab 6, serbölük 7, ordinary soldiers 5. Topçu: Memi ağa 11, others 5. Martolos: Ali ağa 20, Mladin sermiye 10, alemdar 6, seroda 5, ordinary soldiers 4. 27 Christians.

**1665** (Evliyâ Çelebi, 7. *kitap*, 144): dizdar and 80 soldiers.

## LİVA-İ G'ULA

### Kale-i G'ULA (Hu. Gyula) Ottoman possession 1566–1695

The fortresses of this sancak defended the middle reaches of the river Maros as well as the Fehér-Körös, one of the three Körös rivers, which constituted the border. In 1595 the forces of the Transylvanian Principality recaptured those fortresses which stood along the Maros, and some of them fell into disuse. On the sancak we have no source whatever from the 16th century, but its fortresses can be studied from 1591 to 1630. The second largest garrison of the vilayet was stationed in G'ula, the centre, and defended the Transylvanian border and the Fehér-Körös north west of Yanova.

**1591** (ELTE Könyvtára, Kézirattár, Orient 8, pp. 5, 90–103: pay list)

The number of salary timar-holding artillerymen is unknown, because only two of their officers were paid in cash. Nor is it clear whether the ağa responsible for the bridges had any subordinates. Calculating 20–30 soldiers to fill these la-cunae, we can estimate the garrison to have been around 620 to 630 men. In 1568 an unknown number of yeniçeris from the Porte were also stationed in the fortress (7 Numaralı mühimme, No. 1053), presumably we should consider them here too.

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts(%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız-i enderun	106	103	13 bölük	3 (2.8)	–
Müstahfız-i birun	38	38	4 bölük	–	–
Topçu with pay	2	2	–	–	–
Ağa-i cısrha-i G'ula	1	1	–	–	–
Faris	281	278	4 ağa, 28 oda	7 (2.5)	4 (1.4)
Azab	100	99	2 ağa, 2 riyaset, 10 oda	3 (3)	2 (2)
Martolos	79	74	2 ağa, 8 oda	5 (6.3)	2 (2.7)
<b>Total (incomplete)</b>	<b>607</b>	<b>595</b>		<b>18 (3)</b>	<b>8 (1.3)</b>
Hademe-i cami	1				

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız-i enderun: Abdi dizdar 16, Osman kethüda 15, serbölük 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Müstahfız-i birun: Ömer ağa 13, Hurrem kethüda pay unknown, serbölük 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Topçu: Veli ser 12, Gazi kethüda 10. Mehmed Divane ağa-i cısrha-i G'ula 21. Faris: Mehmed ağa 30, Veli ağa 30, Ramazan ağa 30, Mustafa ağa 25, seroda 9–15, ordinary soldiers 8. Azab: İbrahim ağa 20, Bekir kethüda 14, Mustafa ağa 24, İbrahim kethüda 15, reis 13, 15, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5. Martolos: Hüseyin ağa 24, Mehmed ağa 17, two first seroda 8, 12, others 5, ordinary soldiers 4. Muhyeddin vaiz 16. 63 Christians.

**About 1621(?)** (BOA MAD 3729, pp. 154–187: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Branch/ total	Units
Müstahfız-i enderun	32	104	1 ağa, 11 bölük
Müstahfız-i birun	18		1 ağa, 4 bölük
Müstahfız from Erdöheg'	16		1 ağa, 3 bölük
Müstahfız from Bekeş	17		1 ağa, 4 bölük
Müstahfız from Sarvaş	12		1 ağa, 1 bölük
Müstahfız from Arad	9		1 ağa, 2 bölük
Topçu-i enderun	12	32	1 ağa, 2 bölük
Topçu from Erdöheg'	13		1 ağa, 1 bölük
Topçu from Bekeş	3		1 ağa
Topçu from Arad	4		1 ağa, 1 bölük
Müteferrika	19	19	–
Mehter	5	5	–
Faris	222	466	4 ağa, 27 oda
Faris from Erdöheg'	83		2 ağa, 12 oda
Faris from Bekeş	75		2 ağa, 13 oda
Faris from Sarvaş	86		2 ağa, 15 oda
Azab	49		2 ağa, 6 riyaset, 9 oda

Azab from Erdöheg'	33	125	2 ağa, 4 riyaset, 5 oda
Azab from Bekeş	24		1 ağa, 3 oda
Azab from Sarvaş	19		1 ağa, 2 riyaset, 3 oda
Martolos	29	46	2 ağa, 8 oda
Martolos from Erdöheg'	3		1 ağa
Martolos from Bekeş	7		1 ağa, 3 oda
Martolos from Sarvaş	7		1 ağa, 2 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>797</b>	<b>797</b>	

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız-i enderun: Ali ağa 22, Hasan kethüda 17, kâtib 18, anbari 13, alemdar 7, bevvab 12, serbölük 7–12, ordinary soldiers 6. Müstahfız-i birun: Mehmed ağa 26, Mustafa kethüda 20, bevvab 8, serbölük 7–9, ordinary soldiers 6. Müstahfız from Erdöheg': Rizvan ağa 41, Mustafa kethüda 18, serbölük 7, 13, ordinary soldiers 6. Müstahfız from Bekeş: Musa ağa 25, Pervane kethüda 12, serbölük 7–8, ordinary soldiers 6. Müstahfız from Sarvaş: Piri ağa 28, Salih kethüda 19, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 7. Müstahfız from Arad: Ali ağa 20, Mehmed Hasan kethüda 15, alemdar 8, serbölük 7, ordinary soldiers 6–7. Topçu-i enderun: Receb ağa 27, Bali kethüda 9(!), serbölük 11, ordinary soldiers 9. Topçu from Erdöheg': Mehdi ağa 30, Salih kethüda 15, serbölük 10, ordinary soldiers 9. Topçu from Bekeş: Zülfikar ağa 12, Receb kethüda 12, serbölük 9. Topçu from Arad: Yusuf ağa 22, Askeri(?) kethüda 8, serbölük 6, ordinary soldier 5. Müteferrika: Hüseyin ağa kapudan 50, Yahya ağa-i limancıyan 25, Hüseyin ağa-i cısrha 15, Ali kethüda-i çete 15, Şehsüvar kâtib 10, Ramazan ağa-i farisan 20, Mustafa çavuş 14, Hasan bevvab 10, Mehmed sertopi 27, Ali Şaban kethüda-i pasbanan 20, 3 men of unknown rank 20, 12, 10, Yusuf halife temcidi 10, Osman pasban 20, Ahmed mütekaid 25, Abdullah halife dua-gu 15, Sefer cerrah 20. Mehter: Ali ser 7, köprücü 6, 3 mehter 6. Faris: Hasan ağa 55, Salih ağa 54, Eyüp ağa 50, Ali ağa 33, alemdar 12, seroda 8–16, ordinary soldiers 8–13. Faris from Erdöheg': Mustafa ağa 40, Hızır ağa 35, seroda 9–18, majority of ordinary soldiers 8. Faris from Bekeş: Mustafa ağa 42, Hüseyin ağa 36, alemdar 10, seroda 10–16, ordinary soldiers 8–10. Faris from Sarvaş: Hüseyin ağa 32, Osman ağa 38, seroda 9–16, majority of ordinary soldiers 8. Azab: Mehmed kapudan 80, Ali ağa 55, Hurrem kethüda 16, Şaban ağa 35, Ali kethüda 27, reis 16–20, alemdar 16, kâtib 20, bevvab 10, seroda 5–10, ordinary soldiers 5. Azab from Erdöheg': Cafer ağa 40, Ahmed kethüda 12, İsa Musa ağa 25, Hasan kethüda 15, reis 12–17, alemdar 11, pasban 15, kâtib 10, first seroda 13, others 8, ordinary soldiers 4–6, four men of unknown rank 7–15. Azab from Bekeş: Şehman ağa 40, Seydi Yusuf kethüda 10, reis 14, 13, alemdar 10, bevvab 13, two pasban 20, 10, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5–6. Azab from Sarvaş: İbrahim ağa 35, Hurrem kethüda 12, reis 12, alemdar 10, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5. Martolos: Vuka ağa 27, Petre sermiye 16, Piri ağa 31, Ivan sermiye 12, bevvab 13, alemdar 8, ordinary soldiers 4–5. Martolos from Erdöheg': El-hacı İsmail ağa 17, Pavle sermiye 10, seroda 6. Martolos from Bekeş: Yusuf Behram ağa 35, Lazar sermiye 10, seroda 5, others 4. Martolos from Sarvaş: Mehmed ağa 20, Subota sermiye 9, seroda 5, others 4. 52 Christians.



VİLAYET-İ TEMEŞVAR

1628–1630 (BOA MAD 15998, pp. 10–12: pay account)

Branch	31.08.1628– 23.02.1629	09.08.1629– 14.02.1630
Primarily in G'ula		
Müstahfız-i enderun	41	41
Müstahfız-i birun	19	19
Müteferrika	6	6
Topçu	13	13
Faris	232	232
Azab	84	85
Martolos	41	41
<b>Total</b>	<b>436</b>	<b>437</b>
From Erdöheg'		
Müstahfız	20	20
Topçu	13	13
Faris	87	87
Azab	27	27
Martolos	2	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>149</b>	<b>149</b>
From Bekeş		
Müstahfız	20	20
Topçu	3	3
Faris	77	77
Martolos	8	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>108</b>	<b>103</b>
From Sarvaş		
Müstahfız	11	13
Faris	90	90
Azab	21	21
Martolos	8	8
<b>Total</b>	<b>130</b>	<b>132</b>
From Arad		
Müstahfız	11	13
Topçu	5	5
Faris	32	32
Azab	19	19
<b>Total</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>69</b>
<b>Total in G'ula</b>	<b>890</b>	<b>890</b>
Hademe-i cevami		
In G'ula	10	10
From Arad	3	3

Parkan-i **ARAD** (Hu. Arad)  
Constructed in 1554–1555, it was garrisoned until 1595,  
and between 1658 and 1685

The fortress was built to the west of Lipova, on the bank of the Maros, and it became part of the river's defenses. Initially it might have been manned by a larger

garrison. Following the campaign of 1566, in 1568 the imperial council ordered the demolition of the now useless palanka (7 *Numaralı mühimme*, No. 1148), but finally it was allowed to remain with a token garrison. In the Fifteen Years' war the Transylvanian army recaptured it, however, in 1615 Prince Gábor Bethlen gave it back to the Porte together with Lipova. In 1621 its remaining soldiers served in G'ula, around 1658 it was rebuilt by Grand Vizier Mehmed Köprülü, no data survive on its garrison at that time.

**1591** (ELTE Könyvtára, Kézirattár, Orient 8, p. 50: pay list)

Müstahfiz: 22, present 22. 2 bölük. Fethullah ağa 10, Hasan kethüda 10, serbölük 7, majority of ordinary soldiers 6. Topçu: 12, present 12. 1 bölük. Şaban Hızır ser 12, Kurd kethüda 8, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5. Total: 34.

**1660** (Evliyâ Çelebi, 5. *Kitap*, 207): dizdar, 50 soldiers.

### Parkan / Palanka-i **ERDÖHEG'** (Hu. Erdőhegy)

Constructed around 1571, it was garrisoned until 1595

The fortress was built between G'ula and Yanova on the banks of the Fehér-Körös for the protection of the river and the border with Transylvania. It was given a medium to large garrison, in which the main strength was represented by the cavalry. It was not revived in the 17th century' its remaining soldiers served in G'ula in 1621.

**1591** (ELTE Könyvtára, Kézirattár, Orient 8, pp. 5, 8, 70–80: pay list). The list is not complete: only two officers of the salary timar-holding artillerymen were paid in cash.

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruit heads (%)
Müstahfiz	41	41	4 bölük	1 (2.4)	1 (2.4)
Topçu	2 (+?)	2 (+?)	–	–	–
Faris	128	127	2 ağa, 13 oda	3 (2.3)	2 (1.6)
Azab	66	64	2 ağa, 2 riyaset, 6 oda	4 (6.1)	2 (3.1)
Martolos	31	31	1 ağa, 3 oda	3 (9.7)	3 (9.7)
<b>Total</b>	<b>268 (+?)</b>	<b>265 (+?)</b>		<b>11 (4.1)</b>	<b>8 (3)</b>
Hademe-i cami	3	3			

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfiz: Cafer ağa 20, Ali kethüda 10, serbölük 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Topçu: Behram ser 12, Ali Divane kethüda 12. Faris: Mehmed ağa 25, Yusuf ağa 28, majority of serodas 9, ordinary soldiers 8. Azab: Receb ağa 30, Kurd kethüda 12, Timur ağa 20, Mustafa kethüda 15, reis 14, alemdar 9, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5. Martolos: Rizvan ağa 16, Veli yüzbaşı 10, seroda 5, ordinary soldiers 4. Hademe-i cami: Muhyeddin halife imam, hatib 9, Murteza müezzın 8, İbrahim halife müezzın 8. 21 Christians.

### Parkan-i **BEKEŞ** (Hu. Békés)

Constructed before 1576, it was manned until 1595

Built for the protection of the Fehér-Körös north of G'ula, it was the same size as Erdőheg', performed the same duties and had a similar history. Its remaining cavalrymen were the subject of a dispute between the pašas of Buda and Temeş-

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var: the former wanted to transfer them to Kalaça, but in the end they remained in G'ula (BOA MAD 3729, pp. 189–190).

**1591** (ELTE Könyvtára, Kézirattár, Orient 8, pp. 60–69: pay list)

The list is not complete: only two officers of the salary timar-holding artillerymen were paid in cash.

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruit heads (%)
Müstahfız	41	41	4 bölük	2 (4.9)	2 (4.9)
Topçu	2 (+?)	2 (+?)	–	–	–
Faris	130	127	2 ağa, 13 oda	6 (4.6)	3 (2.4)
Azab	43	43	1 ağa, 1 riyaset, 4 oda	1 (2.3)	1 (2.3)
Martolos	32	32	1 ağa, 3 oda	–	–
<b>Total</b>	<b>248 (+?)</b>	<b>245 (+?)</b>		<b>9 (3.6)</b>	<b>6 (2.4)</b>
Hademe-i mescid	1	1			

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: İbrahim ağa 15, Hüseyin Bayezid kethüda 11, serbölük 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Topçu: Hasan ser 11, Piri Ali kethüda 10. Faris: Zülfikar ağa 30, Hasan ağa 16, seroda 9, ordinary soldiers 8. Azab: Mehmed ağa 25, Hamza kethüda 10, reis 9, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5. Martolos: Malkoç ağa 10, Yusuf sermiye 8, seroda 5, ordinary soldiers 4. Hurrem müezzın 6. 23 Christians.

Parkan-i **SARVAŞ** (Hu. Szarvas)  
Constructed in 1584, it was manned until 1595,  
and from about 1670 to 1685.

The northernmost fortress in the vilayet, on the bank of the Hármas-Körös close to the mouth of the Tisza. it was the same size as the two previously described fortresses, performed the same duties and had a similar history. Its remaining soldiers served in G'ula in 1621.

**1591** (ELTE Könyvtára, Kézirattár, Orient 8, pp. 60–69: pay list)

The list is very incomplete, containing only the müstafizes and artillery officers.

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruit heads (%)
Müstahfız	2 (+?)	2 (+?)	–	–	–
Topçu	3 (+?)	3 (+?)	–	–	–
Faris	144	140	2 ağa, 15 oda	11 (7.6)	7 (5)
Azab	38	37	1 ağa, 1 riyaset, 4 oda	1 (2.6)	–
Martolos	23	23	1 ağa, 2 oda	–	–
<b>Total</b>	<b>210 (+?)</b>	<b>205 (+?)</b>		<b>12 (5.7)</b>	<b>7 (3.4)</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Bali dizdar 16, Bekir Süleyman kethüda 14. Topçu: Mehmed Timur ser 12, Mehmed Murad kethüda 8, serbölük 8. Faris: Bayezid Timurhan ağa 30, Hasan ağa 30, seroda 9–10, ordinary soldiers 8. Azab: Hasan ağa 18, İbrahim kethüda 12, reis 10, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5. Martolos: Cafer ağa 22, Hacı Sefer sermiye 9, Osman Ali sermiye 9, seroda 5, ordinary soldiers 4. 20 Christians.

## LİVA-İ G'ULA

[Parkan-i] **HODOŞ** (Hu. Hodos)  
The date of construction is unknown;  
the fortress only appears in one source

The location of this fortress is open to doubt. Of the settlements called Hodos or Hódos located in this area the most likely seems to be the Hodos located on the northern bank of the Maros in the area immediately to the west of Arad, where in medieval times a Catholic, then from the end of the 15th century a fortified Serbian Orthodox monastery stood. This might temporarily have become part of the river's defenses. In the only surviving pay list of the fortress neither müstafizes nor artillerymen appear; it may be that none served there, and that the garrison was specifically tailored for the supervision of the river and the riverbank.

**About 1621(?)** (BOA MAD 3729, pp. 85–88: pay list)

Faris: 10. 1 oda. İbrahim ağa 21, alemdar 10, seroda 11, majority of ordinary soldiers 10. Azab: 12. 2 oda. Hasan ağa 20, Hasan kethüda 16, alemdar 8, seroda 8, ordinary soldiers 6. Martolos: 53. 3 ağa, 8 oda. İbrahim ağa 20, Vuk sermiye 9, Mehmed ağa 22, Rajak Branik sermiye 12, Cvetko ağa 20, Radul sermiye 12, alemdar 9, 6, seroda 5–6, ordinary soldiers 4–5. 53 Christians. Total: 75.

## LİVA-İ LİPOVA

Kale-i **LİPOVA** (Hu. Lippa)  
Ottoman possession 1552–1595, 1616–1716

The fortresses of this sancak stood on the section around Lipova of the river Maros, they guarded the river and Temeşvar towards the north east. Apart from the sancak centre, the garrisons stationed in them were insignificant, and only constitute a sizeable force when taken together. In 1595 the army of the Transylvanian Principality recaptured all of them, then in 1616 Prince Gábor Bethlen gave them back to the Porte. Several fortresses were not reactivated for decades, if ever. This is when the fortress of Lipova was made very strong, and it explains why: it was tasked with securing the upper part of the Maros and with the defense of Temeşvar towards the north east. The source material on the sancak is very poor, and may even be misleading.

**1554** (BOA Tapu 356, pp. 36, 54–70: icmal)

We only know of 163 of its defenders, who were salary timar holders. What we know of the cash-paid soldiers is that in 1552 101 farises, 91 azabs and 99 martolos, altogether 291 men, were transferred here from Beçkerek, but the source says nothing about how many of them actually arrived, or if there were any further reinforcements. The garrison probably consisted of about 450 soldiers.

Branch	İcmal heads	Units
Müstahfız	131 + dizdar, kethüda	13 bölük
Topçu	31 + kethüda	3 bölük
Kumbaracı	1	

*Officers, incomes* (akçe). Müstahfız: dizdar and kethüda unknown, serbölük 1800. ordinary soldiers 1700. Topçu: Osman ser 10,170, serbölük 1800. ordinary soldiers 1700. Kumbaracı: 1700. 2 Christians.

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**1567** (BOA Tapu 1010, pp. 38–77: icmal)

Yet again the list contains only the salary timar holders, they number 130.

Müstahfız: 103. 10 bölük. Gazi dizdar 10,629, Mustafa kethüda 4000, serbölük 1800–1870, ordinary soldiers 1700–1758. Topçu: 27. 3 bölük. Osman ser 10,358, Atlu Hasan kethüda 2208, serbölük 1800–1847, majority of ordinary soldiers 1700.

**1579** (BOA Tapu 679, pp. 54–98: icmal)

Yet again the list only contains the salary timar holder, they number 130.

Müstahfız: 103. 10 bölük. Hızır dizdar, Hüseyin kethüda, income unchanged. Topçu: 27. 3 bölük. Osman ser, İhsan kethüda, income unchanged.

**1591** (ELTE Könyvtára, Kézirattár, Orient 8, pp. 38–49, 5: pay list, pagination from end of defter)

This time the cash-paid troops are known: 227 men. Including the salary timar holders, the number of soldiers was probably around 350. The garrison was stable, mobility was insignificant.

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Faris	62	61	2 ağa, 6 oda	2 (3.2)	1 (1.6)
Neccar	2	3	–	–	–
Azab	117	115	2 ağa, 6 riyaset, 12 oda	2 (1.7)	–
Martolos	46	43	2 ağa, 6 oda	3 (6.5)	–

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Faris: Ömer ağa 20, Uruc ağa 20, seroda 9–12, majority of ordinary soldiers 8. Neccar: 7, 5. Azab: Hasan ağa 19, Osman kethüda 17, bevvab 6, Hamza ağa 20, Receb kethüda 10, reis 10–13, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5. Martolos: İbrahim ağa 12, Hasan ağa 10, first two seroda 8, others 5, ordinary soldiers 4. 32 Christians.

**1621** (BOA MAD 3729, pp. 4–11, 94: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Branch / total	Units
Müstahfız-i enderun	27	87	1 ağa, 3 bölük
Müstahfız-i birun	19		1 ağa, 2 bölük
Müstahfız from Şolmoş	18		1 ağa, 1 bölük
Müstahfız from Vilagoş	23		–
Topçu	18	18	2 bölük
Pasban-i enderun	19	46	2 bölük
Pasban-i birun	27		4 bölük
Faris	239	309	6 ağa, 29 oda
Faris from Yanova	40		1 ağa, 8 oda
Faris from Varadya	30		1 ağa, 4 oda
Azab	254	350	7 ağa, 22 riyaset, 33 oda
Azab from Yanova	96		1 ağa, 7 riyaset, 12 oda
Köprücü	9	9	–
Martolos	63	134	2 ağa, 7 oda
Martolos from Yanova	35		2 ağa, 4 oda
Martolos from Varadya	16		1 ağa, 2 oda
Martolos from İktar	20		1 ağa, 2 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>953</b>	<b>953</b>	
Hadene-i cevami	19		

The weakness of the artillery is very noticeable, as is the fact that incomplete units transferred from several fortresses arrived with a full complement of officers. As a result, the proportion of soldiers bearing some rank or other is higher than usual.

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız-i enderun: Mehmed ağa 31, officer of unknown rank (kethüda?) 12, bevvab 12, serbölük 8–15, ordinary soldiers 7. Müstahfız-i birun: Mustafa ağa 30, Kurd kethüda 20, bevvab 12, serbölük 14, 10, majority of ordinary soldiers 7. Müstahfız from Şolmoş: İslam(?) ağa 25, Rizvan kethüda 15, seroda 10, ordinary soldiers 7–10. Müstahfız from Vilagoş: Hurrem dizdar 18, Hasan kezhüda 14, Hüseyin ağa-i azeban 24, Ali kethüda 14, reis, alemdar, serbölük 12, ordinary soldiers 7–8, Hurrem dizdar from Yanova 22. Topçu: officers unknown, serbölük 10, ordinary soldiers 7. Pasban-i enderun: Mustafa ağa 25, Hasan kethüda 17, first serbölük 11, others 9, ordinary soldiers 8. Pasban-i birun: Arslan ağa 30, Ali kethüda 20, serbölük 12, ordinary soldiers 10. Faris: İbrahim ağa 40, Hüseyin ağa 45, Arslan ağa 40, Halil ağa 40, Ali ağa from Haram-i cedid 30, Hasan ağa 40, alemdar, seroda 10–20, ordinary soldiers 8–10. Faris from Yanova: Mehmed ağa 38, alemdar 13, seroda 10–15, ordinary soldiers 8–9. Faris from Varadya: İbrahim ağa 35, seroda 12–14, ordinary soldiers 10. Azab: Kurd ağa 40, İbrahim kethüda 24, Memişah kapudan 40, Hüseyin ağa 40, Rizvan kethüda 20, Hüseyin ağa 40, Hasan kethüda 22, Gazanfer ağa 30, Rizvan kethüda 18, Mustafa ağa 30, Mehmed kethüda 15, Yusuf ağa 30, Mehmed kethüda 16, Hüseyin kılavuz ağa 39, Halil kethüda 19, bevvab, alemdar 7–12, kâtib 25, reis 11–22, seroda 7–12, majority of ordinary soldiers 6. Azab from Yanova: Mehmed ağa 30, Bekir kethüda 20, Hasan ağa 30, Hasan kethüda 20, Alişah ağa 25, Yusuf kethüda 20, bevvab 12–15, alemdar 12–13, seroda 7–10, ordinary soldiers 6. Köprücü: Ahmed ağa 30, Mehmed Ahmed kethüda 10, three mimar 10, others 6. Martolos: Yusuf ağa 30, Raka(?) sermiye 8, Keyvan ağa 20, İlije sermiye 14, alemdar 7, 5, seroda, ordinary soldiers 4. Martolos from Yanova: Hasan ağa 25, Şaban sermiye 8, Ahmed ağa 20, Andrija sermiye 9, alemdar, seroda 6, majority of ordinary soldiers 5. Martolos from Varadya: Ahmed ağa 25, Lukaç sermiye 11, alemdar 7, seroda 6–7, ordinary soldiers 4. Martolos from İktar: Piri ağa 20, Raça sermiye 8, alemdar 7, seroda 4, ordinary soldiers 4. 185 Christians.

*Hademe-i cevami*. Cami-i kale-i enderun: Hasan halife hatib, imam 40, Ahmed halife mualim-i mekteb-i hassa 15, Ahmed halife ihlas-han 11, Hasan halife-i mekteb 8, Ömer halife müezzin 15, Ahmed müezzin 13, Ahmed kayyum, siracı 8, Mehmed halife enam-han 15, İbrahim kâtib-i mahzen 15; mescid-i kale-i birun: Ömer halife imam 18, Ahmed halife müezzin 12, Şaban dua-gu 8, İbrahim ihlas-han 10, Ahmed halife ihlas-han 11, Şaban dua-gu 10, Mehmed dua-gu 8; cami-i kasaba: Abdulaziz halife imam, hatib 20. Transferred from Vilagoş: Rizvan imam 12, Mehmed halife imam, hatib 15, Mehmed müezzin 12.

**1628–1630** (BOA MAD 15998, pp. 14–15. MAD 15983, pp. 13–14, 21–23: pay accounts)

Branch	31.08.1628– 20.08.1629	21.08.1629– 13.02.1630	14.02.– 09.08.1630
Primarily in Lipova			
Müşahfız-i enderun	11	11	11
Müstahfız-i birun	19	19	19
Topçu	17	16	17
Pasban	19	19	19
Faris	234	232	232
Azab	251	250	250
Martolos	59	60	59

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Köprücü	10	9	9
<b>Total</b>	<b>620</b>	<b>616</b>	<b>616</b>
From Yanova			
Müstahfız	–	2	3
Faris	40	40	40
Azab	93	93	94
Martolos	32	32	32
<b>Total</b>	<b>165</b>	<b>167</b>	<b>169</b>
From Vilagoş			
Müstahfız	3	1	–
Azab	21	21	21
<b>Total</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>21</b>
From Şolmoş			
Müstahfız	<b>18</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>18</b>
From Varadya			
Faris	29	30	29
Martolos	16	16	16
<b>Total</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>45</b>
<b>Total in Lipova</b>			
	<b>872</b>	<b>869</b>	<b>869</b>
Hademe-i cevami	14	13	14

The administration still preserved the memory of which fortresses the soldiers had served in decades earlier.

**1660** (Evliyâ Çelebi, 5. *Kitap*, 208): 800 soldiers and a numerous corps of officers.

**1700, 1706, 1707** (Fodor, 'A temesvári vilájet', 208)

As the peace treaty prescribed the demolition of the fortress, Lipova shrank to token size, in these three years 40, 40 and 34 soldiers respectively were stationed in the town.

Kale-i **ŞOLMOŞ** (Hu. Solymos)  
Ottoman possession 1552–1595, 1616–1688

The fortress stood on the northern bank of the river Maros, facing Lipova, whose auxiliary fortress it was. It had an insignificant garrison. Its soldiers never appeared in pay lists or accounts, presumably the garrison consisted of the two units known from the icmalls. In 1595 the Transylvanian army recaptured it, then in 1616 Prince Gábor Bethlen gave it back to the Ottomans together with Lipova. At this point, it was not yet manned, the remains of its old garrison were serving in Lipova even in 1630. Later, at an unknown date, it was manned again.

**1554** (BOA Tapu 356, pp. 47, 74–78: icmal)

Müstahfız: 35 + kethüda. 4 bölük. Piri dizdar 10,170, kethüda unknown, serbölük 1800, ordinary soldiers 1700. Topçu: 9. 1 bölük. Ser unknown, serbölük 1800, ordinary soldiers 1700. 4 Christians. Total: 44 + two officers.

**1567** (BOA Tapu 1010, pp. 94–101: icmal)

On March 17, 1568, the imperial council ordered the evacuation of several fortresses in the vilayet, and the reduction of its garrisons. In Şolmoş it allowed 25 soldiers (7 *Numaralı mühimme*, No. 1148), which means the conditions of the previous year were left unchanged.

Müstahfız: 25 (4 of these are *topçu*). 2 bölük. İskender dizdar 3406, seroda 1800, 1804, ordinary soldiers 1700–1719.

**1579** (BOA Tapu 679, pp. 112–120: icmal)

Müstahfız: 24. 2 bölük. No change in dizdar or incomes.

**1660** (Evliyâ Çelebi, 5. *Kitap*, 210): dizdar and 30 soldiers.

**Kale-i VİZİAŞ / VİZAIŞ** (Hu. Eperjes or Odvos)  
Ottoman possession 1552–1595,  
and after 1616, still in use in 1660

Although its identification is uncertain, it was certainly one of the small fortresses defending the river Maros.

**1554** (BOA Tapu 356, pp. 71–73: icmal)

Müstahfız: 18. 2 bölük. Dizdar and kethüda unknown, serbölük 1800, ordinary soldiers 1700. *Topçu*: 3, all are ordinary soldiers with 1700. Total: 21.

**1567** (BOA Tapu 1010, pp. 86–93: icmal)

Müstahfız: 23 (2 of these are *topçu*). 2 bölük. Ahmed dizdar 6188, Sefer Behram kethüda 3040, seroda 1800, 1819, ordinary soldiers 1700–1717. One *topçu* is a Christian.

**1579** (BOA Tapu 679, pp. 103–110: icmal)

Müstahfız: 22 (one is a *topçu*). 2 bölük. Bali dizdar 3040, Cafer kethüda 1800(!), serbölük 1800, 1819, ordinary soldiers 1700.

**1591** (ELTE Könyvtár, Kézirattár, Orient 8, p. 32: pay list)

Here it is the only cash-paid unit that we know about. The whole garrison, including the salary timar holders, must have been around 40 men.

Martolos: 19. 2 oda. İsa Hüseyin ağa 10, Receb Ali sermiye 8, seroda 5, ordinary soldiers 4. 8 Christians.

**1660** (Evliyâ Çelebi, 5. *Kitap*, 210): kale-i Vafraş(?), dizdar and 70 soldiers.

**Kale-i VİLAGOŞ** (Hu. Világos)  
Ottoman possession 1566–1595, 1605(?)–1693

The fortress guarded the road which connected the Maros and the Körös rivers. Besides, in the 16th century it also commanded the border. The sources appear to describe such a tiny garrison that one suspects that there were other soldiers who were also estate holders in sancaks on which no sources survive, or who may have been paid from unknown local revenues. The fact that soon after its re-



capture it was manned shows that the place had some significance, although its garrison did not correspond to any known formula.

**1567** (BOA Tapu 1010, pp. 78–81: icmal)

Müstahfız: 12. 1 bölük. Hüseyin dizdar 5000, Yusuf Uruc kethüda 3411, serbölük 1824, ordinary soldiers 1700.

**1579** (BOA Tapu 679, pp. 99–102: icmal)

Müstahfız: 12. 1 bölük. Hüseyin dizdar, İbrahim Mustafa kethüda, no change in incomes.

**1591** (ELTE Könyvtár, Kézirattár, Orient 8, p. 34: pay list)

This time we know about the cash-paid azabs.

Azab: 18. 2 oda. Yusuf ağa 12, Hudaverdi kethüda 14(!), seroda 8, 6, ordinary soldiers 5.

**1621** (BOA MAD 3729, pp. 76–77: pay list)

The müstahfizes in the fortress had already served in Lipova. More than half of the soldiers bore some rank, the units contained barely any ordinary soldiers.

Branch	Pay list heads	Units
Müstahfız (incomplete)	2	–
Faris	12	1 ağa, 3 oda
Azab	24	3 ağa, 6 riyaset, 4 oda
Martolos	2	1 ağa
<b>Total (incomplete)</b>	<b>40</b>	

*Officers, pay (akçe).* Müstahfız: Şaban ağa 20, Yusuf kethüda 14. Faris: Kasım ağa 24, seroda 9–15, ordinary soldiers 8–10. Azab: Kurd ağa 34, Hüseyin kethüda 24, Alişan ağa 36, Osman kethüda 12, Ali ağa 25, Ali kethüda 14, reis 11–16, bevva 7, 10, seroda 7–15, ordinary soldiers 6–10. Martolos: İsmail ağa 21, ordinary soldier 4. Only one martolos is Christian.

**1660** (Evliyâ Çelebi, 5. *Kitap*, 211): dizdar and 50 soldiers.

#### Parkan-i VARADYA (Hu. Tótvárad)

Date of construction unknown, Ottoman possession until 1595, again from 1616. I do not know for how long it stood, but it was still in use in 1665.

To the east, this is the most distant of the fortresses guarding the river Maros. However, as this vilayet bordered the Transylvanian Principality, strong garrisons like the ones on the border with Royal Hungary were not necessary. Varadya's source material seems to be incomplete (it reminds one of Vilagoş); its garrison cannot be estimated to be more than 100 men.

**1567** (BOA Tapu 1010, pp. 82–85: icmal)

Müstahfız: 12. 1 bölük. Mehmed dizdar 3720, Ali kethüda 1718, serbölük, ordinary soldiers 1700.

**1579** (BOA Tapu 679, pp. 110–111: icmal)

Müstahfız: 12. 1 bölük. Hüseyin dizdar, Ali Hüsrev kethüda, no change in incomes.

## LİVA-İ LİPOVA

**1591** (ELTE, Könyvtár, Kézirattár, Orient 8, p. 35: pay list)

Here the farises are known.

Faris: 42, present 41. 4 oda. İdris Murad ağa 25, seroda 9, ordinary soldiers 8. Bayezid sertopi 10.

After its recapture in **1616** the fortress was not used for at least one and a half decades, its remaining soldiers served in Lipova. There are no data on its revived garrison.

**1660** (Evliyâ Çelebi, 5. *Kitap*, 210): dizdar and 70 soldiers.

## LİVA-İ MODAVA

Parkan-i **MODAVA** (Hu. Modava, Moldova)

Constructed before 1559(?)

Ottoman possession to 1716

This sancak was separated from the sancak of Temeşvar before 1569. The majority of its fortresses stood on the banks of the Danube, guarding navigation and transportation; their garrisons usually consisted predominantly of azabs and martoloses, who also did water service; in some places they constituted the whole garrison. In military terms, the sancak centre, Modava, was insignificant, and in the 17th century it also lost its administrative role, when the mirlivas moved their headquarters to Haram-i cedid.

**1569** (BOA Tapu 552, pp. 172–183: icmal. Tapu 364, p. 428: mufassal)

The icmal registered the salary timar-holding soldiers, while the mufassal registered the other, cash-paid soldiers as inhabitants of Modava as well. It is not clear whether the latter were completely or only partially registered.

Branch	Icmal heads	Mufassal heads	Units
Müstahfız	29	34	3 bölük
Topçu	5	–	1 bölük
Azab	–	20	1 ağa, 2 oda
Martolos	–	24	?
<b>Total</b>	<b>78(?)</b>		
Hademe-i cami	–	2	

*Officers, incomes* (akçe). Müstahfız: Mustafa Haram dizdar 5515, Mustafa kethüda 3070, serbölük 1500, ordinary soldiers 1400. Topçu: Mehmed Timur ser 2525, seroda 1500, others 2 x1400, 1650. Azab: Abdi ağa, Cafer İlyas kethüda. Martolos: Kurd ağa. Hademe-i cami: Hurrem hatib, Eyüp imam. 25 Christians.

**1579** (BOA Tapu 674, pp. 209–220: icmal)

Only the soldiers with estates in the sancak of Modava are known.

Müstahfız: 28. 3 bölük. Ali Haydar dizdar, Hüsrev kethüda, income unchanged. Topçu: 4. 1 bölük. Veli Ali ser, income unchanged. Yakub Yusuf hatib 2802.

## VİLAYET-İ TEMEŞVAR

**1591** (ELTE Könyvtára, Kézirattár, Orient 8, pp. 7–9: pay list)

This time we only know about the cash-paid troops. The garrison must have numbered around 70–80 men.

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units
Azab	22	21	1 ağa, 1 riyaset, 2 oda
Martolos	26	25	1 ağa, 3 oda

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Azab: Mehmed ağa 9, Hasan kethüda 8, reis 5, seroda 6, 5, ordinary soldiers 4–5. Martolos: Turak ağa 10, sermiye absent, seroda 5, ordinary soldiers 4. 29 Christians.

**1604–1605** (BOA MAD 5158, p. 160: pay account)

This source has a list of cash-paid troops as well. During the war the garrison was reinforced with cavalrymen. Altogether it must have numbered around 130–140 men.

Faris: 27. Kurd ağa. Azab: 53. Hasan ağa, Turak ağa. Martolos: 22. Hüseyin ağa.

**Around 1621(?)** (BOA MAD 3729, pp. 127–130: pay list)

Here again the cash-paid troops are known, but the size of the whole garrison is impossible to determine.

Branch	Pay list heads	Units
Faris	16	1 ağa, 3 oda
Azab	44	2 ağa, 2 riyaset, 5 oda
Martolos	35	1 ağa, 4 oda
Hademe-i cami	1	

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Faris: Mehmed ağa 25, seroda 9, ordinary soldiers 8. Azab: Turak ağa 25, Osman kethüda 10, Stepan Branik 25, Mustafa ağa 20, Piri kethüda 8, reis 8, 7, alemdar 5, 8, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5. Martolos: Hüseyin ağa 30, Osman sermiye 12, alemdar 9, topi 6, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5. Mehmed halife imam 12. 43 Christians.

**1634** (ÖNB Mxt 616, pp. 10–11: pay list)

Of the cash-paid troops only the azabs remained.

Azab: 41. 2 ağa, 2 riyaset, 6 oda. Hüseyin ağa 20, Siyavuş kethüda 8, Hızır ağa 25, Mahmud kethüda 10, reis 7, 8, alemdar 6, 5, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5.

**1665** (Evliyâ Çelebi, 7. *Kitap*, 168): 300 soldiers, an obvious mistake.

**Early 18th century** (Fodor, 'A temesvári vilájet', 208)

In 1700: 32, in 1706: 37, in 1707: 31 soldiers.

### Kale-i IRŞOVA (Hu. Orsova) Ottoman possession 1522–1718

The south-eastern border fortress of Hungary on the Danube bank, whose Ottoman period only ended in the vilayet of Temeşvar in 1718, as it remained under

Ottoman rule even after the peace treaty of Požarevac. The strongest garrison on the Hungarian stretch of the lower Danube was stationed here, the majority of the men were azabs and martoloses.

**Around 1621(?)** (BOA MAD 3729, pp. 135–142: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Units
Müstahfız [enderun, birun]	30	2 dizdar, 4 bölük
Topçu	13	1 bölük
Faris	38	1 ağa, 5 oda
Azab	62	2 ağa, 2 riyaset, 7 oda
Martolos	45	2 ağa, 5 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>188</b>	
Vazife horan	2	

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Hasan dizdar 50, İbrahim kethüda 15, Ahmed dizdar-i birun 20, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 6–7. Topçu: Ahmed ser 20, Mustafa kethüda 12, serbölük 10, ordinary soldiers 7. Faris: Mehmed ağa 30, alemdar, seroda 12, ordinary soldiers 10. Azab: Halil ağa 30, Sefer Divane kethüda 21, Mustafa ağa 20, Arslan kethüda 15, reis 12, alemdar 10, seroda 7–8, ordinary soldiers 6. Martolos: Arslan ağa 20, Pervane sermiye 15, Mustafa ağa 20, Ömer Hızır kethüda 15, alemdar 10, first seroda 7, others 6, ordinary soldiers 5. Vazife horan: Ali Ahmed müezzın 8, Ali Mustafa kâtib-i hazine 15. 127 Christians.

**1629–1630** (BOA MAD 15983, pp. 17–18: pay account)

Müstahfız: 28, topçu: 15, faris: 29, azab: 61, martolos: 45. Total: 178.

**1634** (ÖNB Mxt 616, pp. 12–14: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Units
Müstahfız	27	2 dizdar, 4 bölük
Topçu	13	2 bölük
Faris	29	1 ağa, 4 oda
Azab	55	2 ağa, 2 riyaset, 9 oda
Martolos	40	2 ağa, 5 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>164</b>	

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Mehmed dizdar 30, Ali kethüda 15, Bayram dizdar-i birun 20, first serbölük 9, others 8, ordinary soldiers 6. Topçu: Mustafa ağa 20, Hasan kethüda 12, serbölük 10, 8, ordinary soldiers 7. Faris: Hüseyin ağa 30, alemdar, seroda 12, ordinary soldiers 10. Azab: Hacı Mehmed ağa 30, Yusuf kethüda 15, Bayram ağa 30, Ali kethüda 15, alemdar 10, reis 12, seroda 7–8, ordinary soldiers 6. 99 Christians.

**1665** (Evliyâ Çelebi, 7. *Kitap*, 171): dizdar and 150 soldiers.

**Early 18th century** (Fodor, 'A temesvári vilájet', 208)

In 1700 and 1706: 205 soldiers.

Kale-i **HARAM** (Hu. Haram)

Ottoman possession from the 1520s onwards,  
it was manned until the beginning of the 17th century

Important medieval royal fortress, the starting point of the main road leading from the lower Danube to Temeşvar. There is barely any source material on its Ottoman period. Presumably in the 16th century its soldiers were paid from northern Balkan revenues, so there are no available sources, while at the beginning of the next century both its role and its garrison were taken over by Haram-i cedit.

**1607** (BOA MAD 5158, p. 158: pay account)

The number of men in each unit is not given, but, altogether 84 müstahfizes, topçus, farises and martoloses received salaries. The scribe's annotation (*kale-i Haram-i atik benam-i cedit der liva-i Modava*) does not make it clear whether the defenders served in the old or already in the new fortress.

**Before 1621(?)** (BOA MAD 3729, pp. 130–132: pay list)

The list refers to an earlier state when the farises had not yet been transferred to Lipova; the martoloses, however, were already in Haram-i cedit.

Branch	Pay list heads	Units
Müstahfız	15	2 bölük
Topçu	12	1 bölük
Faris	24	1 ağa, 4 oda
Azab	27	1 ağa, 2 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>78 (+?)</b>	

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: El-hacı Abdurrahman dizdar 20, Mustafa kethüda 15, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 7. Topçu: Mehmed ser 15, Kubad kethüda 12, serbölük 9, ordinary soldiers 8. Faris: Hasan ağa 30, alemdar 10, seroda 8–9, ordinary soldiers 8. Azab: Gazanfer ağa 20, Mustafa kethüda 15, alemdar 10, seroda 9, 8, ordinary soldiers 6. 32 Christians. 34 Muslims and Christians had the second name Divane.

Palanka-i **HARAM-i CEDİD** / YENİ PALANKA

Constructed around the turn of the 17th century,  
Ottoman possession to 1716

This palanka was located north of Haram-i atik, where the first martoloses stationed here came from. Its garrison was small, which could only be explained by its location in a secure zone. The place remained strategically important, in Evliyâ Çelebi's time the sancakbeyi of Modava also had his headquarters here.

**Before 1621(?)** (BOA MAD 3729, p. 133: pay list)

Martolos transferred from Haram: 24. 3 oda. Piyale ağa 20, İskender sermiye 12, alemdar 10, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5. 21 Christians.

**1628–1630** (BOA MAD 15998, pp. 7–9. MAD 15983, p. 15: pay accounts)

Müstahfız: 15, topçu: 7, martolos 15. Total: 37.

**1634** (ÖNB Mxt 616, p. 11. Mxt 641, pp. 28–29: pay lists)

Branch	Pay list heads	Units
Müstahfız	15	1 bölük
Topçu	8	1 bölük
Martolos	17	1 ağa, 1 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>40</b>	
Hademe-i cami	2	

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Piyale dizdar 20, Mustafa kethüda 15, serbölük 8, others 7. Topçu: Receb ağa 25, Mehmed kethüda 12, serbölük 9, others 8. Martolos: Derviş, after him Aşık Mehmed ağa 20, Nikola sermiye 8, alemdar 7, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5. 24 Christians.

**1665** (Evliyâ Çelebi, 7. *Kitap*, 166): mirliva, dizdar, 20 soldiers.

**Early 17th century** (Fodor, 'A temesvári vilájet', 208)

In 1700: 232, in 1706: 207, in 1707: 190 soldiers.

### Parkan-i DAUDABAD

I cannot identify the fortress; date of construction is unknown

The lower Danube needed the strongest reinforcement around the Kazan straits, so it may have stood there.

**1591** (ELTE Könyvtára, Kézirattár, Orient 8, p. 2: pay list)

Azab: 22. 2 oda. Gazi ağa 16, İbrahim Hüsrev kethüda 12, officer of unknown rank from Modava 9, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5.

**1629–1630** (BOA MAD 15998, p. 7. MAD 15983, p. 15: pay accounts)

Azab: 11, martolos: 10.

**1634** (ÖNB Mxt 616, p. 12. Mxt 641, pp. 20, 22: pay lists)

Azab: 11. 2 oda. Mustafa, after him Mehmed ağa 20, Mustafa kethüda 8, alemdar, seroda 8, ordinary soldiers 6. Martolos: 10. 2 oda. Ahmed ağa 20, Mehmed sermiye 6, seroda 5, ordinary soldiers 4. 11 Christians.

Palanka / Parkan-i **LUPKOVA** (Hu. Alsólupkó)  
Constructed at the beginning of the 17th century,  
it stood until the end of the 1680s(?)

One of the small guard posts defending the lower Danube east of Modava.

**1603–1608** (BOA MAD 5158, p. 162: pay account)

Topçu: 6, martolos: 64. 2 ağa. Total: 70.

**Around 1621(?)** (BOA MAD 3729, pp. 133–135: pay list)

By a sultan's decree issued on October 2, 1618, the martoloses serving under the second ağa were promoted to become müstafizes; their pay did not increase.

## VİLAYET-İ TEMEŞVAR

Müstahfız: 20. 3 bölük. Ömer ağa 15, İbrahim sermiye 7, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5. Topçu: 3. Mustafa ser 10, others 5. Martolos: Mustafa ağa 15, Cvetko sermiye 7, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5. Total: 43. 39 Christians.

**1629–1630** (BOA MAD 15998, pp. 7, 9. MAD 15983, pp. 15, 18: pay accounts)

Topçu: 2, martolos: 37, 2 ağa. Total: 39. The müstafizes were once again registered as martoloses.

**1634** (ÖNB Mxt 616, pp. 11–12. Mxt 641, p. 13: pay lists)

Topçu: 2. Piyale ağa 10, other 6. Martolos 40. 2 ağa. Mustafa ağa 15, Cvetko sermiye 7, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5. Total 42. 33 Christians.

**1665** (Evliyâ Çelebi, 7. *Kitap*, 170): dizdar, 60 soldiers.

### Kale-i MEHADİA (Hu. Miháld / Mehádía)

Ottoman possession 1607–1716

The south eastern-most fortress of the vilayet, a staging post on the main road running from Irşova to Şebeş. Despite its location on the frontier its garrison was modest.

**Around 1621(?)** (BOA MAD 3729, pp. 143–145: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Units
Müstahfız	11	2 bölük
Faris	20	1 ağa, 3 oda
Azab	15	1 ağa, 1 riyaset, 1 oda
Martolos	17	1 ağa, 4 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>63</b>	

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Mustafa ağa 30, İbrahim kethüda 20, ordinary soldiers 6–8. Faris: Ali ağa 40, alemdar, seroda 15, ordinary soldiers 12. Azab: İbrahim ağa 30, Ali Abdi kethüda 20, reis, alemdar 15, seroda 10, ordinary soldiers 8. Martolos: Hasan ağa 30, Mustafa sermiye 20, alemdar 15, first seroda 8, others 6, ordinary soldiers 6. 20 Christians.

**1629–1630** (BOA MAD 15998, p. 22. MAD 15983, p. 18: pay accounts)

Müstahfız: 11, faris: 20, azab 15, martolos: 18. Total: 64.

**1634** (ÖNB Mxt 616, pp. 14–15: pay list)

Müstahfız: 10. 1 bölük, three men are topçus. Beşir dizdar 30, Mahmud kethüda 20, serbölük, ordinary soldiers 8. Faris: 20. 3 oda. Mehmed ağa 40, alemdar, seroda 15, ordinary soldiers 12. Azab: 15. 3 oda. Dilaver ağa 30, Emecan(?) kethüda 20, reis, alemdar 15, seroda 10, others 8. Martolos: 20. 3 oda. Hasan ağa 30, Sefer(?) sermiye 20, alemdar 15, first seroda 10, others 8, ordinary soldiers 6. Total: 65. 36 Christians.

**1700** (Fodor, 'A temesvári vilájet', 208)

Menzil with 37 soldiers.

## LİVA-İ MODAVA

### Palanka-i **DRENKOVA** (Hu. Drankó)

Date of construction unknown

One of the small fortresses guarding the lower Danube, with only a few soldiers.

**Around 1621(?)** (BOA MAD 3729, p. 135: pay list)

Martolos: 17. 1 oda. Vujče ağa 15, Petar sermiye 7, alemdar, seroda 6, others 5. All are Christians.

**1665** (Evliyâ Çelebi, 7. *Kitap*, 170): the town on the river bank was flourishing, while the palanka was left to fall into ruin.

## LİVA-İ YANOVA

### Kale-i **YANOVA** (Hu. Borosjenő / Jenő)

Ottoman possession 1566–1595, 1658–1693

Although the sancak itself is small its centre, the fortress of Yanova, was an important strongpoint on the border with Transylvania, on the bank of the Fehér-Körös. The most significant unit of its garrison were the farises, essential for border defense. In 1595 the fortress was recaptured by the Transylvanian army, and in spite of the Porte's demands the princes did not return it until 1658; this year it was occupied by grand vizier Köprülü Mehmed Pasha. The source material on the fortress is poor: from its second Ottoman period only the description by Evliya Çelebi survives.

**1567** (BOA Tapu 1010, pp. 138–155: icmal)

The source contains only those salary timar holders who had timars in their own sancak.

Müstahfız without officers: 38. 4 bölük. Topçu without officers: 15. 2 bölük. Incomes: serbölük 1815–1862, ordinary soldiers 1700–1723.

**1579** (BOA Tapu 679, pp. 146–165: icmal)

Müstahfız: 40. 4 bölük. Topçu: 15. 2 bölük. (Without officers.) Incomes unchanged.

**1591** (ELTE Könyvtára, Kézirattár, Orient 8, pp. 5, 16–30: pay list)

This source is the list of the cash-paid troops only. The local units of the garrison can be estimated at 400 soldiers; there would have been good reasons for reinforcing them with troops from the Porte, but there is no source on the latter.

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	2 (+?)	2 (+?)	–	–	–
Topçu	2 (+?)	2 (+?)	–	–	–
Müteferrika	1	1	–	–	–
Faris	190	186	2 ağa, 19 oda	7 (3.7)	3 (1.6)
Azab	96	91	3 ağa, 3 riyaset, 9 oda	8 (8.3)	3 (3.3)
Martolos	49	45	2 ağa, 5 oda	4 (8.2)	–
<b>Total (incomplete)</b>	<b>340 (+?)</b>	<b>327 (+?)</b>		<b>19 (5.6)</b>	<b>6 (1.8)</b>



*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: İbrahim Hasan dizdar 18, Mezid kethüda 12. Topçu: Ferhad Nasuh ser 10, Mahmud kethüda 8. Müteferrika: Mustafa Mezid kapudan 40. Faris: Feyyaz(?) ağa 17, Ahmed ağa 30, seroda 9, majority of ordinary soldiers 8. Azab: İbrahim ağa 10, Ali İnehan kethüda pay unknown, reis pay unknown, Sefer Mustafa ağa pay unknown, Mustafa Veli kethüda 10, reis pay unknown, Mustafa Pir Ali ağa 11, Lütfi Yusuf kethüda 10, reis pay unknown, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5. Martolos: Veli ağa 13, Hüseyin ağa 8, two first seroda 8, others 5, ordinary soldiers 4. 35 Christians.

**1660** (Evliyâ Çelebi, 5. *Kitap*, 211): 8,000 soldiers, which is a notable exaggeration even granted that after its recapture in 1658 Yanova rose to become the most important border fortress in the vilayet of Temeşvar.

**1666–1669** (BOA MAD 5996, pp. 90–93, 144–147, 480–483, 582–585, 842–845: list of yeniçeris) In the 11 quarter years between December 28, 1666 and August 28, 1669 the following number of yeniçeris from the Porte reinforced the local garrison: 244, 244, 233, 233, 229, 229, 232, 232, 232, 222, 222.

### Kale-i **TOTİNÇ** / TOTİNÇE (Hu. Feltót)

This fortress was in use between 1552 and 1595

Located between Lipova and Yanova, close to the road connecting the two mentioned forts; its garrison remained below 100 men.

**1554** (BOA Tapu 356, pp. 79–83: icmal)

The list of soldiers with salary timars.

Müstahfız: 33, without officers. 4 bölük. Topçu: 6, without officers. Seroda 1800, ordinary soldiers 1700.

**1567** (BOA Tapu 1010, pp. 125–137: icmal)

Only salary timar holders.

Müstahfız: 34. 3 bölük. Abdulcebbar dizdar 6100, Behram Ferhad kethüda 3492, other incomes unchanged. Topçu: 5. Seroda 1713, ordinary soldiers 1700. 2 Christians.

**1579** (BOA Tapu 679, pp. 166–179: icmal)

Only salary timar holders.

Müstahfız: 33. Officers unchanged. Topçu: 6.

**1591** (ELTE Könyvtára, Kézirattár, Orient 8, pp. 14–15: pay list)

Only cash-paid defenders.

Martolos: 29, present 28. 3 oda. Hudaverdi Divane ağa 11, first seroda 8, others 5, ordinary soldiers 4. 24 Christians.

## VİLAYET-İ YANIK &amp; VİLAYET-İ PAPA

In the autumn of 1594 the Ottoman army fighting in Hungary and the Crimean Tatar auxiliary troops captured the fortresses in North Transdanubia, among them the two strongest, Yanık (Hu. Győr) and Papa. They managed to hold the former until 1598, the latter until 1597. For these few years it was the sultan's will that both fortresses should become the centre of new vilayets,<sup>1</sup> thus they became places of outstanding importance in the hierarchy of Ottoman centres not only in military but also in administrative terms (the province of Papa was called a *liva* more than once, but it was always governed by a *beylerbeyi*.)

It is not clear whether any territories were placed under the two vilayet centres, and if so, how large these were. It is not impossible that Tihon, Vajon and the mountain of Szentmárton became part of the vilayet of Yanık, but it is more likely that they remained in the *sancak* of İstolni Belgrad (for this reason the data on Tihon and Vajon are given there). The register of the *gönüllüs* transferred from Yanık to Şimontorna survives from the second half of 1601, already after the loss of Yanık, the title of which refers to Yanık itself as part of the *sancak* of İstolni Belgrad (*mevacib-i gönüllüyan-i Yanık tabi-i İstolni Belgrad der muhafaza-i Şimontorna*).<sup>2</sup>

The Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi preserves a pay list which, according to the catalogue, is 247 pages long: being so substantial it presumably contains not only the garrisons of Yanık and Papa, but those of the other north Transdanubian fortresses as well (BOA MAD 16290). Unfortunately the *defter* is in such bad condition that it cannot be examined or even photographed. Thus I have tried to estimate the garrisons of these two important fortresses on the basis of contemporary descriptions and some scattered data, while sadly giving up the attempt to describe the smaller ones.

Kale-i **YANIK** (Hu. Győr)  
Ottoman possession 1594–1598

In the absence of Ottoman pay lists our most important source is the confession of a captured Ottoman officer, said to be of Hungarian origin, made in August 1597 and written down in German, about the state of the fortress of Yanık and its defenders. The officer served in Peçuy, but during the summer of that year he was commissioned by the *beylerbeyi* of Yanık to take reports—dispatches—about the garrison and provisioning of Yanık to the *serdar*; his confession must have been based on real local knowledge. The officer also revealed what the ideal size of the most important units was supposed to be, as well as how many men they actually contained. We can perhaps presume that Yanık's first garrison was closer to the ideal, but that it was later reduced as a result of the lack of troops caused by the war. I have put the branches into the table in the order in which they follow each other in the pay list.

1 Dávid, 'A Dél-Dunántúl közigazgatása', 57.

2 BOA MAD 3370, p. 354.

1597 (Kelenik, Egy fogoly török tiszt vallomása 74–77)

Branch	Ideal number	In actual service
Müstahfiz	200	80
Topçu, kumbaracı		100
Auxiliary units		100
Gönüllü		560
Faris (4 ağa)	480	400
Azab	200	80
Martolos		30–40
Porte yeniçeri	700	200
Porte cebeci	900	500
<b>Total</b>		<b>2050–2060</b>
The beylerbeyi's private guard		150

The structure of the garrison is quite credible: there were five large units, which were complemented with first class cavalymen, the gönüllüs, as well as with substantial auxiliary units; the 'locals' were supported by seven companies of soldiers from the Porte. The structure of the garrison differs from the norm in that the majority of the soldiers belonged to elite units stationed here during the war: gönüllüs, yeniçeris and cebecis, while of the usual branches found in fortresses only the farises, topçus and auxiliary units are worthy of Yanık's importance (although the officer claimed that even the largest units were poorly supplied, they had not received payment for six months, and only 80 gönüllüs had horses). The others were very few in number: there were barely any müstafizes, in a fortress standing in the meeting point of waterways, which was probably the last Ottoman naval base before Vienna, the number of azabs and martoloses barely exceeded one hundred. This extreme paucity of 'local forces' was caused by the lack of manpower which characterised the whole war, something the military leadership could not overcome even in this vital location.

There is little we can do to cross-check this officer's confession. One other source is the expenditure entry in the accounts of the Buda treasury (BOA MAD 1599, p. 8), according to which between December 4, 1595 and February 29, 1596 4 million akçes were delivered to the beylerbeyi of Yanık, Mahmud Pasha, to cover the payment of the garrison for three months. As usual, the number of soldiers for whom this pay was intended was not registered. The round figure also makes us wonder whether the sum was not intended to cover three months' wages for a given number of soldiers, but was rather a larger sum for payment to soldiers, to be accounted for later. Still, in the absence of better data we must content ourselves with this figure. In 1591 three months' wages for the 1,529 defenders of Buda came to 914,425 akçes (BOA MAD 3762, p. 4). We certainly cannot assume that because Mahmud Pasha was sent four times as much money we have to calculate with four times as many soldiers in Yanık. During the Fifteen Years' War payments increased slightly, and anyway the elite troops who constituted the majority of Yanık's garrison were paid more. As an example we can consider the gönüllös serving in Buda and Yanık. In 1591 a corporal of the Buda gönüllös received 11–12, the ordinary soldiers 10 akçes a day; the corporals of the Yanık gönüllös, who were later transferred to Şimontorna, received 20, the ordinary soldiers 15 akçes a day. The gönüllüs constituted one quarter of the garrison in

Yanık, and the mere fact that they were paid half as much again as in Buda makes it impossible for us to believe that the whole garrison was four times the size of that of Buda.

If we add up the 'ideal number' column (making up the empty cells with the numbers in the 'in actual service' column), we get a rounded up total of 3,400 men. Around this time the payment of this many Yanık soldiers must have been around 4 million. For this reason too I feel that the higher figures reported by the captured officer indicate not so much the required number of soldiers, or rather the initial one, as the size to which the garrison shrank in three years.

Of the 1597 figures two can be proved. Only 200 yeniçeris were present out of the 700, which according to the officer would have been necessary. In the quarter year between May 18, 1597 and August 13, 288 yeniçeris who were ordered to proceed to Yanık were registered in the capital (Finkel, *The Administration*, 77). The difference may appear substantial; however, it is not significant because of the large number of drop-outs. The confession estimated the number of gönüllüs at 560 men; above the name of the majority of the soldiers who were transferred to Şimontorna after the loss of Yanık the scribe noted which squad they had belonged to in Yanık (BOA MAD 3370, pp. 354-357), and from these annotations 60 squads can be added up. These two pieces of certain data tend to confirm the captured officer's information, but unfortunately I found no more.

I did, however, find contradictory source material: the 1596-1597 list of cash-paid cavalry from the Porte sent to Yanık in those years, which must have been kept locally as all sorts of changes were registered in it (BOA MAD 6144). This military element is referred to as 'cebeci' in the confession of the officer, and numbered 500 men. From the list it seems that it was made up of 4 units (ulufeciyan-i yemin ve yesar, gureba-i yemin ve yesar), and numbered between 1,700 and 4,000 men. It was continuously reduced by death, desertion and poor discipline; vacancies were filled with transfers from the veledan-i kul and the body of cebeci. An annotation dated June 11, 1597 and quoted in the list several times reveals that besides continuous replacements all four units were heavily reinforced on the sultan's orders; their total number must have been around 4,000 men.

The list is full of contradictions; maybe those who kept it understood them, but I myself cannot decode many. The biggest problem is posed by the fact that the numbers written with siyakat characters were often also registered with Arabic numerals, and the two are never the same (logic suggests that the figure written in Arabic numerals is the final one). Equally confusing is the way the scribe sometimes filled in the box which supplied the figure without annotation, and sometimes the box which gave the number of the soldiers present; finally, sometimes he did not add up the numbers, which I calculated. If the source contains two figures, I put the second one in brackets in the table, while after my own figures I put a question mark. The first column of the table shows the losses suffered by a given unit in the previous year, which are divided into three categories: dead, deserted and dismissed for disobeying orders, because they refused to join the campaign. The numbers are telling: for example the 313-head decrease of the ulufeciyan-i yemin was made up of 55 dead, 136 deserters and 122 who disobeyed orders. The last column gives the number of soldiers extracted from among the veledan-i kul and cebecis and placed among the cavalymen.

**1596–1597** (BOA MAD 6144)

The periods belonging to the numbers in the columns:

1005. Masar: 25.08.–21.11.1596

Recec: 22.11.1596–17.02.1597

Reşen: 18.02.–17.05.1597

Lezez: 18.05.–13.08.1597

Branch	Losses in the previous year	Masar	Recec	Reşen	Lezez	Recently reassigned
Ulufeciyan-i yemin	313	508	468	411	1195 (1457)	388 (228)
Ulufeciyan-i yesar	359	520	512	500 (507)	1046	376
Gureba-i yemin	113	460	390	319	948 (1091)	43
Gureba-i yesar	96(?)	260	282	533(?)	703 (978)	390(?)
<b>Total</b>	<b>881(?)</b>	<b>1748</b>	<b>1652</b>	<b>1763(?)</b> <b>(1770)</b>	<b>3892</b> <b>(4572)</b>	<b>1197(?)</b> <b>(1037)</b>

What can be deduced from all these uncertainties is that we can estimate the garrison of Yanık to have been about 3500 men at the end of 1594,  $2000/2500 + 1200 = 3200/3700$  in the summer of 1597, before the great increase in numbers; after the increase  $2000/2500 + 3400 = 5400/5900$  soldiers. In his confession the officer also revealed that before the drafting of the report “the paşa called the ağas and asked them about the total number of the garrison of the fortress, adding everything together. 3000 armed men (*3000 Wehrhaffer Mann*)—the ağas answered.” The number is not based on a muster either; this too is an estimate, although it was made by the people most competent, and happens to be close to the number used for calculations before the increase. The huge garrison of the last quarter year—if it existed at all—was unparalleled in Ottoman Hungary. It suggests that the Ottomans were aware that thanks to the capture of Yanık and the other north Transdanubian fortresses, for the first time they stood a real chance of taking Vienna.

#### Kale-i PAPA (Hu. Pápa) Ottoman possession 1594–1597

There is barely any mention of the garrison of Papa, which became a Ottoman possession after Yanık fell, and what there is, is not even enough to make estimates as we did on the basis of the data about Yanık. Christian contemporaries participating in or describing the recapture of the fortress in 1597 estimated its Ottoman soldiery at around 700–900 men, one third of them cavalry, two thirds infantry. 400 Ottomans survived the siege, and 150 the bloodbath that took place after they left the fortress (Pálffy, *A pápai vár*, 68, 74).

I know of only one single account book from Buda from the Ottoman years of the fortress. It was written in 1596 and a few of the entries about expenditure concern money due to soldiers in Papa (BOA MAD 1599, pp. 11, 14, 16, 21). The most important annotation mentions the soldiers of the ‘*liva-i Papa*’; that is, not only the fortress of Papa. Unfortunately the note does not mention either the number of soldiers or the period for which the money was due. What we do learn from

it, however, is that the 'local' garrisons of the fortress (or fortresses?) included all five branches: müstafizes, artillery, cavalry, azabs and martoloses; what is more, there were some cebecis, silahdars and veladan-i kul from Porte units which had been transferred to the vilayet of Buda.

The few specific figures are impossibly low, unfit to draw conclusions from. An annotation mentions the 'local' soldiers of the sancak of Papa, 161 men, which would have been insufficient even for Papa, let alone for several fortresses. They were paid 7.3 akçe each, which might mean that all 161 men belonged to weaker branches. Of the better paid units the second company of farises appears in another entry, but we can only conclude that at least two companies of cavalry served in the fortress.

We have one reliable piece of data: the number of one of the detachments from the Porte, the cebecis: 186 soldiers. It can be seen in general that among the units sent from the Porte, stationed in Transdanubian fortresses the cebecis were always the most numerous—in a few of the smaller fortresses they were the only soldiers from the capital. It is not likely (though one cannot be sure) that the combined numbers of other troops from the Porte would have exceeded theirs. The same annotation would serve, at last, to give us an idea about the other fortresses belonging to the liva of Papa, because it first gives the combined numbers of the cebecis serving in Papa, Val and Canbek (274 men), then lists the numbers for each one. This annotation, however, does not mention the vilayet or sancak of Papa; it is by no means certain that at this point the three fortresses belonged into the same administrative unit.

All of this is no more than a series of question-marks. My own feeling is that the soldiery of the vilayet/liva of Papa meant the garrison of Papa. If we accept the number 161 for the weaker 'local' troops, if we presume (in an arbitrary fashion) that the cavalry consisted of 200 men, if (even more arbitrarily) we use the number of cebeci (186) for the other units from the Porte, as a final result we arrive at the approximately 700 soldiers which was at the lower end of contemporary estimates. About 5,000 soldiers were stationed in the Transdanubian fortresses captured in 1593–1594; Papa, in the context of a general lack of manpower, is unlikely to have received more than 700 men.

## VİLAYET-İ EĞRİ

The next vilayet of Ottoman Hungary, set up after the capture of Eğri in 1596, was formed at the expense of the Buda vilayet. It could not have been otherwise, as the capture of the fortress did not bring any new territory at all. Eğri, as well as Sarvaşka, Şirok and Çerep, were surrounded by the sancak of Hatvan as early as the 1560s, so the only change that took place in 1596 was that a few troublesome, out-of place 'foreign bodies' disappeared.

The vilayet of Eğri was made up of three sancaks, all taken away from the sancak of Buda: Hatvan, Solnok and Segedin. The latter only became part of the new vilayet in principle, as both its financial affairs and the registration of its soldiery continued to be managed in Buda. In the first—and last—pay lists of the vilayet, drafted in 1596 and 1606, the sancak of Segedin does not appear at all. On the other hand, the pay lists of the vilayet of Buda always conclude with the sancak of Segedin even in the 17th century, although sometimes with an odd solution: it is treated as if it was part of Buda but it is also noted that it belonged

to Eğri. As this was a general practice, I too include only the sancaks of Hatvan and Solnok in the vilayet of Eğri, while I will list the fortresses of the sancak of Segedin under Buda.

In the last decades of the 16th century there were several nahiyes in the sancak of Hatvan whose centres were royal Hungarian fortresses: Eğri, Onod, Dédes (Dideş), Şirok, Sarvaşka, Putnok (Putnik) and Tokaj (Tokay). From the point of view of taxation, these districts were real nahiyes: the majority of their settlements paid Ottoman taxes. At the same time, it is also true that most of the fortresses that gave their names to these districts never actually fell into Ottoman hands. No changes were made to this array of the sancak's nahiyes in the 17th century either, which means that after the taking of the four fortresses, regarding taxation, not only the nahiye of Şirok and Sarvaşka, but the nahiye of Eğri itself remained under the authority of Hatvan as well (*nahiye-i Eğri der liva-i Hatvan*). Naturally, as a vilayet centre Eğri was not subordinate to Hatvan—the relationship was just the opposite—, but the kind of provincial seat which had no central sancak (*paşa sancağı*) first appeared here, to become prominent later.

The story of the vilayet took place in the 17th century, when we lack sources on garrisons everywhere—the sources on the vilayet of Eğri are poorer than average. Altogether only two pay lists survive, from 1596–1597 and from 1606–1607. What is more, in the earlier list the section on Eğri itself is very incomplete, and as a result we are able to form a picture of the garrison of the fortress only at one time. It is but cold comfort that in this vilayet there is not one case where we know that a certain fortress existed but have no sources about it.

### Kale-i EĞRİ (Hu. Eger)

Ottoman possession 1596–1687

While in Hungarian hands, the fortress could not offer much help to the other fortresses of the Kingdom, because it stood far to the south, separated from the defensive line of Hungarian border fortresses. As an Ottoman fortress, however, it had to undertake a great task: instead of the fortresses located north of Buda and lost in the autumn of 1593, it had to face the Hungarian fortresses on its own on the north-east border of Ottoman Hungary, which it pestered with continuous raids (these were recorded in Hungarian sources). In the first decades of the 17th century Eğri and Estergon were tasked with forcing the northern border area of the Kingdom back into the Ottoman tax regime; practically all the Ottoman sipahis with estates in the Hungarian counties to the north of Eğri lived in Eğri; they too reinforced the military might of the garrison.

**1596–1597, 1598** (BOA MAD 16286, pp. 1–48: pay list. MAD 136, pp. 2–25: the list of the topçus and müteferrikas sent from the Porte)

The pay list is incomplete, one or two, probably two, sheets are missing between the 31st squad of the müstahfizs and the 5<sup>th</sup> cavalry company, this means some squads of the müstahfizs, the artillery, the gönüllüs and the auxiliary units, as well as the first four ağaliks of the cavalrymen. On average, the names of 300 soldiers per sheet were registered, so either about 300 or about 600 soldiers' names are missing. The number of the existing 'local' defenders is 781, 184 soldiers were transferred from the Porte; but there must have been more than this, since the source does not mention yeniçeris, for example.

Branch	Pay list heads	Units
Müstahfız	259 (+?)	
Faris (5. ağa) (incomplete)	41	5 oda
Azab	283	3 ağa, 21 riyaset, 61 oda
Martolos	130 (+3 ağa?)	[3 ağa?], 3 sermiye, 16 oda
Martolos from Sarvaşka	68	1 ağa, 10 oda
<b>Total of locals (incomplete)</b>	<b>781</b>	
Porte topçu in 1598	142	
Porte müteferrika in 1598	42	

*Officers.* Müstahfız: Hasan Abdullah ağa, Ali Abdullah kethüda, Rizvan Hüsrev kâtib. Faris: Musli ağa. Azab: Osman ağa, Salih kapudan, alemdar, 10 reis, Mustafa ağa, Hüseyin Hasan kethüda, Hamza kâtib, 8 reis, Mustafa Divane ağa, Hasan kethüda, 3 reis, the average number of ordinary soldiers per squad is 4 men. Martolos: with the exception of one Muslim they are all Christians, even the sermiyes. Martolos from Sarvaşka: Yusuf Mustafa ağa, 2 sermiye. 194 Christians.

**1606–1607** (BOA Tapu 704, pp. 1–109: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Present heads	Units	Vacant posts (%)	Recruits heads (%)
Müstahfız	262	94	33 bölük	198 (75.6)	30 (31.9)
Mehter	2	2	–	–	–
Topçu	18	10	7 bölük	11 (61.1)	3 (30)
Arabacı	9	3	2 bölük	6 (66.7)	–
Gönüllü	503	449	50 bölük	94 (18.7)	40 (8.9)
Faris	268	238	5 ağa, 33 oda	72 (26.9)	42 (17.6)
Azab	303	129	3 ağa, 22 riyaset, 65 oda	203 (67)	29 (22.5)
Martolos	200	127	3 ağa, 26 oda	76 (38)	3 (2.4)
<b>Total of local soldiers</b>	<b>1565</b>	<b>1052</b>		<b>660 (42.2)</b>	<b>147 (14)</b>
Porte yeniçeri	372	372	18 bölük, 14 cemaat	11 (3)	11 (3)
Porte cebeci	17	17	–	–	–
<b>Total</b>	<b>1954</b>	<b>1441</b>			
Hademe-i cevami	21				

The less valuable local troops of the garrison were shattered; the strength of the defense was supplied by the well-maintained units from the Porte, the gönüllüs and farises. The majority of the missing soldiers, 484 defenders, left the fortress. Desertion was not stopped by the exceptionally high wages, as these were paid only with several years' delay. Later the local forces were further reduced by the transfer of 79 men into the garrison of Heveş, which was then being set up.

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Hasan ağa dizdar 70, Ali Abdullah kethüda 28, Rizvan Hüsrev kâtib 14, alemdar 13, bevvab 11, seroda 10–15 (majority 13), ordinary soldiers 9. Mehter: 20, 15. Topçu: Şaban Mehmed ağa 30, İskender Mahmud kethüda 25, serbölük 11, ordinary soldiers 9. Arabacı: Kurd Divane ağa 30, Sinan Divane kethüda 15, serbölük 12, ordinary soldiers 8; the complete unit was transferred to Heveş. Gönüllü: Mustafa Ali ağa 120, Hasan kethüda 78, kâtib 36, serbölük 25–47, ordinary soldiers 20–28 (majority 20). Faris: Mahmud ağa 41, Hasan Divane ağa 43, Musli Mehmed ağa 45, Ömer Ali ağa 50,



Musa Hasan ağa 41, seroda 20–30, majority of ordinary soldiers 15; the unit of the 3rd ağa was transferred to Heveş. Azab: Salih kapudan 30, Mustafa Turhan ağa 50, İbrahim kethüda 25, Mustafa ağa 50, Hüseyin Hasan kethüda 28, Hamza Yusuf kâtib 12, Mustafa Divane ağa 50, Hasan kethüda 29, alemdar 10, reis 14–24, seroda 10–14 (majority 10), ordinary soldiers 8; 7 azabs were transferred to Heveş. Martolos: Ali Divane ağa 30, Lazar Živko, Velčko Mirko and Cvetko Miloš sermiye 20–21, Ferhad Yusuf ağa 33, Radan Vujča and Pavle G'uro sermiye 15, 17, seroda 9–13 (majority 10), majority of ordinary soldiers 8; 3 men were commanded to Heveş. Of the soldiers in the original list, 201 men were Christians. Porte yeniçeri: Osman ağa 80, Mehmed kethüda 52, Yusuf kâtib 30, serbölük 13, ser-i cemaat 20, majority of ordinary soldiers 8; 66 yeniçeris returned from leave spent with their relatives, one was appointed the dizdar of Heveş. Porte cebeci: Ali Mehmed ser 48, ordinary soldiers 4–14 (majority 5–6).

*Hademe-i cevami.* Cami-i şerif der kale-i enderun: Şeyh Musliheddin vaiz, hatib 35, Sefer imam 20, Ömer İbrahim müezzini-i evvel 10, Ahmed Mustafa müezzini-i sani, devr-han, kayyum 21, Yusuf baba çiraktar 8, Ali halife muarraf 6. Cami-i şerif in town: Ahmed hatib, imam-i evvel, muallim-i mekteb 62, Musliheddin imam-i sani 20, Sinan Mahmud müezzini-i evvel, devr-han 13, Şaban Hüseyin müezzini-i sani, devr-han 13, Mustafa İbrahim muarraf 8, Mustafa Hasan kayyum 8, Derviş Ali sala-han 5, Hasan Murad kayyum-i sani, siraci 8. Cami-i şerif der makam-i alem-i şerif-i hazret-i sultan: Sefer hatib 20, Şaban halife imam 10, Hüseyin Ali müezzini-i evvel 6, Mehmed Mustafa müezzini-i sani 10, Hüseyin kayyum 4, Arslan halife muarraf 6.

I found no more sources on the local soldiers of Eğri; I did, however, find the list of yeniçeris transferred from the Porte at various dates. Their numbers, approaching 400 at the turn of the century, had dropped to 100 by 1670 (in the meantime, the vacancies in the unit were filled twice in the 1610s), which could have two reasons. One of them is the half-century long period of peace, during which the local soldiers and sipahis crammed into Eğri proved that they were able to continuously pester the Hungarian fortresses and force the royal counties located north of them into the Ottoman tax regime on their own. On the other hand, in the 1660s the Ottomans took Varad and Uyvar, two outpost border fortresses, and filled them with soldiers from the Porte.

**1613–1615** (BOA MAD 116, pp. 18–21, 64–72, 116–121, 203–213, 255–265, 307–317)

1022–1023 (= 21.02.1613–10.02.1615) the numbers of eight quarter years (in recec 1022 and masar 1023 the garrison was replaced; this is why two sets of numerical data appear): 354, 287/512, 478, 479, 563/474, 1024, 1025, 841 yeniçeris.

**1617–1618** (BOA MAD 4968, pp. 22–28, 74–80)

1026 lezez–1207 masar: 384, 340 yeniçeris.

**1666–1671** (BOA MAD 5996, pp. 462–463, 798–799, 918–919)

1077 reşen–1078 recec: 107, 1080 masar–recec: 100, 1081 masar–recec: 97 yeniçeris.

## LİVA-İ HATVAN

## Kale-i HATVAN

For the 16th century data, see the vilayet of Buda

At the beginning of September, 1596, Christian troops recaptured Hatvan for a brief period of 40 days, and killed some of the defending soldiers and sipahis. The reorganised garrison was set up from the remaining soldiers of Hatvan and eight lost fortresses; as a result its structure lacked order, the squads were incomplete, the proportion of officers was improbably high. Almost three quarters of the garrison were cavalymen, which made the fulfilment of the yet again timely task possible: Hatvan had to assist Eğri in forcibly bringing the settlements to the east as far as the river Tisza back into the Ottoman taxation system.

**1596–1597** (BOA MAD 16286, pp. 80–126: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Branch / total	Units
Müstahfız	14	67	5 bölük
Müstahfız from Böğürdelen	21		2 bölük
Müstahfız from Keköy	32		5 bölük
Topçu	1	9	
Topçu from Böğürdelen	4		–
Topçu from Keköy	4		–
Faris	180	604	2 ağa, 11 oda
Faris from Filek	65		2 ağa, 13 oda
Faris from Sobotka-i Filek	25		1 ağa, 5 oda
Faris from Divin	29		1 ağa, 5 oda
Faris from Novigrad	94		2 ağa, 11 oda
Faris from Böğürdelen	59		1 ağa, 10 oda
Faris from Siçen	114		2 ağa, 15 oda
Faris from Keköy	38		1 ağa, 7 oda
Azab	84	104	2 ağa, 2 riyaset, 11 oda
Azab from Keköy	20		1 ağa, 1 riyaset, 5 oda
Martolos	19	65	1 ağa, 4 oda
Martolos from Diregel	28		8 oda
Martolos from Siçen	11		1 ağa, 2 oda
Martolos from Keköy	7		1 ağa, 2 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>849</b>	<b>849</b>	

*Officers.* Müstahfız: Mustafa ağa ba timar, İbrahim İsa kethüda. Müstahfız from Böğürdelen: Osman Divane ağa, Veli Hüseyin kethüda. Müstahfız from Keköy: Mustafa Divane [ağa?], Mustafa Veli kethüda. Topçu: Ahmed kethüda. Topçu from Böğürdelen: Ahmed Bali ser. Topçu from Keköy: Kurd İshak ser. Faris: 3 ağas unknown. Faris from Filek: Hasan Divane ağa, Behram Pervane ağa, Osman Mustafa ser-i topçuyan-i Filek. Faris from Sobotka: Şaban ağa. Faris from Divin: İbrahim Divane ağa. Faris from Novigrad: Ali ağa, Hüseyin Pervane ağa. Faris from Böğürdelen: Mehmed Ali ağa. Faris from Siçen: Bali Divane ağa, Sefer Davud ağa. Faris from Keköy: Mehmed Hüseyin ağa. Azab: Bekir Divane ağa, Mehmed Ali kethüda, one reis, Hüseyin Ali ağa, Hızır Divane kethüda, one reis. Azab from Keköy: Ferhad Divane ağa, Hasan Divane kethüda, one reis. Martolos: Mehmed Ali

ağa, Vukašin Petre sermiye. Martolos from Diregel: Rajak kulaguz, Jovan Stojan sermiye. Martolos from Siçen: Mustafa Ali ağa, Lazar kulaguz. Martolos from Keköy: Ramazan Divane ağa, Arslan Cafer sermiye. 58 Christians.

**1606–1607** (BOA Tapu 704, pp. 136–168: pay list)

In the previous decade about 250 men were withdrawn from the fortress, but the ratio between different units did not change: the farises still constituted almost three quarters of the garrison. The number of men present and payments are unknown.

Branch	Pay list heads	Branch / total	Units
Müstahfız	14	22	5 bölük
Müstahfız from Keköy	8		1 bölük
Topçu	1	5	–
Topçu from Keköy	4		–
Faris	177	408	3 ağa, 24 oda
Faris from Filek	47		2 ağa, 10 oda
Faris from Sobotka-i Filek	22		1 ağa, 4 oda
Faris from Divin	19		1 ağa, 3 oda
Faris from Siçen	108		2 ağa, 13 oda
Faris from Keköy	35		7 oda
Azab	79	106	2 ağa, 10 oda
Azab from Użice	7		1 ağa, 1 riyaset, 1 oda
Azab from Keköy	20		1 ağa, 1 riyaset, 5 oda
Martolos	22	41	1 ağa, 5 oda
Martolos from Siçen	12		1 ağa, 2 oda
Martolos from Keköy	7		1 ağa, 2 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>582</b>	<b>582</b>	

*Officers.* Müstahfız: no change. Müstahfız from Keköy: Mustafa Divane dizdar. Topçu: Ali Halil kethüda. Topçu from Keköy: no change. Faris: Hüseyin İlyas ağa, Receb Divane ağa, Şaban Ali ağa. Faris from Filek: Hüseyin Divane ağa, Ali Osman ağa. Faris from Sobotka: Piri Uruc ağa. Faris from Divin: Mustafa Hırvat ağa. Faris from Siçen: Mehmed Hüseyin ağa, second ağa unknown. Faris from Keköy: without ağa. Azab: no change. Azab from Użice: Mustafa ağa, one reis. Azab from Keköy: no change. Martolos: Ahmed Hüseyin ağa, Mihajlo Jovan sermiye. Martolos from Siçen: no change. Martolos from Keköy: Vuk ağa, Arslan Cafer sermiye. 32 Christians.

**1664** (Evilyâ Çelebi, 7. *Kitap*, 60): 300 soldiers. If this data are correct, it means the defenders were as numerous as they had been in the 16th century.

### Kale-i ŞİROK / ŞİROKA (Hu. Sirok) Ottoman possession 1596–1687

An auxiliary fortress of Eğri, a nahiye centre. It was too small for cavalry to serve here.

LİVA-İ HATVAN

**1596–1597** (BOA MAD 16286, pp. 66–75: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Units
Müstahfız	42	1 ağa, 6 bölük
Topçu	12	1 ağa, 1 bölük
Azab	65	1 ağa, 2 riyaset, 7 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>119</b>	
Hademe-i cami	3	

*Officers.* Müstahfız: Ferhad Şirmerd ağa, Beşir kethüda. Topçu: Mehmed Divane ağa, İbrahim kethüda. Azab: Rizvan Abdullah ağa, Ali Hasan kethüda, 2 reis. Hademe-i cami: Mehmed halife imam, Mahmud halife müezzın, Maustafa Yusuf kayyum. 3 Christians.

**1606–1607** (BOA Tapu 704, pp. 123–128: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Units
Müstahfız	39	No change
Topçu	12	
Azab	66	
<b>Total</b>	<b>117</b>	
Hademe-i cami	3	

*Officers.* Müstahfız: Ferhad Şirmerd ağa, Hasan Divane kethüda. Topçu, azab, hademe-i cami: no change.

Kale-i **SARVAŞKA** (Hu. Szarvaskő)  
Ottoman possession 1596–1687

This was the strongest auxiliary fortress of Eğri, a nahiye centre.

**1596–1597** (BOA MAD 16286, pp. 53–65, 79: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Units
Müstahfız	53	7 bölük
Topçu	12	1 bölük
Faris	63	1 ağa, 8 oda
Azab	46	1 ağa, 2 riyaset, 7 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>174</b>	
Hademe-i cami	3	

*Officers.* Müstahfız: Hüseyin Ahmed dizdar, Haydar Ferhad kethüda. Topçu: Hüseyin ağa, Abdülkerim Mehmed kethüda. Faris: Beşir Divane ağa. Azab: Numan ağa, Mustafa Abdullah kethüda, 2 reis. Hademe-i cami: Hüseyin Veli imam, Mustafa Hüseyin müezzın, Mustafa Hüseyin kayyum (probably the same person). 2 Christians.

VİLAYET-İ EĞRİ

**1606–1607** (BOA Tapu 704, pp. 113–122: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Units
Müstahfız	53	No change
Topçu	12	
Faris	63	
Azab	49	
<b>Total</b>	<b>177</b>	
Hademe-i cami	3	

*Officers.* Müstahfız: no change; he expected the transfer of three men into Heveş. Topçu: Ramazan Hüseyin ağa, Abdülkerim kethüda. Faris: Ahmed Murad ağa. Azab: Numan Sefer ağa, Hüseyin İskender kethüda. Hademe-i cami: no change.

Kale-i **ÇEREP** (Hu. Cserép)  
Ottoman possession 1596–1687

The smallest of Eğri's three auxiliary fortresses, it could not take in cavalry either.

**1596–1597** (BOA MAD 16286, pp. 74–78: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Units
Müstahfız	30	6 bölük
Topçu	8	1 bölük
Azab	32	1 ağa, 2 riyaset, 7 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>70</b>	

*Officers.* Müstahfız: Nasuh dizdar, Hasan Abdullah. Topçu: Mehmed Divane ser, Halil Divane kethüda. Azab: Memi Gazi ağa, İsa Kurd kethüda, 2 reis.

**1606–1607** (BOA Tapu 704, pp. 130–132: pay list)

The azabs were withdrawn from the fortress, three were surely placed in Heveş, then under construction; the others may have been transferred there too. The source does not indicate who was actually present; the fact that the daily wage of the imam, who appears here, was covered from the money not paid for the two vacant posts shows that this pay list does not register the soldiers actually performing military service either here or in the other fortresses.

Müstahfız: 35. 7 bölük. No change in officers. Topçu: 7. Halil Divane ser, Osman Kurd kethüda. Mehmed halife imam. Total: 42.

Palanka / Kale-i **HEVEŞ** (Hu. Heves)  
Constructed around 1606  
Ottoman possession to 1687

Constructed south of Eğri, far from the border, on flat land, its existence is difficult to explain (maybe it was intended to replace the disused palanka of Canfedâ). It was garrisoned on the orders of beylerbeyi Sinan during his second term

of service at Eğri (1604–1606). The soldiers were transferred here from Eğri, Sarvaşka and Çerep; the majority, 79 men, from Eğri. In 1606–1607 the corps of officers of müstahfizes and of topçus (numbering three and four men respectively), as well as 81 farises and 16 azabs, were already ordered to proceed to the palanka, the majority of them went there.

## LİVA-İ SOLNOK

### Kale-i SOLNOK

For the 16th-century data, see the vilayet of Buda

**1596–1597** (BOA MAD 16286, pp. 127–141: pay list)

The list contains only cash-paid soldiers, as well as the soldiers—also paid in cash—transferred from Senmikloş, which was burnt by the Christian army in 1595. Attempts were made to keep the salary timar troops on income from estates; the failure of these attempts is recognised in the next list.

Faris: 118. 12 oda. Cafer Ferhad ağa, Hüseyin Abdullah kapudan. Martolos: 80. 9 oda. Hasan Divane ağa, Petre Nikola sermiye. Faris from Senmikloş: 98. 10 oda. Mehmed Ferhad ağa. Martolos from Senmikloş: 42. 5 oda. Ali Divane ağa, Petre Pavle sermiye. Total (with pay): 338.

**1606–1607** (BOA Tapu 704, pp. 169–182: pay list)

The combined list of soldiery is probably incomplete, although, yet again, all the units appear on the list. As the war and the anti-Habsburg campaigns of the Transylvanian prince István Bocskai, as well as the accompanying destruction of villages, made the income of estate holders thoroughly uncertain, the treasury tried out a dual means of payment. It guaranteed payment in cash to three men in each of the müstafiz squads, and four men in each azab squad, and left the soldiers the task of collecting the greater part of their income from the estates as well as they could (the same method was used in Senmikloş as well). I reckon the complete garrison to have been around 350 men, including the personnel that must have been there but were not registered.

Branch	Pay list heads	Presumed number	Units
Müstahfiz	45	120–130	14 bölük
Topçu	19		3 bölük
Cebeci	2		–
Faris	116		1 ağa, 12 oda
Azab	25	45–50	1 ağa, 1 riyaset, 7 oda
Martolos	45		1 ağa, 5 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>252</b>	<b>ca. 350</b>	

*Officers.* Müstahfiz: Mehmed Divane dizdar, Hasan Turali kethüda, anbari. Topçu: Hasan Divane ağa, Jovan kethüda, kulaguz. Faris: Cafer Ferhad ağa. Azab: Hasan Murad ağa, Hasan Abdullah kapudan, Kurd kethüda, reis. Martolos: Hasan Divane ağa, Marko Pavle sermiye. 43 Christians.

**Mid-17th century** (BOA MAD 16046, pp. 22–26: icmal)

The source is an undated sum total referring to the settlements which were destroyed in the course of the campaigns led by Transylvanian princes István Bocskai, Gábor Bethlen and György Rákóczi I in the sancak of Solnok, and to the ones that refused to pay Ottoman taxes, thus causing grave losses to the treasury, to the sipahis and to the garrison soldiers who held salary timars. The basis of the sum total was the icmal drafted in 1592 and also used in 1613 (BOA Tapu 658, MAD 450), in which only the names of the estate holders and fortress soldiers were erased, while their numbers and squads were copied unchanged. This may mean that the treasury calculated with approximately as many defenders in Solnok as there were before the war.

**1665** (Evliyâ Çelebi, 7. *Kitap*, 135): 500 soldiers.

**Palanka-i SENMİKLOŞ**

For the 16th-century data, see the vilayet of Buda

**1596–1597** (BOA MAD 16286, pp. 127–141: pay list)

After the Christian troops burned the fortress in 1595, the whole garrison was probably transferred to Solnok, however, the only reliable source left shows that its 98 cavalymen and 42 martoloses were transferred (see Solnok 1596–1597).

**1606–1607** (BOA Tapu 704, pp. 182–189: pay list)

Similarly to Solnok, the müstafizes and azabs were paid from two sources, estates and cash. We can estimate the garrison of the fortress at 210 men; the strongest unit was the cavalry.

Branch	Pay list heads	Presumed number	Units
Müstahfız	18	40	4 bölük
Topçu	7		1 bölük
Faris	99		1 ağa, 10 oda
Azab	15	20–22	1 ağa, 1 riyaset, 3 oda
Martolos	43		1 ağa, 5 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>182</b>	<b>ca. 210</b>	

*Officers.* Müstahfız: Mehmed Divane dizdar, Sefer Bahşi kethüda. Topçu: Mustafa Abdullah ser. Faris: Mehmed Ferhad ağa. Azab: Zülfikar Hasan ağa, Hüseyin Divane kethüda, reis. Martolos: Ali Divane ağa, Petre Mira(?) sermiye. 42 Christians.

**Mid-17th century** (BOA MAD 16046, pp. 26–27: icmal)

The same is true of the source as in the case of Solnok.

Evliyâ Çelebi did not write about Senmikloş.

**Palanka-i ÇONGRAD**

For the 16th-century data, see the vilayet of Buda

**1596–1597** (BOA MAD 16286, pp. 142–143: pay list)

Only the cash-paid cavalry appear.

Faris: 59. 6 oda. Arslan Divane ağa.

**1606–1607** (BOA Tapu 704, pp. 190–191: pay list)

This too is the list of cavalry, although by mistake the scribe called them müstahfiz. The unchanged number of cavalymen leads us to presume that the size of the garrison could have been the same as before the war.

Faris: 58. 6 oda. Sefer Nasuh ağa. Yusuf halife imam.

**Mid-17th century** (BOA MAD 16046, pp. 27–28: icmal)

The same is true for the chapter of the source which deals with Çongrad as for the parts on Solnok and Senmikloş, with the difference that towards the end of the list the scribe registered the units in a fashion which was even more disorderly than in the two other fortresses.

**1665** (Evliyâ Çelebi, 7. *Kitap*, 136): 200 soldiers.

## VİLAYET-İ KANIJA

When the Ottomans took Kanija in 1600, a situation similar to that after the capture of Eğri emerged: the fortress did not come with a new province, and no new territory which had not previously at least paid tax to the Turks was won. Thus this vilayet too could only be formed at the expense of the vilayet of Buda. The sancaks of Peçuy and Sigetvar were detached from Buda and placed under Kanija. The sancak of Sigetvar already surrounded Kanija in the 16th century, collecting tax from far beyond it, thus the new provincial seat was inside a sancak subordinate to it, and as a result the paşa had no central sancak here either.

The chapter on the vilayet contains the sources on Kanija and the fortresses in the sancaks of Peçuy and Sigetvar, as well as on a few fortified places which were captured for a short time during the war at the turn of the century. At first sight, it seems to be based on an excellent set of sources, as the payment accounts of the fortresses up until 1650 have survived. Unfortunately, after 1630 they are of little value. The scribes copied the data concerning numbers and sums paid to soldiers from the sum total of one year to another without any changes; if the scribe got one number wrong, the mistake was also copied by the others. Even so, these data are good for some purposes. For one thing, they reveal the number of soldiers whose payment the Kanija treasury calculated with, partly they allow us to compare fortresses in terms of strength and size, in the region of Ottoman Hungary which was most closely packed with soldiers.

There are two fortresses in the vilayet of whose existence we know for sure, but which is not included here because there is no source material on it: Ígal in Somogy county, and Berkigát, built on the bank of the river Kapos in 1655, and in service until 1660.<sup>1</sup>

### Kale-i KANIJA (Hu. Kanizsa)

Ottoman possession 1600–1690

Kanija was manned with the strongest garrison in the stretch of border facing the Austrian hereditary provinces, and as such of outstanding importance. The

<sup>1</sup> Sándor Papp, 'Berkigát: an Unknown Turkish Palisade in Southern Transdanubia', in Ibolya Gerelyes–Gyöngyi Kovács (eds.), *Archaeology of the Ottoman Period in Hungary*. Budapest 2003, 137–144.



garrison consisted of two parts, the local troops and troops of the Porte. The number of the former was between 1350 and 1700; even in time of peace the leadership of the vilayet took care to replace missing soldiers; what is more, they slowly but continuously increased the number of soldiers. The only possible sign of negligence is that as time went on the azabs, whose military value was weaker, grew to outnumber the cavalymen, who were the most numerous in the first decades. The really powerful artillery of the fortress is outstanding. Initially, in the years of war, *yeniçeris* of the Porte constituted the strongest element of defence, later, in the decades of peace their numbers fell below 200, but they were always present. In the constant struggle to force the western territories of the Hungarian Kingdom, located along the borders, to pay Ottoman taxes, the *beylerbeyis* and the garrison of Kanija played the leading role.

**1603–1605** (BOA MAD 3731, pp. 2–120: list of Porte *yeniçeri*)

For one and a half decades, there is no source on the ‘local’ soldiery of Kanija. We do, on the other hand, know the *yeniçeris* of the Porte transferred into the fortress by name for two years (March 14, 1603–March 18, 1605); during this period they were listed six times, but the last register was unfinished.

In the spring of 1603 a total of 1838 *yeniçeris* served in the vilayet centre, which is almost six times the size of the unit stationed in Buda at the end of 1602. This very large number was justified by the outstanding importance of the defence of the south-west Transdanubian border; the war can be blamed for the fact that from the worn out and decimated local soldiery of Ottoman Hungary it would have been impossible to man the new fortress properly. In two years the number fell by 400 men. In the summer of 1605 we know of the fate of 72 men: 27 refused to participate in the campaign, 30 deserted (*fırar*); these 57 men were excluded from the main body. The remaining 15 died, disappeared, were captured or were granted a *timar*. The 57 *yeniçeris* who deserted during the frequent military operations in 1605 show how lax discipline was becoming.

The *yeniçeris* of Kanija were selected from 31 units stationed in the capital, 21 *cemaats* and 10 *bölüks* (they kept their numbering here too). The list was always headed by the 66<sup>th</sup> *cemaat*, whose *ağa*, Ali Pervane, the commander of the whole force, was granted the payment of 26, later 27 *akçe* a day, while his deputy, Hamza Mahmud *kethüda*, was paid 11, later 12 *akçe* a day. The leaders of the more numerous units received 25, those of the smaller ones 7–11 *akçe*, common soldiers shamefully little: the majority of the soldiers of the 66<sup>th</sup> *cemaat*, which led the body, 3 *akçe*. In order to repair this outrageous situation, which humiliated *yeniçeris* and prompted them to leave, from the quarter year beginning on December 5, 1603, the payment of those 73 soldiers who earned more than 7 *akçe* or more a day was raised by one *akçe*, while the pay of the majority, 210 men, were all raised to 7 *akçe*; even this was still less than the wages of the local defenders.

The number of *yeniçeris* in Kanija at five dates were as follows:

14.03.1603–10.06.1603: 1,838 men, their daily wage 10,539 *akçe*,  
 11.06.1603–04.12.1603: 1,785 men, their daily wage 10,159 *akçe*,  
 05.12.1603–29.05.1604: 1,781 men, their daily wage 13,822 *akçe*,  
 30.05.1604–26.08.1604: 1,587 men, their daily wage 12,504 *akçe*,  
 27.08.1604–13.05.1605: 1,437 men, their daily wage 11,273 *akçe*.

# VİLAYET-İ KANİJA

**1615–1618** (BOA Kepeci 1905, pp. 8–9. Kepeci 1906, pp. 17–18, 26–27: pay accounts)

Branch	27.07.1615– 19.01.1616	09.01.– 28.12.1617	29.12.1617– 18.12.1618
Müstahfız	84	84	84
Topçu	32	34	34
Cebeci	11	11	11
Anbari	6	6	8
Mehter	–	–	7
Faris	564 (10 ağa)	580	580
Azab	529 (10 ağa)	537	529
Martolos	99 (3 ağa)	104	101
<b>Total</b>	<b>1325</b>	<b>1356</b>	<b>1354</b>
Hademe-i cami	13	13	13
Çavuş-i divan	4	5	5

In all likelihood, the garrison of Kanija differed greatly in the years of war and a decade after the peace treaty of 1606. As in the other great fortresses of Ottoman Hungary, the local soldiery prior to 1606 must have been insignificant, while the corps of yeniçeris was very powerful.

In the time of peace, the local troops were continuously brought up to strength, their numbers rose slightly in the years above; as befitted the location and rank of the fortress the most powerful unit was that of the cavalry. In the meantime, there were fewer and fewer yeniçeris, as indicated in the following table (in the autumn of 1614 almost two-thirds of them were relocated).

**1610s** (BOA MAD 116, pp. 74–78, 122–127, 221–227, 273–279, 327–333. MAD 4968, pp. 34–37, 86–89. MAD 116: lists of yeniçeris)

Years 1022–1023, 1026–1027	Yeniçeri heads
21.02.1613–20.05.1613	413
21.05.1613–16.08.1613 (complete change of corps)	348 / 421
17.08.1613–13.11.1613	421
14.11.1613–10.02.1614	422
11.02.1614–06.08.1614	419
07.08.1614–03.11.1614	412
04.11.1614–30.01.1615	169
02.10.1617–28.12.1617	153
29.12.1617–27.03.1618	147

**1619** (ÖNB Mxt 631, pp. 2–24: pay list)

The numbers in the table indicate soldiers in service who were entitled to payment, whose numbers were added up by the scribe unit by unit (he did not use muster signs).

Branch	Pay list heads	Units
Müstahfız	84	13 bölük
Topçu	34	6 bölük
Cebeci	12	2 bölük

VİLAYET-İ KANİJA

Anbari	8	–
Mehter	7	–
Faris	583	10 ağa, 83 oda
Azab	542	10 ağa, 25 riyaset, 83 oda
Martolos	100	3 ağa, 19 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>1370</b>	
Hademe-i cevami	13	
Çavuş-i divan	5	

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Receb ağa 60, Hasan kethüda 20, Hüseyin kâtib 30, his kethüda Yusuf 20, serbölük 8–13, majority of ordinary soldiers 8. Topçu: Mehmed ağa 20, Hüseyin kethüda 17, serbölük 10, ordinary soldiers 8. Cebeci: Murad ağa 35, Cezmi(?) kethüda 22, serbölük 10, ordinary soldiers 8. Anbari: Hüseyin Behram ağa 15, Osman kâtib 15, Niko(?) neccar [mimar?] 25, others 8. Mehter: Osman Abdullah ser 15, others 13. Faris: Ahmed ağa, Hasan Ahmed alemdar, other Ahmed ağa, Hüseyin Receb kethüda, Veli alemdar, Ali ağa, Kurd ağa, Hasan ağa, Hüseyin Bosna alemdar, other Hasan ağa, Hüseyin alemdar, other Ali ağa, Mustafa kethüda, Mustafa ağa, Ahmed kethüda, Selim alemdar, İbrahim ağa, Sefer ağa, Ali alemdar; ağa: 26–60, kethüda: 24–30, alemdar: 14–18, seroda 13–27, majority of ordinary soldiers 12–13. Azab: Hasan ağa, Mahmud kethüda, Nasuh Hasan alemdar, Ali Bosna ağa, Hacı Mustafa kethüda, Mahmud alemdar, Mehmed ağa, Ferhad kethüda, İbrahim Hüseyin alemdar, Hasan çavuş, Hasan Turak ağa, Hüseyin kethüda, Mustafa alemdar, Hasan Divane ağa, Salih kethüda, Keyvan Gazanfer alemdar, Osman ağa, İbrahim Divane kethüda, Mehmed ağa, Hüseyin Muharrem kethüda, İbrahim Hasan alemdar, Mezd(?) ağa, Receb Zülfikar kethüda, Hüseyin alemdar, Mustafa çavuş, Murad Bali ağa, Mustafa kethüda, Ali Divane alemdar, Bekir ağa, Osman kethüda, Halil alemdar; ağa: 24–41, kethüda: 15–25, alemdar: 10–15, çavuş 9, 20, seroda 9–15, majority of ordinary soldiers 8–10. Martolos: Yusuf ağa, Alişah sermiye, Veli Divane alemdar, Şahman ağa, Petre sermiye, Bekir alemdar, Mehmed ağa, Stepan sermiye, Luka Dragojlo alemdar; ağa: 30, 34, sermiye: 12–14, alemdar: 12, 15, seroda 8–10, majority of ordinary soldiers 7. 90 Christians, half of them serving among the azabs.

*Hademe-i cami* (the bearers of several positions were not registered, those who were): İdris halife imam, hatib 30, Osman halife müezzin 16, Mustafa müezzin 16, Ahmed duagu 10, İbrahim Amuca kayyum, ferraş 16, Rizvan mütekaid 30, Osman muallim 8.

**1618–1626** (BOA MAD 2586, p. 6. Kepeci 2290, pp. 5-6, 10–11, 16–17, 22–23, 27–28, 31–32, 35–36: pay accounts)

Dates belonging to the columns of the table:

- |                          |                          |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. 19.12.1618–07.12.1619 | 5. 05.11.1622–24.10.1623 |
| 2. 08.12.1619–25.11.1620 | 6. 25.10.1623–13.10.1624 |
| 3. 26.11.1620–15.11.1621 | 7. 14.10.1624–02.10.1625 |
| 4. 16.11.1621–04.11.1622 | 8. 03.10.1625–21.09.1626 |

Branch	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.
Müstahfız	84	84	84	85	88	88	88	88
Topçu	34	34	34	34	37	86	87	86
Cebeci	12	12	12	23	23	24	28	24
Neccar	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–
Anbari	6	6	5	9	9	9	9	9
Mehter	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7

# VİLAYET-İ KANİJA

Faris	584	586	617	598	612	619	619	619
Azab	541	627	597	781	811	832	827	828
Martolos	101	67	85	–	–	–	–	–
<b>Total</b>	<b>1369</b>	<b>1423</b>	<b>1443</b>	<b>1537</b>	<b>1587</b>	<b>1665</b>	<b>1665</b>	<b>1661</b>
Hademe-i cami	13	14	?	9	10	10	10	10
Çavuş	4	4	4	4	4	3	3	3

In spite of the fact that the martoloses were withdrawn, the number of local soldiers increased continuously. The azabs thus became the largest unit in the fortress.

**1628–1630** (BOA MAD 7208, pp. 6–61: pay list, which was finalised on February 7, 1628. MAD 7089, pp. 26–28, 46–48: list of yeniçeris 1629–1630)

Branch	Pay list heads	Units
Müstahfız	87	13 bölük
Topçu	92	2 ağa, 13 bölük
Cebeci	28	2 cemaat, 3 bölük
Anbarcı	8	–
Mehter	7	–
Faris	624	10 ağa, 84 oda
Azab	846	16 ağa, 35 riyaset, 105 oda
<b>Total (local troops)</b>	<b>1692</b>	
Porte yeniçeri	first half-year: 170 second half-year: 175	3 cemaat, 1 bölük
<b>Total</b>	<b>1862 / 1867</b>	
Hademe-i cami	10	
Çavuş-i divan	3	

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Receb ağa, Hasan kethüda, Yusuf kethüda, no change in pay, alemdar 11, majority of serbölüks 10, majority of ordinary soldiers 8. Topçu: had already served in Kanija: Mehmed ağa 28, Süleyman kethüda 17, serbölük 10, ordinary soldiers 8; in 1624 47 Şaş farises were transferred to Kanija as artillerymen; they may have been mounted musketeers. Their commander Mümin ağa 25, Hasan kethüda 15, serbölük 11, ordinary soldiers 10. Cebeci: Murad ağa 34, Ahmed Memi kethüda 25, İbrahim ağa 22, seroda 8–20, ordinary soldiers 7–8. Anbarcı: Hüseyin ağa 15, Bali kethüda 12, kâtib 21, kantari 8, others 5–8. Mehter: Ömer Abdullah 15, others 13. Faris: Ahmed ağa, alemdar, Piri Mehmed ağa, alemdar, Kurd ağa, Hasan ağa, alemdar, Hasan ağa, Ali ağa, alemdar, Mustafa ağa, Ahmed kethüda, alemdar, İbrahim ağa, Sefer ağa, alemdar; ağa: no change in pay, kethüda: 24, alemdar: no change in pay, seroda 15–23, ordinary soldiers 12–15. Azab: Hacı Derviş ağa, Mahmud and Yusuf kethüda, alemdar, 6 reis; Ali ağa, Süleyman kethüda, alemdar, 3 reis; Mehmed ağa, Abdi kethüda, alemdar, çavuş, 2 reis; Ömer ağa, Hasan kethüda, alemdar, 4 reis; Ali ağa, Salih kethüda, alemdar, 2 reis; Şaban ağa, İbrahim kethüda, alemdar, 2 reis; Mehmed Veli ağa, Hüseyin Veli kethüda, alemdar, 2 reis; Mezd ağa, Ali Abdullah kethüda, alemdar, 4 reis; Yusuf ağa, Osman kethüda, alemdar, 2 reis; Yusuf ağa, Alişah sermiye, alemdar (the unit was taken from among the martoloses and promoted to the rank of azab); Salih ağa, Hüseyin kethüda, alemdar, 2 reis; Mehmed ağa, Turak kethüda, alemdar, one reis; Hasan ağa, İvan kethüda, one reis; Ömer ağa, Nasuh kethüda, kulaguz, one reis; Süleyman ağa, İbrahim kethüda, one reis; Mehmed ağa-i cîsr-i Kanija; ağa:

# VİLAYET-İ KANİJA

20–41, kethüda: 10–25, alemdar: 10–15, çavuş: 20, kulaguz: 12, reis: 12–20, seroda 8–15, ordinary soldiers 5–13. 103 are Christians.

*Hademe-i cami*: Ömer halife vaiz 50, İdris imam, sermahfil, ... 48, Osman halife müezzini evvel, muarraf 22, Mustafa halife müezzini sani, duagu, feth-han 30, İbrahim halife temcid-han, devr-han 12, Rizvan halife kayyum, ferraş 16, Kulak Rizvan sipahi, mütekaid 30, Ahmed halife muallim, duagu 19, Ahmed halife türbedar 31, Yusuf ruznamçei 40. Çavuş: Ali kethüda 30, two others 20.

**1627–1631** (BOA Kepeci 1920, pp. 7, 13. Kepeci 1924, pp. 4–5, 12: pay accounts)

Dates belonging to the columns in the table:

1. 12.09.1627–30.08.1628
2. 31.08.1628–20.08.1629
3. 21.08.1629–09.08.1630
4. 10.08.1630–29.07.1631

Branch	1.	2.	3.	4.
Müstahfız	88	87	87	87
Topçu	91	89	87	87
Cebeci	25	24	24	24
Anbari	7	7	7	7
Mehter	6	6	6	6
Faris	622	620	621	621
Azab	817	817	821	821
<b>Total</b>	<b>1656</b>	<b>1650</b>	<b>1653</b>	<b>1653</b>
Hademe-i cami	12	12	12	15
Çavuş	3	3	3	3

**1647–1650** (BOA Kepeci 1942, pp. 4, 8–9. Kepeci 1944, pp. 3, 7–8: pay accounts)

Dates belonging to the columns in the table:

1. 06.02.1647–26.01.1648
2. 27.01.1648–14.01.1649
3. 15.01.1649–03.01.1650
4. 04.01.1650–24.12.1650

Branch	1.	2.	3.	4.
Müstahfız	87	87	87	87
Topçu	87	87	87	87
Cebeci	24	24	24	24
Anbari	6	7	6	7
Mehter	6	6	6	6
Faris	621	620	621	620
Azab	823	823	823	823
<b>Total</b>	<b>1654</b>	<b>1654</b>	<b>1654</b>	<b>1654</b>
Hademe-i cami	18	18	18	18
Çavuş	3	3	3	3

The numbers were copied from one year to the next, sometimes with errors, sometimes with corrections.

**1653, 1662–1663** (BOA MAD 6188, pp. 1–106: pay list. MAD 6909, pp. 30–31: list of yeniçeri)

The difference between the two lists is exactly ten years, as a result the local defenders and yeniçeris cannot be added together. On the other hand, it is interesting that the number of yeniçeris did not increase even in the war year of 1663; we can presume that there were very probably 1800 men in Kanija in the middle of the century.

Branch	Pay list heads	Units
Müstahfız	87	13 bölük
Topçu	89	2 ağa, 13 bölük
Cebeci	25	2 çete
Anbari	7	–
Mehter	6	–
Faris	624	10 ağa, 89 oda
Azab	826	15 ağa, 34 riyaset, 107 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>1664</b>	
Hademe-i cevami	13	
Çavuş-i divan	3	
Porte yeniçeri in 1662	135	

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Mustafa ağa 60, Ahmed kethüda 20, Seydi kethüda 20, kâtib 30, alemdar 11, serbölük 10–13, ordinary soldiers 8. Topçu: Hüseyin ağa, Hasan kethüda, İsmail ağa, Murad kethüda, no change in pay since 1628. Cebeci: Murad ağa 25, Mehmed kethüda, Ali ağa, Osman ağa-i zindani 20, no change in pay. Anbari: Mehmed ağa, Hasan kethüda 11, kâtib, kantari, no change in pay. Mehter: İbrahim mehterbaşı 15, others 13. Faris: Hüseyin ağa, Mehmed [kâtib], Ali ağa, Ahmed ağa, other Ali ağa, Hasan ağa, İbrahim ağa, Mehmed ağa, Durmuş ağa, Hüseyin Murad ağa, Hasan ağa, an alemdar under each ağa, no change in pay. Azab: Mehmed ağa with 3 kethüda: Şaban Mahmud, Mustafa Mahmud, Hasan, 2 alemdar, one bevab, 6 reis; Ahmed ağa, Habib kethüda, alemdar, 3 reis; Yusuf ağa, Mustafa kethüda, alemdar, çavuş, 2 reis; Hüseyin ağa, Ali kethüda, alemdar, 5 reis; Mustafa ağa, Hasan kethüda, alemdar, 2 reis; Memi ağa, Derviş kethüda, alemdar, 2 reis; Muslih ağa, İsa kethüda, alemdar, 2 reis; Hüseyin ağa, Ahmed kethüda, alemdar, one reis; Abdi(?) ağa, Nuh kethüda, alemdar, 2 reis; İsa ağa, İbrahim kethüda, alemdar, 2 reis; Ali ağa, two kethüda: Hasan and Ramazan, alemdar, 2 reis; Mehmed ağa, Salih kethüda, alemdar, one reis; Hüseyin ağa, Süleyman kethüda, alemdar, one reis; Ali ağa, Halil kethüda, alemdar, 2 reis; Mehmed ağa, Osman kethüda, alemdar, one reis; the payment of officers had not changed since 1628, among the serodas the usual pay had become 10–12, among the common soldiers 8–10 akçes.

*Hademe-i cevami*: Ali vaiz 50, Ali hatib 20, Süleyman imam 36, Ahmed halife müezzini evvel 22, Mustafa halife müezzini sani 20, Mustafa halife duaguy-i bab-i Kanija 10, Cafer halife feth-han 10, İbrahim halife devr-han 4, Mustafa dede kayyum 10, Hacı Yusuf ferraş 6, Ahmed halife duagu 30, Mahmud halife muallim 8. The following men had not served in Kanija: Mustafa imam-i Madgal(?) 7, Mahmud hatib-i Madgal(?) 6, Ahmed halife türbedar-i türbe-i şerif-i Sultan Süleyman 23, İbrahim halife imam-i kulle(?) 8, Ahmed duagu 3. Çavuş: Hudaverdi kethüda 30, two çavuşes 20.

**1664** (Evlîyâ Çelebi, 6. *Kitap*, 314): 2700 fortress soldiers and 3 oda Porte soldiers; he does not mention their number.

# VİLAYET-İ KANİJA

**1667–1671** (BOA MAD 5996, pp. 376–377, 662–663, 894–895: list of yeniçeris)

Years	Yeniçeri heads
23.06.1667–10.06.1668	191
08.09.1668–24.11.1669	190
14.11.1670–09.05.1671	175

## LİVA-İ PEÇUY

### Kale-i PEÇUY

For the 16th-century data, see the vilayet of Buda

**1615–1618** (BOA Kepeci 1905, pp. 11–12. Kepeci 1906, pp. 11, 20, 28–29: pay accounts)

Dates belonging to the columns in the table:

- 31.01.1615–19.01.1616
- 20.01.1616–14.07.1616 5 müstahfizes and 8 azabs were engaged in the Özü campaign.
- 09.01.1617–28.12.1617
- 29.12.1617–18.12.1618

Branch	1.	2.	3.	4.
Kale-i enderun				
Müstahfız	55	51	46	49
Anbari	–	4	4	3
Kale-i birun				
Müstahfız	40	40	38	38
Topçu	20	19	19	19
Azab	149	111	110	110
Azab-i bab-i cedit	–	–	–	14
<b>Total</b>	<b>264</b>	<b>225</b>	<b>217</b>	<b>233</b>

**1619** (ÖMB Mxt 631, pp. 59–64: pay list)

Seven, presumably timar-holding officers are missing from the beginning of the list; including them the total number of men was 252.

Branch	Pay list heads	Units
Kale-i enderun		
Müstahfız	50	6 bölük
Anbari	3	–
Kale-i birun		
Müstahfız	40	4 bölük
Topçu	20	2 bölük
Azab	132	3 ağa, 8 riyaset, 12 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>245 (+7 officers)</b>	
Hademe-i cami	2	

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Kale-i enderun. Müstahfız: ağa and kethüda unknown, serbölük 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Within six years, 18 vacant places were filled by new soldiers (36%). Anbari: 2 anbari 10, 6, demirci 6. Kale-i birun: Müstahfız: ağa, kethüda unknown, serbölük 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Within four years, 6 vacant positions were filled by new soldiers

(15%). Topçu: ağa, kethüda unknown, kâtib 10, serbölük 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Within ten years, five vacant places were filled by new soldiers (25%). Azab: first ağa unknown, Mehmed kethüda 12, Mustafa ağa 20, Hurrem kethüda 12, kâtib 7, Bayram ağa ba timar, reis 8, majority of serodas 7, ordinary soldiers 5–6. Within ten years, 13 vacant places were filled by new soldiers (9.8%). Behram halife duagu 24, Hasan Abdullah sala-han 6.

**1619–1626** (BOA MAD 2586, pp. 8–9. Kepeci 2290, pp. 7, 12, 18, 24, 29–30, 37: pay accounts)  
Dates belonging to the columns in the table:

1. 19.12.1618–07.12.1619
2. 08.12.1619–25.11.1620
3. 26.11.1620–15.11.1621
4. 16.11.1621–04.11.1622 This year saw a significant reduction in the number of soldiers.
5. 05.11.1622–24.10.1623
6. 25.10.1623–13.10.1624
7. 14.10.1624–02.10.1625
8. 03.10.1625–21.09.1626

Branch	1.	2.	3.	4–6.	7–8.
Kale-i enderun					
Müstahfız	31	55	55	55	55
Anbari	4				
Kale-i birun					
Müstahfız	39	40	40	40	40
Topçu	19	20	20	8	9
Azab	134	131	130	75	77
Total	227	246	245	178	181

**1628** (BOA MAD 7208, pp. 148–155: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Units
Kale-i enderun		
Müstahfız	50 (+ ağa)	6 bölük
Anbarcı	3	–
Kale-i birun		
Müstahfız	39 (+ ağa)	4 bölük
Topçu	8 (+ ağa)	1 bölük
Azab	75 (+ ağa)	2 ağa, 3 riyaset, 8 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>175 (+4)</b>	
Hademe-i cami	2	

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Kale-i enderun. Müstahfız: ağa unknown, Mehmed kethüda 19, other pay unchanged. Within an unknown period, 25 vacant positions were filled by new soldiers (50%). Anbarcı: İbrahim Divane [ser?] 10, haddad and others 6. Kale-i birun. Müstahfız: ağa unknown, Hurrem kethüda 12, kâtib, pay unchanged. Topçu: ağa unknown, Ali kethüda 10, pay unchanged. Azab: ağa unknown, Mehmed kethüda, 2 reis, Mustafa Hızır ağa, Mehmed Behram kethüda 15, 1 reis, pay unchanged. Behram halife duagu 24, Ali halife sala-han, his pay unchanged. 3 Christians.

**1627–1630** (BOA Kepeci 1920, pp. 9, 15. Kepeci 1924, pp. 6–7: pay accounts)



## VİLAYET-İ KANİJA

For three years, the scribes copied identical numbers. The 177 soldiers are to be complemented with 4 ağas, and two cami employees.

Kale-i enderun. Müstahfız with anbari: 51. Kale-i birun. Müstahfız: 39, topçu: 9, azab: 78. Total: 177 (+ 4). Duagu, sala-han.

**1647–1650** (BOA Kepeci 1942, pp. 5, 10. Kepeci 1944, pp. 5, 9: pay accounts)

This time, they calculated with identical numbers for four years; what is more, the scribe got the number of azabs wrong, and the mistake became permanent. Yet again, 4 ağas are missing, while there are two extra cami employees.

Müstahfız-i enderun: 52, müstahfız-i birun: 39, topçu: 9, azab: 71 [correctly 77]. Total: 177.

**1663** (Evliyâ Çelebi, 6. *Kitap*, 114): 200 soldiers.

## Kale-i KAPOŞVAR

For the 16th-century data, see the vilayet of Buda

**1615–1619** (BOA Kepeci 1905, pp. 10, 12. Kepeci 1906, pp. 10, 19, 28: pay accounts)

The list does not include müstafizes; they were presumably salary timar holders. From the next item's pay list it is possible to conclude that there were more artillerymen and azabs as well.

**1615–1618** (BOA MAD 2586, p. 8. Kepeci 2290, pp. 6–7, 12, 18, 24, 29, 33, 37)

Dates belonging to the columns in the table:

1. 27.07.1615–19.01.1616
2. 20.01.1616–08.01.1617      2 topçus, 8 azabs and 3 martoloses were engaged in the Özü campaign.
3. 09.01.1617–28.12.1617
4. 29.12.1617–18.12.1618

Branch	1.	2.	3.	4.
Ağa, kethüda	9	9	9	9
Topçu	20	16	20	20
Faris	138	136	136	138
Azab	99	77	98	97
Martolos	42	34	42	42
<b>Total without müstahfizes</b>	<b>308</b>	<b>272</b>	<b>305</b>	<b>306</b>

**1619** (ÖNB Mxt 631, pp. 64–69: pay list)

The müstafizes are missing; presumably a second unit of azabs, transferred from Söçen, also served in the fortress.

Branch	Pay list heads	Units
Ağa, kethüda	9	–
Topçu	22	2 bölük
Faris	139	3 ağa, 16 oda
Azab	99	1 ağa, 3 riyaset, 10 oda
Martolos	42	1 ağa, 6 oda
<b>Total without müstahfizes [and azabs?]</b>	<b>311</b>	

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Ağa, kethüda: Kurd ağa-i müstahfızan 25, Hüseyin Yusuf ağa-i evvel-i

azeban 18, Receb ağa-i azeban-i Söçen der muhafaza-i Kapoşvar 15, Mehmed İbrahim ağa-i sani-i topçuyan 15, Mustafa kethüda-i müstahfızan 9, Osman Hasan kethüda-i azeban 9, Hüseyin kethüda-i topçuyan 8, Bali Hızır reis 8, Mustafa Firuz topçu 5. Topçu: Ömer ağa ba timar, serbölük 9, ordinary soldiers 8. Faris: Gazi Mustafa ağa 33, Hasan Bali ağa 26, Hızır Dülger ağa 32, seroda 8–13, ordinary soldiers 7–10 (majority 8). Azab: Yusuf Hüseyin ağa 21, Ramazan Ali kethüda 12, reis 8, ordinary soldiers 6. Martolos: Mustafa Ali ağa 24, Jovan Divane sermiye 9, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5. 80 Christians.

**1619–1626** (BOA MAD 2586, p. 8. Kepeci 2290, pp. 6–7, 12, 18, 24, 29, 33, 37: pay accounts)

In 1621 two units of the artillerymen were made into the müstahfizes of the outer fortress, which by the following year had been reinforced with a further squad of soldiers. In 1622 two ağas were taken out from among the cash-paid officers; one of them was Hüseyin, the ağa of the müstahfizes, who was granted a timar yielding an income of 4500 akçes (BOA Ruznamçe 419, p. 367).

Dates belonging to the columns in the table:

- |                          |                          |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. 19.12.1618–07.12.1619 | 5. 05.11.1622–24.10.1623 |
| 2. 08.12.1619–25.11.1620 | 6. 25.10.1623–13.10.1624 |
| 3. 26.11.1620–15.11.1621 | 7. 14.10.1624–02.10.1625 |
| 4. 16.11.1621–04.11.1622 | 8. 03.10.1625–21.09.1626 |

Branch	1.	2.	3.	4.	5–6.	7–8.
Ağa	9	9	9	7	7	7
Topçu	20	20	21	–	–	–
Müstahfız-i enderun	–	–	–	22	33	33
Faris	139	139	139	139	140	139
Azab	99	99	99	99	99	99
Martolos	42	42	42	42	42	42
<b>Total (+ müstahfız?)</b>	<b>309</b>	<b>309</b>	<b>310</b>	<b>309</b>	<b>321</b>	<b>320</b>

**1628** (BOA MAD 7208, pp. 133–142: pay list)

The pay list registered a garrison which was smaller than in the pay accounts drafted two years earlier by a company of soldiers. Kapoşvar's own azabs disappeared, paid from some other sources, as their two ağas remained (and if there were any salary timar paid azabs previously transferred from Söçin they may have remained as well). In spite of the uncertainties, the garrison still seems to have been of medium strength, stronger than the garrison of the sancak seat. The structure of the troops, the majority of the officers and the payments did not change, so I shall only provide the number of soldiers.

Branch	Pay list heads
Ağa	7
Müstahfız-i birun (sic!)	33
Faris	139
Martolos	42
<b>Total</b>	<b>221</b>

## VİLAYET-İ KANİJA

**1627–1631** (BOA Kepeci 1920, pp. 8–9, 14. Kepeci 1924, pp. 6, 13: pay accounts)

The accounts for four years registered either 220 or 221 defenders; without doubt one total sum was copied from the other; what is more, with frequent mistakes.

**1647–1650** (BOA Kepeci 1942, pp. 5, 10. Kepeci 1944, pp. 4, 9: pay accounts)

Here too, we have a copy full of mistakes.

Ağa: 7, müstahfız-i birun: 33, faris: 139, martolos: 42. Total: 221.

**1664** (Evliyâ Çelebi, 7. *Kitap*, 17): 600(!) soldiers.

### Parkan-i NADAJ

For its 16th-century data, see the vilayet of Buda

**1600** (ÖNB Mxt 636, pp. 2, 25: treasury accounts)

Among the expenses of the Buda treasury, the payment of Sinan, ağa of the Nadaj azabs, appears twice. This means that at this time azabs guarded the fortress as well, but their numbers are unknown.

**1618** (BOA Kepeci 1906, p. 28: treasury accounts)

In the accounts of the treasury of Kanija, kept for four years, Nadaj only appears in 1618 with the following numbers of defenders: müstahfız: 28, topçu: 10, martolos: 29. Total: 67.

**1619** (ÖNB Mxt 631, pp. 69–70: pay list. BOA Kepeci 2586, p. 9. Kepeci 2290, p. 7: pay accounts)

The reason for the reduction in the number of soldiers was that the martoloses were disappearing; the disorderly list of their names and the accounts of the following year do not exclude the possibility that they had already been dismissed.

Branch	Pay list heads	Units
Müstahfız	26	3 bölük
Topçu	10	1 bölük
Martolos	10	1 oda without officers
<b>Total</b>	<b>46</b>	

*Officers, pay* (akçe). İbrahim ağa dizdar 20, Mustafa Bayram kethüda 15, serbölük 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Topçu: ağa, kethüda unknown, serbölük 7, others 6. Martolos: 10 Hungarians, who were registered in Şeğüş as well, and who did not appear in the treasury accounts.

After this the palanka does not appear for decades in the sources on the garrisons; its defenders were paid from a different source.

**1664** (Evliyâ Çelebi, 7. *Kitap*, 19): dizdar, 100 soldiers.

### CİSR-i ÖSEK

The only available data on the garrison of the bridge over the Drava, built on the river's marshy banks, is from 1617–1619

**1617–1619** (ÖNB Mxt 631, p. 71: pay list. BOA Kepeci 1906, pp. 20, 29. Kepeci 2586, p. 9: pay accounts)

Azab: 31. 4 oda. Süleyman ağa 25, Hasan kethüda 10, reis 8, alemdar 5, seroda 7, majority of ordinary soldiers 5.

Previously, soldiers from Peçuy were detached to defend the bridge, then at the end of 1617 14 men were withdrawn to guard the bab-i cedid in Peçuy.

### Parkan-i ŞAŞ (Hu. Sásd)

The date of its construction is unknown,  
data on its garrison are only available between 1615 and 1620

The parkan was located north-west of Peçuy, approximately half-way along the road to Kapoşvar. I consider it as one of those small fortresses which were temporarily reinforced at the turn of the century, still in the time of war, or at the beginning of the 17th century, and which may not have been manned with a full garrison but only with a single unit of soldiers. Only cavalymen served in Şaş.

**1615** (BOA Kepeci 1905, p. 11. Kepeci 1906, pp. 20, 29: pay accounts)

In three years the payment of either 53, or 55 farises was calculated.

**1619** (ÖNB Mxt 631, pp. 70–71: pay list)

Faris: 56. 6 oda. Ömer Veli ağa 20, seroda 11, ordinary soldiers 10. 12 Christians.

**1619–1623** (BOA Kepeci 2290, pp. 7, 12, 18, 24: pay accounts)

In the first and second years faris: 56, in the third and fourth years faris: 47.

**1628** (BOA MAD 7208: pay list)

47 new artillerymen appeared at Kanija, who according to the note had been transferred there from Şaş (*an ihrac-i Şaş*). Cavalymen were only seldom if ever turned into artillerymen, as happened in this case.

## LİVA-İ SİGETVAR

### Kale-i SİGETVAR

For the 16th-century data, see the vilayet of Buda

Even in the 17th century the fortresses of the sancak made up the strongest fortified area on the borders of Ottoman Hungary. Compared to 1591, the number of soldiers in the sancak centre, Sigetvar decreased, since in the south-west border section Kanija and behind it Şegeş took over the leading role, while Sigetvar behind them became a fortress of medium significance. Accordingly, the structure of the garrison was altered: the largest unit became that of the azabs, whose military value was poor; they constituted three-fifth of the garrison. Another new phenomenon was that almost the whole garrison was detailed for the defence of the outer fortress. The garrison of the palanka built around Sultan Süleyman's

türbe, as well as the staff of the türbe itself continued to count as part of Sigetvar's garrison.

**1615–1618** (BOA Kepeci 1905, pp. 10, 12. Kepeci 1906, pp. 10, 19, 28: pay accounts)

Dates belonging to the columns in the table:

1. 27.07.1615–19.01.1616
2. 20.01.1616–08.01.1617 6 müstahfizes, one topçu and 18 azabs were engaged in the Özü campaign.
3. 09.01.1617–28.12.1617
4. 29.12.1617–18.12.1618

Branch	1.	2.	3.	4.
Kale-i Sigetvar				
Vazife-horan	7	8	8	7
Müstahfız	28	25	31	28
Topçu	8	9	10	10
Faris	97	99	103	103
Azab	185	172	204	194
<b>Total in Sigetvar</b>	<b>325</b>	<b>313</b>	<b>356</b>	<b>342</b>
Palanka-i türbe				
Vazife-horan	29	6	6	6
Müstahfız		21	25	25
Azab	29	29	37	35
<b>Total</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>66</b>

**1619** (ÖMB Mxt 631, pp. 48–56: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Units
Kale-i Sigetvar		
Vazife-horan	8	–
Müstahfız-i birun	31	3 bölük
Topçu-i birun	10	1 bölük
Faris	103	1 ağa, 10 oda
Azab	207	3 ağa, 8 riyaset, 23 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>359</b>	
Palanka-i türbe		
Hademe	6	–
Müstahfız	26	2 bölük
Azab	37	1 ağa, 1 riyaset, 4 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>69</b>	

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Kale-i Sigetvar. Vazife-horan: Hüsrev ağa dizdar 31, İbrahim kethüda 20, Ali ağa-i çete 20, Mehmed Hamza ağa-i anbarcıyan 23, Yusuf Ali anbarcı 10, Ali Hayrullah(?) mimar 10, Rizvan müderris 15, Seyyid Mehmed dai' 15. Müstahfız-i birun: Mustafa Uruc ağa 28, serbölük 9, ordinary soldiers 8. Topçu-i birun: Muharrem ağa 15, Ramazan kethüda 12, serbölük 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Faris: Mehmed ağa 50, Yusuf kethüda 25, alemdar 13, kâtib 20, seroda 12–25 (majority 14–16), ordinary soldiers 10–16 (majority 10–12). Azab: Mahmud ağa 30, Bekir ağa 20, Hasan ağa 25, Ömer kethüda 10, reis 8–16, alemdar 15, 7, seroda 6–9 (majority 7–8), ordinary soldiers 6–7; the third ağa and his troop were detailed for the defence of the inner fortress. Palanka-i türbe. Hademe:

# LİVA-İ SİGETVAR

Memi dede vaiz 15, Ahmed halife türbedar 7, Memi halife türbedar 7, Ferhad dede müstahfız-i türbe 7, neccar 10, Mehmed hani 7. Müstahfız with two topçu: Yahya ağa dizdar 21, Ömer kethüda 16, serbölük 10, ordinary soldiers 7, first topçu [ser?] 20, second 7. Azab: Ali ağa 25, İbrahim Osman kethüda 22, reis 12, seroda 7, ordinary soldiers 6.

**1619–1626** (BOA Kepeci 2586, pp. 7–8. Kepeci 2290, pp. 6, 11–12, 17, 23–24, 28–29, 32–33, 36–37: pay accounts)

Dates belonging to the columns in the table:

- |                          |                          |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. 19.12.1618–07.12.1619 | 5. 05.11.1622–24.10.1623 |
| 2. 08.12.1619–25.11.1620 | 6. 25.10.1623–13.10.1624 |
| 3. 26.11.1620–15.11.1621 | 7. 14.10.1624–02.10.1625 |
| 4. 16.11.1621–04.11.1622 | 8. 03.10.1625–21.09.1626 |

Branch	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7–8.
Kale-i Sigetvar							
Vazife-horan	8	8	10	9	10	10	10
Müstahfız	31	31	31	31	30	30	30
Topçu	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
Faris	103	103	103	103	103	103	103
Azab	207	207	204	208	207	207	207
<b>Total</b>	<b>359</b>	<b>359</b>	<b>358</b>	<b>361</b>	<b>360</b>	<b>360</b>	<b>360</b>
Palanka-i türbe							
Hademe	6	5	32	5	29	29	5
Müstahfız	26	27		27			26
Azab	37	37	37	37	39	37	37
<b>Total</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>68</b>

**1628** (BOA MAD 7208, pp. 117–130: pay list)

Branch	Pay list heads	Units
Kale-i Sigetvar		
Vazife-horan	8	–
Müstahfız	31	3 bölük
Topçu	10	1 bölük
Faris	106	1 ağa, 11 oda
Azab	206	3 ağa, 8 riyaset, 23 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>361</b>	
Parkan-i türbe		
Vazife-horan	5	–
Müstahfız	24	2 bölük
Azab	37	1 ağa, 1 riyaset, 4 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>66</b>	

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Kale-i Sigetvar. Vazife-horan: Mehmed ağa 31, Ömer kethüda 20, Ali ağa-i anbarcıyan 23, Yusuf kethüda 10, kâtib 15, Ahmed ... ağa 30, Ömer mimar, Mustafa ağa-i köprücüyan (both transferred to the 11th faris squad), El-hac Rizvan müderris 20, Mustafa Celal duagu 20. Müstahfız: Derviş ağa 26, other pay unchanged. Topçu: Hasan ağa 22, other pay unchanged. Faris: Mehmed ağa, Ali kethüda, alemdar, pay unchanged, kâtib 22. Azab: Mahmud ağa 30, Hasan ağa 22, Osman ağa 25, Mehmed kethüda 10, reis 9–20, other pay unchanged; the third ağa and his troop served in the inner fortress.

## VİLAYET-İ KANİJA

Parkan-i türbe. Vazife-horan: Ferhad dede müstahfız-i türbe, neccar, hani, pay unchanged, topçu 20, man of unknown rank 7. Müstahfız: no change in officers or pay. Azab: Ali ağa, Osman Mustafa kethüda, no change in pay.

**1627–1631** (BOA Kepeci 1920, pp. 8, 14. Kepeci 1924, pp. 6, 13: pay accounts)

Dates belonging to the columns in the table:

1. 12.09.1627–30.08.1628      3. 21.08.1629–09.08.1630
2. 31.08.1628–20.08.1629      4. 10.08.1630–29.07.1631

Branch	1.	2.–3.	4.
Vazife-horan	10	10	8
Müstahfız	30	30	30
Topçu	10	10	10
Faris	103	104	106
Azab	207	207	207
<b>Total</b>	<b>360</b>	<b>361</b>	<b>361</b>
Vazife-horan	5	5	5
Müstahfız	26	26	26
Azab	37	37	37
<b>Total</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>68</b>

**1647–1650** (BOA Kepeci 1942, pp. 5, 9–10. Kepeci 1944, pp. 4, 8–9: pay accounts)

For four years, the scribe diligently copied the numbers of soldiers, which are identical with the numbers in the last column of the previous table.

Kale. Vazife-horan: 8, müstahfız: 30, topçu: 10, faris: 106, azab: 207. Total: 361. Palanka. Vazife-horan: 5, müstahfız: 26, azab: 37. Total: 68.

**1664** (Evliyâ Çelebi, 6. *Kitap*, 306): 356 soldiers.

## Kale-i ŞİKLOŞ

For the 16th-century data, see the vilayet of Buda

It seems that the garrison of the fortress was remunerated from salary timars in the 17th century as well (possibly from the income of North Balkan mukataas), and since no icmalls survive, there is nowhere for us to look for them. In the ruznamçes only three officers of the garrison appear: in 1614 Mustafa, dizdar-i kale-i enderun with an annual income of 11,900 akçes, in 1618 Mustafa Şaban dizdar-i kale-i birun with 5800 akçes, and his predecessor Mehmed Ismail (BOA Ruznamçe 343, without page number, Ruznamçe 377, p. 258).

**1664** (Evliyâ Çelebi, 6. *Kitap*, 299): 170 soldiers.

## Kale-i BOBOFÇA

For the 16th-century data, see the vilayet of Buda

**1615–1618** (BOA Kepeci 1905, p. 10. Kepeci 1906, pp. 10, 18–19, 27–28: pay accounts)

Some of the müstafizes, artillerymen and maybe azabs of the inner fortress do not appear in the source. The whole garrison must have exceeded 400 men.

Dates belonging to the columns in the table:

1. 27.07.1615–19.01.1616
2. 20.01.1616–14.07.1616
3. 09.01.1617–28.12.1617
4. 29.12.1617–18.12.1618

Branch	1.	2.	3.	4.
Müstahfız[-i birun]	54	42	46	46
Cebeci	11	13	11	11
Faris	186	175	187	186
Azab	71	62	71	71
Martolos	43	38	43	43
<b>Total (the known ones)</b>	<b>365</b>	<b>330</b>	<b>358</b>	<b>357</b>

**1619** (ÖNB Mxt 631, pp. 40–47: pay list)

The three infantry units are missing from this list as well.

Branch	Pay list heads	Units
Müstahfız-i birun	45	5 bölük
Cebeci	11	1 bölük
Faris	187	3 ağa, 18 oda
Azab	71	1 ağa, 2 riyaset, 8 oda
Martolos	43	5 oda
<b>Total (the known ones)</b>	<b>357</b>	
Hademe-i cami	1	

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız-i birun: Mustafa Bali ağa 25, Süleyman kethüda 15, serbölük 9, ordinary soldiers 8. Cebeci: İbrahim Mustafa ağa 22, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 7. Faris: Mehmed İbrahim ağa 29, Memei Sinan ağa 43, Ali Mustafa ağa 30, Hüseyin Bayezid ağa-i azeban(!) 23, Ali Uruc ağa-i cısr 15, alemdar 15, seroda 12–20 (majority 14–15), ordinary soldiers 10–12 (majority 10). Azab: Mehmed ağa 60, Malkoç kethüda 20, reis 16, 17, seroda 9–10, ordinary soldiers 8. Martolos: Cafer Timur ağa 23, Hasan sermiye 14, seroda 7, ordinary soldiers 6. Gazanfer imam, hatib 31. 8 Christians.

**1619–1626** (BOA MAD 2586, p. 7. Kepeci 1029, pp. 6, 11, 17, 23, 28, 32, 36: pay accounts)

Presumably the same items are missing.

Dates belonging to the columns in the table:

1. 19.12.1618–07.12.1619
2. 08.12.1619–25.11.1620
3. 26.11.1620–15.11.1621
4. 16.11.1621–04.11.1622
5. 05.11.1622–24.10.1623
6. 25.10.1623–13.10.1624
7. 14.10.1624–02.10.1625
8. 03.10.1625–21.09.1626

Branch	1.	2.	3.	4.	5–8.
Müstahfız	46	46	46	46	50
Cebeci	11	11	11	–	–
Faris	187	187	189	189	197
Azab	71	71	71	71	71
Martolos	43	45	45	46	46
<b>Total (the known ones)</b>	<b>358</b>	<b>360</b>	<b>362</b>	<b>352</b>	<b>364</b>



## VİLAYET-İ KANİJA

**1628** (BOA MAD 7208, pp. 103–116: pay list)

The same three infantry units are missing. The division of troops and the majority of payments are unchanged.

Müstahfız-i birun: 49. Mustafa ağa, Lütfi kethüda. Faris: 197. Mustafa ağa, Hüseyin Bayezid ağa-i azeban, Memi Sinan ağa, Ali Mustafa ağa, Hüseyin Ferhad ağa-i cistr. Azab, martolos: no change. Total: 363. Gazanfer imam, hatib.

**1627–1631** (BOA Kepeci 1920, pp. 8, 14. Kepeci 1924, pp. 5–6, 12: pay accounts)

Dates belonging to the columns in the table:

1. 12.09.1627–30.08.1628
2. 31.08.1628–20.08.1629
3. 21.08.1629–09.08.1630
4. 10.08.1630–29.07.1631

Branch	1.	2.–3.	4.
Müstahfız[-i birun]	50	46	46
Faris	197	191	188
Azab	71	71	71
Martolos	46	45	43
<b>Total (the known ones)</b>	<b>364</b>	<b>353</b>	<b>348</b>

**1647–1650** (BOA Kepeci 1942, pp. 5, 9. Kepeci 1944, pp. 4, 8: pay accounts)

The scribe copied the numbers without any changes for four years (he made only one mistake).

Müstahfız: 48, faris: 197, azab: 70, martolos: 46. Total: 361.

**1664** (Evliyâ Çelebi, 6. *Kitap*, 309): 300 soldiers.

## Kale-i BERZENÇ

For the 16th-century data, see the vilayet of Buda

**1615–1618** (BOA Kepeci 1905, pp. 9–10, 12. Kepeci 1906, pp. 9–10, 18, 27: pay accounts)

Only cash-paid soldiers are known, and of the azabs only the unit of the first ağa. The whole garrison must have been around 450 men.

Dates belonging to the columns in the table:

1. 27.07.1615–19.01.1616
2. 20.01.1616–14.07.1616
3. 09.01.1617–28.12.1617
4. 29.12.1617–18.12.1618

Branch	1.	2.	3.	4.
Faris	183	182	183	185
Azab (1. ağa)	55	52	52	52
Martolos	94	88	91	95
Hademe	9	11	13	13

**1619** (ÖNB Mxt 631, pp. 33–40: pay list)

This too is the list only of the cash-paid soldiers.

Branch	Pay list heads	Units
Faris	187	3 ağa, 29 oda
Azab (+?)	55	1 ağa, 3 riyaset, 7 oda
Martolos	95	3 ağa, 20 oda
Hademe	11	

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Faris: Malko ağa 63, İsmail İbrahim kethüda 20, Kurd ağa 30, Memişah ağa 25, alemdar 15, seroda 14–25 (majority 14), majority of ordinary soldiers 12. Azab: Mustafa ağa 20, Ali kethüda 13, reis 9, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5. Martolos: Hasan ağa 30, Hasan Firuz sermiye 10, Mercan ağa 30, Manojlo Pavko sermiye 16, Kantaş ağa 14, Halil sermiye 16, alemdar 16, majority of serodas 9, ordinary soldiers 7. Hademe: Sefer Hasan ağa-i sani-i azaban 14, his kethüda Kurd 15, Mahmud Ali kethüda-i topçuyan 12, his serbölük 10, man of unknown rank 8; Mustafa halife imam, hatib 17, Mehmed halife hatib 21, Halil halife müezzın 10, Behram müezzın 10, Memi kayyum 5, Mehmed Piri 5. 54 Christians.

**1619–1626** (BOA Kepeci 2586, p. 7. Kepeci 2290, pp. 6, 11, 17, 23, 28, 32, 36: pay accounts)

The second unit of azabs appeared, the martoloses, on the other hand, were withdrawn.

Dates belonging to the columns in the table:

- |                          |                          |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. 19.12.1618–07.12.1619 | 5. 05.11.1622–24.10.1623 |
| 2. 08.12.1619–25.11.1620 | 6. 25.10.1623–13.10.1624 |
| 3. 26.11.1620–15.11.1621 | 7. 14.10.1624–02.10.1625 |
| 4. 16.11.1621–04.11.1622 | 8. 03.10.1625–21.09.1626 |

Branch	1.	2.	3.	4.	5–8.
Faris	186	186	186	182	187
Azab	55	55	55	157	154
Martolos	95	95	95	–	–
Hademe	13	14	15	16	16

**1628** (BOA MAD 7208, pp. 89–103: pay list)

This time only two cash-paid units are known.

Faris: 186. 3 ağa, 29 oda. Malkoç ağa 63, Kurd ağa 42, Memişah ağa 32, Mehmed Hasan kethüda 22, seroda 14–25, ordinary soldiers 12–15. Azab: 153. 4 ağa, 5 riyaset, 22 oda. Hasan ağa 30, Hasan kethüda 10, Turak ağa 30, Mehmed kethüda 12, Ali ağa 25, Piyale kethüda 18, Kantaş ağa 21, Halil kethüda 20, reis 9–16, seroda 6–10 (majority 9), ordinary soldiers 5. Hademe: no change.

## VİLAYET-İ KANİJA

**1627–1631** (BOA Kepeci 1920, pp. 8, 14. Kepeci 1824, pp. 5, 12: pay accounts)

Once again only two cash-paid units are known.

Dates belonging to the columns in the table:

1. 12.09.1627–30.08.1628    3. 21.08.1629–09.08.1630
2. 31.08.1628–20.08.1629    4. 10.08.1630–29.07.1631

Branch	1.	2.	3.	4.
Faris	187	186	186	187
Azab	154	145	145	154
Hademe	16	16	16	16

**1647–1650** (BOA Kepeci 1942, pp. 4–5, 9. Kepeci 1944, pp. 4, 8: pay accounts)

These are already the years of slavish copying. The total number of known troops is always 358.

**1664** (Evliyâ Çelebi, 6. *Kitap*, 310): 500 soldiers.

## Palanka-i BARÇA

For the 16th-century data, see the vilayet of Buda

**1615–1618** (BOA Kepeci 1905, pp. 10–12. Kepeci 1906, pp. 11, 19–20, 28: pay accounts)

It is impossible to decide if this and the other 17th century sources list the complete garrison.

Dates belonging to the columns in the table:

1. 27.07.1615–19.01.1616    3. 09.01.1617–28.12.1617
2. 20.01.1616–14.07.1616    4. 29.12.1617–18.12.1618

Branch	1.–2.	3.	4.
Müstahfız	34	31	29
Topçu	6	5	5
Faris	28	26	26
Azab	80	80	75
Martolos	31	31	29
<b>Total</b>	<b>179</b>	<b>173</b>	<b>164</b>

**1619** (ÖNB Mxt 631, pp. 56–59: pay list)

Following Sultan Osman II's accession to the throne, during the renewal of the be-rats 56 soldiers either left the fortress or were replaced, including seven officers.

Branch	Pay list heads	Units
Müstahfız	32	3 bölük
Topçu	5	1 bölük
Faris	28	1 ağa, 3 oda
Azab	79	2 ağa, 2 riyaset, 8 oda
Martolos	31	1 ağa, 3 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>175</b>	
Hademe-i cami	3	

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Kurd Ömer ağa 26, Bahtiyar(?) kethüda 10, serbölük 8, ordinary soldiers 5. Topçu: Hızır ağa 10, Bali kethüda 8, serbölük, ordinary soldiers 5. Faris: Ömer ağa 21, alemdar 12, seroda 9, ordinary soldiers 7. Azab: ... ağa 30, Nadi(?) kethüda 10, Mehmed Kurd ağa 25, Ali kethüda 12, alemdar 8, 7, reis 9, seroda 6, ordinary soldiers 5. Martolos: Mehmed İbrahim ağa 15, Osman Divane sermiye 9, alemdar 7, seroda 5, ordinary soldiers 4; the payments of all troops are exceptionally low. Hademe-i cami: Ali halife hatib 12, Mehmed Ali müezzın 8, Hüsrev Emirşah kayyum 6. 11 Christians.

**1619–1626** (BOA MAD 2586, p. 8. Kepeci 2290, pp. 7, 12, 18, 24, 29, 33, 37: pay accounts)  
In 1620 the cavalry were withdrawn from the fortress.

Dates belonging to the columns in the table:

- |                          |                          |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. 19.12.1618–07.12.1619 | 5. 05.11.1622–24.10.1623 |
| 2. 08.12.1619–25.11.1620 | 6. 25.10.1623–13.10.1624 |
| 3. 26.11.1620–15.11.1621 | 7. 14.10.1624–02.10.1625 |
| 4. 16.11.1621–04.11.1622 | 8. 03.10.1625–21.09.1626 |

Branch	1.	2–3.	4.	5–6.	7–8.
Müstahfız	33	34	32	33	33
Topçu	5	5	6	6	6
Faris	28	–	–	–	–
Azab	80	80	81	80	81
Martolos	31	30	30	31	31
<b>Total</b>	<b>177</b>	<b>149</b>	<b>149</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>151</b>

**1628** (BOA MAD 7208, pp. 142–148: pay list)

The division of units and the vast majority of payments are unchanged.

Müstahfız: 33. Mustafa ağa, Hasan kethüda. Topçu: 6. Hızır ağa, Bali kethüda. Azab: 80. No change in officers. Martolos: 30. Turak ağa, Hubyar Timur sermiye. Hubyar halife hatib, Hüsrev [kayyum]. 8 Christians.

**1627–1631** (BOA Kepeci 1920, pp. 9, 14. Kepeci 1924, pp. 6, 13: pay accounts)

For four years müstahfız: 33, topçu: 6, azab: 81, martolos: 31. Total: 151.

**1647–1650** (BOA Kepeci 1942, pp. 5, 10. Kepeci 1944, pp. 4, 9: pay accounts)

For another four years müstahfız: 34, topçu: 6, azab: 81, martolos: 31. Total: 152.

### Parkan / Kale-i ŞEĞEŞ

For the 16th-century data, see the vilayet of Buda

In the 17th century this parkan became the strongest fortress of the sancak.

**1615–1618** (BOA Kepeci 1905, pp. 9, 11–12. Kepeci 1906, pp. 9, 18, 27: pay accounts)

The strongest unit of the fortress was that of the cavalry; maybe some of the müstafizes lived on salary timars.

Dates belonging to the columns in the table:

- |                          |                          |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. 27.07.1615–19.01.1616 | 3. 09.01.1617–28.12.1617 |
| 2. 20.01.1616–14.07.1616 | 4. 29.12.1617–18.12.1618 |

VİLAYET-İ KANİJA

Branch	1.	2.	3.	4.
Müstahfız	32	27	31	34
Topçu	18	18	19	19
Faris	198	183	195	197
Azab	68	66	72	72
Martolos	81	69	83	83
<b>Total</b>	<b>397</b>	<b>363</b>	<b>400</b>	<b>405</b>
Hademe-i cami	?	2	2	?

**1619** (ÖNB Mxt 631, pp. 25–32: pay list)

Presumably, müstafizes were brought up to strength by salary timar holders as well, because the four squads have no ordinary soldiers, only corporals. At the 1619 renewal of the berats 58 azabs were replaced.

Branch	Pay list heads	Units
Müstahfız	32	8 bölük
Topçu	19	5 bölük
Faris	195	3 ağa, 25 oda
Azab	114	2 ağa, 2 riyaset, 12 oda
Martolos	83	1 ağa, 8 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>443</b>	
Hademe-i cami	2	

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Behram ağa 35, Ali Kurd kethüda 25, majority of serbölüks 9, ordinary soldiers 8. Topçu: Abdi ağa 30, Sefer kethüda 16, seroda 9, ordinary soldiers 8. Faris: Ferhad ağa 65, Sefer ağa 38, Mehmed ağa 35, alemdar 14, 17, kâtib 15, majority of serodas 15, ordinary soldiers 10–16 (majority 12–13). Azab: Beşaret ağa 34, Abdülcélil kethüda 18, Ahmed Hüseyin ağa 27, Ali kethüda 15, alemdar 7, reis 13, 10, seroda 6–7, ordinary soldiers 6. Martolos: Boça(?) ağa 30, Vujin Pavko sermiye 17, alemdar 13, majority of seroda 10, ordinary soldiers 7–13 (majority 7). Hademe-i cami: Mahmud hatib 25, Ahmed müezzín 13. 79 Christians.

**1619–1626** (BOA MAD 2586, pp. 6–7. Kepeci 2290, pp. 6, 11, 17, 23, 28, 32, 36: pay accounts)

Dates belonging to the columns in the table:

- |                          |                          |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. 19.12.1618–07.12.1619 | 5. 05.11.1622–24.10.1623 |
| 2. 08.12.1619–25.11.1620 | 6. 25.10.1623–13.10.1624 |
| 3. 26.11.1620–15.11.1621 | 7. 14.10.1624–02.10.1625 |
| 4. 16.11.1621–04.11.1622 | 8. 03.10.1625–21.09.1626 |

Branch	1.	2.	3.–4.	5.	6.–8.
Müstahfız	32	52	33	33	33
Topçu	19	19	19	19	19
Faris	195	200	200	204	201
Azab	111	111	111	112	111
Martolos	83	83	83	83	84
<b>Total</b>	<b>440</b>	<b>465</b>	<b>446</b>	<b>451</b>	<b>448</b>
Hademe-i cami	2	2	2	2	2

**1628** (BOA MAD 7208, pp. 61–89: pay list)

Four squads of müstahfız are empty again; their soldiers might have been salary timar holders.

Branch	Pay list heads	Units
Müstahfız	33	8 bölük
Topçu	20	6 bölük
Faris	210	3 ağa, 25 oda
Azab	111	2 ağa, 2 rıyaset, 11 oda
Martolos	83	1 ağa, 8 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>457</b>	
Müteferrika-i cami	2	

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: no change in officers or pay. Topçu: Abdi ağa, Ali kethüda, pay unchanged. Faris: Ferhad ağa, Beşaret ağa, Mustafa ağa, pay unchanged. Azab: Hasan ağa, Abdulvehhab kethüda, İbrahim ağa, Ali kethüda, pay unchanged. Martolos: Loveč(?) ağa, Salih sermiye, pay unchanged, ordinary soldiers 7–13. Müteferrika-i cami: Mahmud hatib 25, Hüseyin halife müezzın 13. 51 Christians.

**1627–1631** (BOA Kepeci 1920, pp. 8, 14. Kepeci 1924, pp. 5, 12: pay accounts)

Dates belonging to the columns in the table:

1. 12.09.1627–30.08.1628
2. 31.08.1628–20.08.1629
3. 21.08.1629–09.08.1630
4. 10.08.1630–29.07.1631

Branch	1.	2.	3.	4.
Müstahfız	33	32	32	32
Topçu	19	19	19	19
Faris	201	201	201	195
Azab	111	111	111	111
Martolos	84	84	84	83
<b>Total</b>	<b>448</b>	<b>447</b>	<b>447</b>	<b>440</b>
Hademe-i cami	2	2	2	2

**1647–1650** (BOA Kepeci 1942, pp. 4, 9. Kepeci 1944, pp. 3–4, 8: pay accounts)

The scribes copied numbers for four years without changing them, sometimes making mistakes.

Müstahfız: 33, topçu: 19, faris: 201, azab: 110, martolos: 83. Total: 446.

### Kale-i KOMAR (Hu. Kiskomárom)

Ottoman possession 1600–1601

This fortress stood above Kanija, at the edge of the marshes that started from the south-west end of Lake Balaton; the Ottomans only held it for a year. Little trace is left of its defenders. This is where the first ağa of the Polata azabs was transferred to (BOA MAD 3370, p. 332). Yusuf, the first ağa of the martoloses appears as well (BOA MAD 4654, p. 124), which means that at least one azab unit commanded by an ağa and two martolos units, each led by an ağa served in Komar. Taking the

importance of the place into consideration, it can be assumed that the other three branches were present as well.

Kale-i **TOMAŞIN** (Hu. Drávatamási)

Only between 1600 and 1603

do we have any data on its operations

Not to be confused with Tomaşin located in the sancak of Şimontorna. The paşa of Bosnia crossed the bridge built over the Drava here on his way to the siege of Kanija in 1600; in 1603 the Christian troops burnt down the palanka along with the bridge. In 1607 the Buda treasury paid the long overdue expenses of the ağas of the palanka, while in 1609 the source mentions 44 azabs from İstolni Belgrad, who previously defended the bridge at Tomaşin (BOA MAD 4654, pp. 121, 159).

## VİLAYET-İ VARAD

Varad, and the small vilayet (which was not divided into sancaks) formed around it was located where Ottoman Hungary bordered on the Transylvanian Principality and the Hungarian Kingdom, so it was of outstanding importance both in terms of military affairs and politics in all kinds of relations with the kingdom, as well as in the supervision of the fief of Transylvania. Five fortresses stood in its territory, the main one at Varad and four small auxiliary fortresses of more or less equal strength.

The first summing up of the five garrisons was drafted between November 4 and December 3, 1660, when Varad already belonged to the Ottomans, Seng'ob was still certainly in Hungarian hands, while it is uncertain who held the other three. The number of soldiers included in the summing up is open to serious doubt: in various places the nice round numbers in the lists seem to be too pre-planned or commissioned from above to be the real figures for fluctuating units and garrisons tormented by the vicissitudes of transfers. All this leads us to suspect strongly that even in Varad itself they were registering a garrison that was to be set up rather than one that was real and already functioning. 2,500 men were supposed to be settled in the whole vilayet. The pay list drafted a year later on the three months between July 28 and October 24, 1661 already listed functioning garrisons and units. At this time the five fortresses were manned by a rounded up total of 1,200 soldiers, which was not even half of the target number.

There were no Ottoman fortifications in the vilayet whose existence we are aware of but which cannot be investigated due to the lack of sources.

Kale-i **VARAD** (Hu. Várad)

Ottoman possession 1660–1692

Under both Hungarian and Ottoman rule Varad was one of the most important strategic points in Hungary. Its local garrison, which was set up in a manner unworthy of its position, was reinforced with 600–800 janissaries sent from the Porte in the second half of the 1660s.

VİLAYET-İ VARAD

**1660-1661** (BOA Bab-i defteri, Piyade mukabelesi kalemi 35139, pp. 2-3: pay account. MAD 2563, pp. 4-15: pay list)

Branch	Garrison as planned End of 1660	Actual garrison Summer-autumn of 1661	
		Heads	Units
Müstahfız	180	92	8 bölük
Cebeci	60	23	1 bölük
Mehter	7	–	
Topçu	80	51	4 bölük
Gönüllü	400	101	10 bölük
Faris	400	131	6 ağa, 26 oda
Azab	300	119	4 ağa, 10 riyaset, 14 oda
Martolos	100	40	2 ağa, 4 oda
Cemaat-i kapudan	52	35	1 ağa, 4 riyaset, 4 oda
Yeniçeri	400	232	3 cemaat, 5 bölük
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,979</b>	<b>824</b>	
Hademe-i cami	15	11	
Çavuş-i divan	30	18	
Kâtib, şagird, mehter	10	–	

*Officers, pay in 1661* (akçe). El-hac Mustafa dizdar 25, Yusuf kethüda 12, Yusuf kâtib 10, bevvab, çavuş, alemdar 8, serbölük 10, ordinary soldiers 7, three mehters 10, 9, 8. Cebeci: Yakub Hüseyin ağa 25, Yusuf kethüda 12, çavuş, alemdar, serbölük 10, ordinary soldiers 7. Topçu: Hüseyin ağa 25, Hüseyin kethüda 12, anbari, alemdar 12, serbölük 10, ordinary soldiers 7. The wages of the troops listed so far are very much below the average; the dizdar of Varad was paid less than the captains of smaller fortresses. Gönüllü: El-hac Ali ağa 60, Ömer kethüda 20, kâtib, alemdar, çavuş, duagu 20, serbölük 20, ordinary soldiers 15; 25 men from the unit were in captivity, they were included in the number as well; the previous posts of 78 gönüllüs were registered: 32 came from fortresses in Ottoman Hungary, 20 from Anatolia, 15 came from the southern and eastern, 11 from the western Balkan territories. Faris: Mehmed ağa 45, Osman ağa 40, other Mehmed ağa 35, Hüseyin ağa 35, other Hüseyin ağa 30, Mahmud ağa 30, alemdar 13-14, kâtib 10, 13, çavuş 10, seroda 14, ordinary soldiers 10, among them İsmail tercüman. Azab: Mustafa ağa 35, Ahmed kethüda 15, Ali ağa 30, Mustafa kethüda 14, Arslan ağa 30, Receb Rizvan kethüda 14, Ahmed ağa 30, reis 13, alemdar, seroda 12, bevvab 10, 12, ordinary soldiers 7. Martolos: Mustafa ağa 30, Abdülmümin ağa 30, Salih kethüda 12, kâtib 8, alemdar 7, seroda 5, ordinary soldiers 4. Cemaat-i kapudan (azaban): Selim ağa kapudan 60, Bekir Abdullah kethüda 15, reis 13, kâtib 12, çavuş, alemdar, seroda 10, ordinary soldiers 7. Yeniçeri: the list only includes the number of soldiers. Hademe-i cami: Mehmed vaiz 20, Osman halife imam, hatib 40, Mahmud halife müezzın 16, Mustafa halife müezzın, devr-han 16, Mehmed halife devr-han 3, Mehmed halife muarraf, müezzın 3, İbrahim halife kayyum, siraci 10, Mehmed halife, Abdullah halife, Mehmed halife feth-i şerif-han 5, 10, 5, Osman halife sermahfil 8. Çavuş-i divan: Hüseyin kethüda 30, vezzan 15, ruznamei 12, others 12. 31 Christians.

**1666-1669** (BOA MAD 5996, pp. 2-8, 240-248, 252-260, 334-342, 512-520: the list of yeniçeris from the Porte)

In the eleven quarter years between October 1, 1666 and May 31, 1669 the following number of yeniçeris were registered: 817, 817, 812, 626/812, 626/817, 817, 817, 817, 622, 622, 622 (for a few dates the scribe registered two different num-



# VİLAYET-İ VARAD

bers of soldiers, elsewhere the number changed significantly, I presume because he sometimes included the other units from the Porte, sometimes not).

## Kale-i **SENG'OB** (Hu. Szentjobb) Ottoman possession 1661–1686

Located north-east of Varad; its garrison was less than one hundred men.

**1660–1661** (BOA Bab-i defteri, Piyade mukabelesi kalemi 35139, p. 4: pay account. MAD 2563, pp. 15–17: pay list)

Branch	Garrison as planned End of 1660	Actual garrison Summer–autumn of 1661	
		Heads	Units
Müstahfız	26	26	5 bölük
Topçu	8	8	1 bölük
Faris	82	32	2 ağa, 8 oda
Azab	20	12	1 ağa, 1 riyaset, 2 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>136</b>	<b>78</b>	
Hademe-i cami	4	?	

*Officers, pay in 1661* (akçe). Müstahfız: Ahmed ağa dizdar 30, Derviş kethüda 12, kâtib 7, alemdar, serbölük 10, bevvab 9, ordinary soldiers 7. Topçu: Murteza ağa 25, alemdar, serbölük 10, ordinary soldiers 7. Faris: Veli ağa 35, Mustafa ağa 30, alemdar, seroda 14, ordinary soldiers 10. Azab: Mehmed ağa 30, Mehmed Abdullah kethüda 14, reis 13, alemdar 12, seroda 11, ordinary soldiers 7.

## Kale-i **ŞOLOMKİ** / ŞOLONKİ (Hu. Solyomkő) Ottoman possession 1660/1661–1686(?)

The smallest fortress in the vilayet east of Varad.

**1660–1661** (BOA Bab-i defteri, Piyade mukabelesi kalemi 35139, pp. 4–5: pay account. MAD 2563, pp. 19–21: pay list)

Branch	Garrison as planned End of 1660	Actual garrison Summer–autumn of 1661	
		Heads	Units
Müstahfız	25	23	2 bölük
Topçu	6	–	
Azab	25	25	1 ağa, 2 reis, 3 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>48</b>	
Hademe-i cami	3	–	

*Officers, pay in 1661* (akçe). Müstahfız: Ali ağa dizdar 30, Mustafa Receb kethüda 14, alemdar 10, bevvab, serbölük 9, ordinary soldiers 7. Azab: Mehmed ağa 30, Kurd Receb kethüda 14, alemdar 12, bevvab 10, çavuş 9, reis 13, seroda 11, ordinary soldiers 7.

VİLAYET-İ VARAD

Kale-i **PAPMEZÖ** (Hu. Papmezö)  
Ottoman possession 1660/1661–1687(?)

Among the auxiliary fortresses of Varad this one is relatively well-manned, with a garrison of around 100 men.

**1660–1661** (BOA Bab-i defteri, Piyade mukabelesi kalemi 35139, pp. 4–5: pay account. MAD 2563, pp. 21–23: pay list)

Branch	Garrison as planned End of 1660	Actual garrison Summer–autumn of 1661 nyara-ösze	
		Heads	Units
Müstahfız	20	18	1 bölük
Topçu	10	4	
Faris	70	38	1 ağa, 4 oda
Azab	47	39	1 ağa, 1 riyaset, 1 oda
<b>Total</b>	<b>147</b>	<b>99</b>	
Hademe-i cami	3	3	

*Officers, pay in 1661* (akçe). Müstahfız: Mehmed ağa dizdar 30, Mehmed kethüda 12, alem-dar 10, bevvab, seroda 9, ordinary soldiers 7. Topçu: Ahmed ağa 15, others 7. Faris: Osman ağa 35, kâtib, alemdar 13, çavuş 12, seroda 14, ordinary soldiers 10. Azab: Yusuf ağa 25, Mustafa kethüda 14, reis 13, alemdar, kâtib, seroda 12, ordinary soldiers 7. Hademe-i cami: Ali halife imam, hatib 20, Osman halife müezzın 10, Ali kayyum 8.

Palanka-i **BELENÖŞ** (Hu. Belényes)  
Constructed in 1660–1661, Ottoman possession to 1687(?)

The strongest fortress in the vilayet after Varad, although the size of its garrison is unknown. Its müstafizes and topçus were probably transferred here from garrisons which lived on the income from salary timars, and they brought these here with them.

**1660–1661** (BOA Bab-i defteri, Piyade mukabelesi kalemi 35139, pp. 4–5: pay account. MAD 2563, pp. 17–19: pay list)

Branch	Garrison as planned End of 1660	Actual garrison Summer–autumn of 1661	
		Heads	Units
Müstahfız	?	?	
Topçu	?	?	
Faris	70	69	1 ağa, 6 oda
Azab	48	48	1 ağa, 2 riyaset, 3 oda
Az ismert katonaság	118	117	
Hademe-i cami	2	2	

*Officers, pay in 1661* (akçe). Faris: Veli ağa 35, alemdar, kâtib, seroda 14, ordinary soldiers 10. Azab: İbrahim ağa 30, Mehmed kethüda 14, alemdar 12, bevvab 10, çavuş 9, reis 13, seroda 11, ordinary soldiers 7. Hademe-i cami: Mahmud imam, hatib 18, Hasan halife müezzın, devr-han 13.

## VİLAYET-İ UYVAR

Uyvar, captured in 1663, became a vilayet seat as well, under which the territory located north of the Danube was ordered (in the 16th century this was part of the sancak of Esterгон). The vilayet was not divided into sancaks, but only na-hiyes, and there were no more than two fortresses in it: Uyvar itself and its auxiliary fortress, Şuran. We are lucky with the sources available: their garrisons can be counted in the 1660s and 1670s, and we know about both local and Porte units.

**Kale-i UYVAR** (Hu. Újvár, Érsekújvár)  
Ottoman possession 1663–1685

With the taking of Uyvar, the Ottomans seized a fortress which the Hungarians had modernised and fortified with decades of labour, and which lay closer to Vienna than any other of their fortresses. The place deserved a super-garrison, and was granted it.

**1664–1667** (BOA Başmuhasebe, Uyvar hazinesi kalemi 17081, p. 7; 17082, p. 8: pay accounts)

Sources drafted in the second half of the 1660s supply us with the number of both local and Porte troops; with their help we can trace how the garrison was set up. The garrison of Uyvar was made up of three parts: those called local, those that were transferred from the Porte, and the third section consisted of soldiers who had been settled here from Gradiška (Stara Gradiška) on the river Sava. From the summer of 1664 to the autumn of 1667 the number of local soldiers increased from 643 men to 874 (30–40 civilians on daily wages are always to be deducted from these numbers), two thirds of the garrison was made up of units from the Porte.

The structure of the garrison at the end of 1667:

Branch	Heads
Local soldiers	
Yeniçeri (yerlüyan)	205
Müstahfız	95
Topçu (yerlüyan)	13
Cebeci (yerlüyan)	20
Gönüllü	248
Faris	98
Azab	123
Cemaat-i kapudan	24
Martolos	21
<b>Locals altogether</b>	<b>847</b>
Units from the Porte	
Yeniçeri	1430
Cebeci	209
Topçu	60
<b>Porte units altogether</b>	<b>1699</b>
Transferred from Gradiška	218
<b>Total</b>	<b>2764</b>

# VİLAYET-İ UYVAR

The list of yeniçeris sent to the provinces from the Porte, kept between 1667 and 1671 (MAD 5996), registered 1200–900 men in Uyvar, at the end of 1667, which is the date of the numbers in the table, this figure was 1189 men. I cannot explain the difference.

**1675** (BOA Bab-i defteri, Büyük kale 32195, pp. 4–15, 17–23: pay list)

The local garrison expanded further, the units look orderly, the squads were full. Besides the fortress, the town also received its own garrison. There is no source on the units from the Porte from this time.

Branch	Pay list heads	Units
<b>Fortress</b>		
Müstahfız	141	12 bölük
Topçu	56	3 bölük
Cebeci	69	3 bölük
Gönüllü	213	20 bölük
Faris	218	4 ağa, 17 oda
Azab-i enderun	157	1 ağa, 10 riyaset, 20 oda
Kapudanan-i Uyvar	66	1 ağa, 1 riyaset, 5 oda
Martolos	31	?
<b>Total</b>	<b>951</b>	
<b>Town</b>		
Müstahfız	39	
Faris	35	
Azab-i birun	45	
<b>Total</b>	<b>119</b>	
Transferred from Gradişka	463	
<b>Total (local troops)</b>	<b>1533</b>	
Hademe-i cevami	21	
Kâtib-i divan-i Uyvar	7	
Çavuş-i divan-i Uyvar	10	

If those who had been transferred from Gradişka were incorporated into the troops at Uyvar in their original ranks, the structure of the garrison would look like:

Branch	Heads
<b>Fortress</b>	
Müstahfız	141
Topçu	85
Cebeci	69
Gönüllü	213
Faris	218
Azab-i enderun	489
Kapudanan	71
Martolos	128
<b>Town</b>	
Müstahfız	39
Faris	35
Azab	45
<b>Total (local troops)</b>	<b>1533</b>

*Officers, pay* (akçe). Müstahfız: Mustafa Hüseyin dizdar 70, Seyyid Mustafa kethüda 30, kâtib 13, alemdar 14, çavuş 17, duagu 10, serbölük 14, ordinary soldiers 9, three mehters 10, 10, 12. Topçu: Turak Hüseyin ağa 30, Abdi Hasan kethüda 16, kâtib 10, çavuş 15, alemdar 14, duagu 10, serbölük 13, ordinary soldiers 9. Cebeci: Muharrem ağa 30, Mehmed Receb kethüda 16, kâtib 10, çavuş 15, alemdar 13, Mustafa Receb ser-i tüfenkçiyan 10, Şahin Abdullah ser-i ahengeran 10, serbölük 13, ordinary soldiers 8. Gönüllü: El-hacı Mustafa ağa 80, Musa kethüda 35, kâtib 20, duagu 18, alemdar, serbölük 23, ordinary soldiers 18. Faris: Ahmed ağa 50, Hüseyin Ahmed ağa 50, Mustafa ağa 35, Emrullah ağa 35, kâtib, çavuş 22, alemdar 22–23, seroda 22, ordinary soldiers 17. Azab-i enderun: Mehmed Mustafa ağa 70, Mehmed Abdullah kethüda 30, kâtib 12, çavuş 17, duagu 11, alemdar 14, reis 14, seroda 12, ser-i mehteran 16, two mehters 12, 10, ordinary soldiers 10. Kapudanan: Hasan Hüseyin ağa 60, reis 14, kâtib, alemdar, seroda 12, ordinary soldiers 9. Martolos: ... ağa, Ali Bosna kethüda. 36 Christians.

**Kale-i ŞURAN (Hu. Surány)**  
Ottoman possession 1663–1685

An insignificant northern auxiliary fortress of Uyvar, in which only two units served.

**1664–1667** (BOA Başmuhasebe, Uyvar hazinesi kalemi 17082, p. 8: pay account. Blaskovics, Érsekújvár és vidéke 249–250: mufassal defter)

The scribe accounted for the pay of 42 soldiers, without detailing their units. The mufassal defteri of the vilayet dated 1664 lists müstafizes and farises as land owners. The dizdar of the fortress was Mustafa ağa, among those serving under him there was one çavuş and three serbölük land owners. The commander of the farises was Yahya ağa, besides him a çavuş and four serodas owned land.

**1675** (BOA Bab-i defteri, Büyük kale 32195, p. 16: pay list)

Müstahfız: 21. Mustafa Hasan dizdar, Şaban Ali kethüda, kâtib, çavuş. Faris: 43. Ağa, alemdar. Total: 64. Hademe-i mescid: Mehmed Hasan imam, Ahmed Halil müezzin.

## GLOSSARY

*ağa*: 1. rank held by commanders of different sections or branches within a garrison, and often by the commanders of fortresses themselves; 2. rank held by commanders of troops of the Porte deployed in provincial fortresses.

*ahenger*: see *haddad*

*akçe*: silver coin, almost always used as the basic monetary unit in financial transactions.

*akın*: raid; destructive incursion into enemy territory marked out for conquest, for reconnoitring purposes.

*akıncı*: privileged military peasant tasked with ravaging and reconnoitring territory in advance of the main army during a campaign.

*alaybeyi*: see *miralay*

*alemdar*, *bayraktar*: standard-bearer; by the 17th century this was an officer's rank.

*altı bölük halkı*: 'soldiers of the six divisions'; paid household cavalry of the Porte, consisting of six divisions: *sipahis*, *silahdars*, right- and left-flank *garips* (*gureba*) and right- and left-flank *ulufecis*.

*anbari*, *ambarcı*: store-keeper.

*amil*: an administrator or collector of farmed taxes.

*arabacı*: wagon driver; *arabacıyan-i top*: gun carriage driver.

*Arnavut*: Albanian.

*arz*: recommendation drafted in a fortress for appointment as a garrison soldier.

*askeri*: 'military'; the term used for the privileged class that was exempt from taxation.

*aşr-han*: employee of a mosque who recites ten verses chosen from the Quran.

*atmacacı*: privileged peasant who trained hunting hawks.

*avarız*: 'extraordinary' war tax which, by the end of the 16th century, was regularly levied. The term was used as a collective name for 'irregular' state taxes.

*avarız hane*: see *hane*

*azab*: 1. in the 14th–15th centuries, *azabs* were infantrymen serving both on land and aboard ship; 2. later on, most *azabs* were infantry garrison soldiers who also served in the fleet; they escorted supplies transported in ships as well.

*barutçu*: gunpowder-maker.

*baruthane*: gunpowder mill.

*baştina*: a plot of land that could be inherited but not sold, which could be granted to privileged military peasants of Balkan origin.

*bayraktar*: see *alemdar*

*bazdar*: see *şahıncı*

*berat*: letter of appointment issued in the name of the sultan.

*beşli*: see *faris*

*bevval*: gate guard, gate keeper.

*bey*: see *sancakbeyi*

*beylerbeyi*: 'bey of beys'; the governor-general of a *vilayet*, who usually also held the rank of *paşa*.

*beytülmal*: 'the public treasury of the Muslims'; state revenue from the sale of ownerless

- goods and unclaimed inheritances and estates, dealt with by a special official department.
- bin Abdullah*: 'son of the servant of Allah'; the most common patronymic assigned to garrison soldiers who had recently converted to Islam.
- bölük*: a squad composed of *müstaḥfizes*, artificers, gunners and *gönüllüs*; name given to certain court salaried troops, e.g. various *yeniçeri* units.
- bölükbaşı*: squad leader in military units where a squad was called *bölük*.
- Bosna*: Bosnia, Bosnian.
- Branik*: garrison soldier's second name, borrowed from a south-slav word meaning 'warrior' or 'soldier'.
- çakırcı*: see *şahıncı*
- cami*: mosque in which Friday prayers, including a sermon, could be held with the sultan's permission.
- çavuş*: 1. member of the staff who were responsible for managing the imperial council; their duties ranged from acting as emissaries or messengers to appointments as officers for troops of the Porte; 2. little is known about the duties of *çavuşes* who were sent to serve the *beylerbeyis* in the provinces and were rewarded with per diem payments or with the income from *timars*; in the early 17th century some of them were garrison officers.
- cebeci*: armourer; 1. in larger fortresses, a maker and repairer of weapons, belonging to a small unit, 2. soldier belonging to a *cebeci* unit detached by the Porte for provincial service, who fought as well as taking care of weapons.
- celeb*: breeder and drover of sheep, more rarely of goats; a privileged peasant in the Balkans who bred livestock to supply the army and large towns.
- çeltikçi*: rice farmer; privileged peasant whose crops supplied the army and the major cities.
- cemaat*: 'unit, group'; 1. medium-sized *azab* unit, synonym of *riyaset*, 2. name given to the first 101 units of *yeniçeri*.
- çeribaşı*: see *serasker*
- cerrah*: surgeon.
- çiftlik*: 1. as much land as can be ploughed by a yoke of oxen (Ottoman Turkish *çift*); a plot of farmland that can be inherited but not officially sold, 2. state-owned manor transferred to private property or use.
- çırağı*: see *çıraktar*
- çıraktar*, *çırağı*: lamp-lighter, responsible for lamps and candles in mosques.
- cizye hane*: see *hane*
- cizye*, *haraç*: (poll) tax paid by non-Muslims to the state.
- cüz-han*: prayer-reciter who reads the appropriate thirtieth part of the Quran for the day in a mosque.
- dai*: see *dua-gu*
- dede*: head of a Muslim religious order of *dervişes*.
- defter*: notebook, register, account book.

*defterdar*: treasurer or fiscal director responsible for property and financial affairs both in the capital and in provincial centres.

*deli*: cavalryman serving as escort to a *beylerbeyi* or *sancakbeyi* in the Balkans.

*demirci*: see *haddad*

*derbendci*: privileged peasant who, in return for partial or full exemption from taxes, guarded mountain passes (Turkish *derbend*), dangerous roads, landing stages, bridges, etc.

*derviş, sufi*: Muslim mystic, member of a Muslim religious order.

*devr-han*: mosque employee who recites the appointed parts of the Quran before Friday prayers.

*divan*: council; body with advisory and decision-making powers serving the sultan, the grand vizier and the *beylerbeyis*.

*divan-i hümayun*: imperial council.

*Divane*: second name given to soldiers—land-holding *sipahis*, court cavalry and garrison troops—probably referring to their earlier careers as military peasants.

*dizdar*: castellan, commander of a fortress.

*doğancı*: see *şahıncı*

*dua-gu, dua-guy, dai*: prayer-reader.

*dülger*: see *haddad*

*efendi*: gentleman, literate people.

*eflak*: see *Vlach*

*emin*: commissioner, intendant, who collected farmed-out revenues for the treasury.

*enam-han*: mosque employee who recites the sixth sura of the Quran.

*eyalet*: see *vilayet*

*faris, ulufeciyan-i süvari, beşli*: garrison cavalry unit.

*ferraş*: cleaner working in a mosque, mainly responsible for cleaning carpets.

*feth-han*: mosque employee who recites the 48th sura of the Quran.

*flori*: annual state tax of one florin paid by Balkan privileged peasants with Vlach legal status.

*florici*: one who pays the *flori* tax.

*gönüllü*: elite cavalryman serving in the major castles.

*gureba*: see *altı bölük halkı*

*guruş, kuruş*: Ottoman Turkish name for the European silver thaler (in the 17th century one *kara guruş* was equivalent to hundred Hungarian denars).

*haddad, dülger, demirci, ahenger*: blacksmith, metalworker.

*hademe*: servants; a group which emerged in the 17th century, roughly equivalent to the 16th-century *müteferrikas*.

*halife*: ‘deputy, follower’, educated, literate man; a term of honour, in the 17th century the second name of lower-ranking employees of mosques.

*halife-i mekteb*: assistant teacher in elementary schools.

*hane*: ‘house, household’, taxation unit; the 16th-century *cizye hane* corresponded approximately to a small family, the 17th-century *avarız hane* was larger, but its exact size is not known.



*hani*: innkeeper.

*haraç*: see *cizye*

*harami*: irregular soldier; most *haramis* were privileged peasant soldiers, but their commanders also appear among garrison officers; the term is often similar in meaning to salaried and peasant *martoloses*, or to Vlach.

*haramibaşı*: *harami* commander.

*harclik*: 'provision', 'expenses'; 1. payments covering the costs of the performance of special tasks; 2. part of the payment due to soldiers, which the treasury disbursed in order to reduce its debt to garrisons.

*has*: 1. estate or revenue belonging to the sultan, managed by the treasury, 2. estate or revenue assigned to officials of the highest rank, bringing an annual income of over 100,000 *akçes*.

*hasir*: employee responsible for rush matting in places of worship.

*hatib*: senior employee of a mosque who delivers the Friday sermon (*hutbe*).

*havale*: 1. direct payment of soldiers with money orders, using state revenues; 2. the official responsible for such transactions.

*haymane*: 'tent-dwellers'; nomadic people.

*hazine defteri*: central or provincial treasury account book.

*hekim*: doctor.

*hisar eri*: see *müstahfiz*.

*hoca*: respectful form of address: lord, leader, teacher.

*icmal defteri*: summary register; register of prebends managed by the imperial treasury, or distributed in payment for services to the state.

*ifraz*: 'separation'; 1. tax-accountancy operation carried out by tax surveyors at the behest of the state, by which new revenues or surplus funds were found, and these were withdrawn and channelled from *timars* to the treasury; 2. withdrawing any source of state income from the treasury of one province and transferring it to another.

*ihlas-han, ihlas-i şerif-han*: mosque employee who recites the 112<sup>th</sup> sura of the Quran.

*ilmancı*: see *limancı*.

*imam*: head of a local religious community, in charge of mosques and people working in them; leader of religious ceremonies.

*irsaliye*: 'money transfer'; 1. the annual tax from some eastern provinces, sent to the Porte as a lump sum, as well as the payments made by provinces which produced surplus income to the central treasury; 2. funds sent to pay soldiers from the central or the campaign treasury.

*ispence*: gate-tax, levied in cash and due to landowners or prebendaries.

*kadi*: judge; a key figure in Ottoman administration, who besides exercising legal authority was also responsible for the supervision of financial and military matters.

*kafir*: infidel, unbeliever, gíaur.

*kalafatçı*: shipwright, caulker; artisan-soldiers who repaired and maintained ships.

*kale*: fortress, fort, stone castle.

*kandilci, kandili*: person responsible for the illumination of houses of worship.

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- kanun, kanunname*: code of regulations issued by the sultan, which regulated both the central state administration and the internal (especially economic) affairs of the *sancaks*.
- kapu kulu*: the court salaried troops (cavalry and infantry alike).
- kapudan*: 1. commander of river- and sea-going fleets; 2. leader of troops guarding the river and the river bank in riverside fortresses.
- kasaba*: small town.
- kâtib*: scribe, secretary, record-keeper.
- kayd*: record of an appointment to a post, in a special list used for this purpose; more generally, an expression meaning that some procedure has been carried out or completed.
- kayyum, kayyim, kayme*: utility man, factotum employed in a mosque.
- kefil*: guarantor, surety in a financial transaction, usually in a tax-farming contract.
- kenez*: foreman of the Balkan Christian population appointed in each *nahiye*, who assisted the military and civilian administrations in return for a small *timar* or for tax exemption; in the southern part of Ottoman Hungary the resettling of devastated towns and villages was an important part of the *kenezes*' duties.
- kesr*: term used to refer to a deficit in budgets or accounts.
- kethüda*: 'deputy'; 1. second-in-command of a garrison, or deputy of the *ağas* of different units; 2. second-in-command of *yeniçeris* sent from the Porte; 3. commander of the *çavuşes* of the province; 4. foreman of the Muslim residents of a village or town quarter.
- kile*: unit of measurement; the Istanbul *kile*, of twenty *okkas*, was equivalent to 25.62 kg.
- köprücü*: bridge-builder.
- kraynik*: military peasant guarding the border.
- kul*: 'slave, servant'; in its broad sense, anybody in the service of the sultan, from the grand vizier to the lowliest official or soldier; in a narrower sense, it designated the soldiers and servants of the imperial court and palace, especially the *yeniçeris*.
- kule*: tower, bastion.
- kumbaracı*: bomb-maker; one who manufactures or uses explosive devices.
- kundakçı*: maker of gun carriages and gunstocks.
- kuruş*: see *guruş*
- lağımçı*: miner, digger of mines.
- lezez*: abbreviation used in Ottoman financial accounts to refer to the last quarter of the year (combination of the names of three months: *şevval*, *zilkade* and *zilhicce*).
- limancı, ilmancı*: dock-worker.
- liva*: see *sancak*
- mabeyn*: sum of money that remains in the treasury; either the income from a *timar* that has no incumbent or the daily wage or salary of a vacant post.
- mahalle*: town district or quarter, occasionally part of a village.
- maktu*: lump sum paid annually.
- martolos*: 1. soldier of the lowest-paid category of garrison troops, mainly Christians,

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- used to guard waterways, shores and frontiers; 2. military peasants employed to guard borders and keep order in the interior.
- masar*: abbreviation used in Ottoman financial accounts to refer to the first quarter of the year (combination of the names of three months: *muharrem*, *safer* and *rebiülevvel*).
- mazul*: temporarily dismissed state official, paid soldier or *sipahi* who has been put on a waiting list.
- medrese*: higher-level Muslim school.
- mehter*: 1. musician, bandsman; 2. tent pitcher; 3. more generally a state or treasury employee (e.g. *mehter-i hazine*).
- mekteb*: Muslim elementary school.
- menzil*: halting place, station, depot; *menzils* were established one day's march apart along the military routes.
- merd-i kale*: see *müstahfiz*
- mevacib defteri*: detailed pay list including lists of soldiers' names.
- mevlana*: 'our lord'; honorific title given to men of high religious or legal rank.
- mimar*: architect.
- miralay*, *alay beyi*: deputy of the *sancakbeyi* for military affairs; leader of the *sancak*'s timariot army.
- mirliva*: see *sancakbeyi*
- Mohammediye-han*: mosque employee whose task is to recite extracts from the Life of the Prophet Mohammed.
- muaf*: privileged, exempted; (peasant) partially or fully exempt from taxation.
- muallim*: teacher at a *mekteb*, the lower-level Muslim school; *muallim-i sibyan*: one who teaches school boys.
- muarraf*: mosque employee who reads out the names of those who have made offerings or done good deeds to the congregation.
- müderris*: teacher in the *medrese*, the higher-level Muslim school.
- müezzin*: employee of a mosque who calls the faithful to prayer by chanting the *ezan* from the minaret.
- müezzin-i sala*: see *sala-han*
- mufassal defteri*: detailed land and revenue survey register of a *sancak*, including towns and villages, inhabitants, fields and other taxable localities, as well as the taxes paid by inhabited places; by the 17th century these were drawn up only for new territories (for example, the *vilayet* of Uyvar) and not for the established *sancaks*.
- muhaddis*: a scholar of the Hadith, the traditions of Islam.
- muhasebe*: audit office.
- muhasebeci*: employee of the audit office.
- mühimme defteri*: 'register of important affairs'; a record of the decisions of the imperial council (mainly containing the drafts of the outgoing decrees).
- mukataa*: a financial unit consisting of one or more sources of income belonging to the state, whose management was usually entrusted to a tax-farmer.
- mürtezika*: see *vazifehoran*
- müsellem*: a person who is 'privileged, exempt from taxation'; 1. in the 15th century, a

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- soldier belonging to a (probably cavalry) unit in the Ottoman army; 2. in the 16th century, a privileged peasant soldier who did military or auxiliary service in the army in return for partial or total tax-exemption.
- müstahfiz*, *merd-i kale*, *hisar eri*: member of the highest-ranking infantry unit in a garrison.
- müteferrika*: ‘different, various’; mixed unit in a garrison, including men with both civilian and military duties, from musicians to warehousemen and officers.
- mütekaid*: retired state official or soldier.
- muvakkit*: mosque employee who determines the precise timing of prayers.
- nahiye*: the smallest territorial administrative unit.
- nat-han*, *nat-i şerif-han*: mosque employee who recites verses in praise of the Prophet Mohammad and the leading figures of Islam.
- nazır*: financial inspector.
- neccar*: carpenter; in fortresses, an artisan-soldier.
- necm-han*, *necm-i şerif-han*: reciter of the 53rd sura of the Quran.
- nüzul*: one of the ‘extraordinary’ taxes collected by the state, which became a regular tax in the 17th century.
- ocak*: 1. group of between 2 and 50 peasants performing occasional military duties, with actual service rotating within the group; 2. unit of *yeniçeris*.
- ocaklık*: collective or corporate ownership or estate, through which specific treasury revenues were allocated for immediate use by garrison soldiers.
- oda*: 1. a squad of cavalry, *azabs* and *martaloses* belonging to a garrison; 2. unit of *yeniçeris*.
- odabaşı*, *seroda*: corporal in charge of a squad in a military unit where squads are called *odas*.
- okka*: a measure of weight; 1.281 kilos.
- osmani*: unit of currency, rarely used either in financial accounts or as a means of payment; in the mid-16th century it was worth about three-quarters of an *akçe*, or one and a half denars; in 1578 it was calculated as 0.8 denars.
- palanka*: see *parkan*
- parkan*: palisade; defensive structure consisting of a wall built out of timber and earth.
- paşa*: pasha; high rank in the Ottoman empire, in the provinces most often held by the *beylerbeyi*.
- pasban*: sentinel, responsible for keeping order in a fortress.
- primikür*: village headman among Balkan Christian peoples.
- reaya*: tax-paying farmer, peasant; contrary to popular belief the term was applied to Muslims and non-Muslims alike.
- recec*: word used in Ottoman financial accounts to refer to the second quarter of the Muslim year (abbreviation of the names of three months: *rebiülahir*, *cemaziülevvel* and *cemaziühahir*).
- reis*: 1. commander of a *riyaset* (or *cemaat*), a medium-sized unit of *azabs*; 2. commander of a ship.

- reşen*: word used in Ottoman financial accounts to indicate the third quarter of the Muslim year (abbreviation of the names of three months: *receb*, *şaban* and *ramazan*).
- resid*: ‘arrived, received, dealt with’; used in pay lists to indicate payment of wages or settlement of appointment fees; the written form of the word was simplified into a double line.
- resm-i berat*: fee paid by the recipient of the sultanic letter of appointment.
- riyaset*: see *reis*
- ruznamçe*: record-book containing day-to-day changes, for example of grants of estates or prebend holders.
- ruznamçei*, *ruznameci*: employee of the *ruznamçe* office, the head scribe who kept the record-book.
- saatçı*, *saati*: clockmaker.
- şahıncı*, *doğancı*, *çakırcı*, *bazdar*: falconer; privileged peasant who trained falcons for the sultan to hunt with, in return for partial tax exemption.
- sala-han*, *muezzin-i sala*: employee of a mosque who chants from the minaret on Fridays.
- salary *timar*: collectively held *timar*, allocated to infantry units in garrisons in lieu of wages.
- sancak*, *liva*: medium-sized territorial unit of Ottoman civil and military administration, under the command of a *sancakbeyi*; basic unit for population and taxation surveys, as well as for the registration of provincial *timar*-holding *sipahis* and garrison soldiers.
- sancakbeyi*, *bey*, *mirliva*: 1. highest-ranking official in a *sancak*, responsible for both military and civilian affairs; 2. supreme commander of military peasant organisations, for example *voynuks*, throughout the Balkans, irrespective of territorial divisions.
- saraç*: saddle-maker, saddler.
- sebin*: ‘the account of seventy’; soldiers paid according to this system received only seventy per cent of their wages.
- şemci*: the man responsible for candles in a prayer house.
- ser*: ‘head’; commander.
- serasker*, *çeribaşı*: officer of the *sipahis* who received *timar* allotments in a *sancak*.
- serhad kulu*, *yerli kul*: the armed forces of a province.
- sermahfil*: mosque employee, leader of müezzins and prayer-reciters.
- sermiye*, *yüzbaşı*: deputy of an *ağa* of *martoloses*; although the name means ‘company commander’, the *sermiye* rarely led a whole company.
- seroda*: see *odabaşı*
- şeyh*: head preacher or teacher, head of a Muslim religious order of *dervişes*.
- sicill*: court records kept by the *kadis*.
- silahdar*: see *altı bölük halkı*
- sipahi*, *spahi*: 1. a mounted soldier whose services were rewarded with prebend; the principal cavalry corps in the Ottoman army; 2. one section of the household cavalry of the Porte (see *altı bölük halkı*), units of whom were also detached for service in the provinces, including Ottoman Hungary.
- sipahizade*: son of a *timariot*.

*siraci*: employee responsible for lamps and candles in a prayer house.

*subaşı*: 1. member of the hierarchy of officials in the *sancak*, responsible for carrying out the *bey*'s orders and for maintaining law and order; 2. an officer of the *sancak*'s *sipahis*; 3. leader of certain units of privileged military peasants.

*sufi*: see *derviş*

*sülsan*: 'two-thirds' calculation, used to calculate the annual pay of soldiers who were remunerated with *timars* rather than with cash wages. In theory, but usually not in practice, 3 *akçes* of daily pay were equivalent to an annual income of 2,000 *akçes* from a *timar*.

*suyolcu*: man responsible for the operation and maintenance of waterworks and conduits.

*tarif-han*: one who explains and teaches religion.

*tebareke-han*: mosque employee who recites the 67th sura of the Quran.

*temcid-han*, *temcidi*: mosque employee who recites the supplication from the minaret before dawn prayers.

*tezkere*: official document, certification of, for example, the allocation of a *timar*.

*tezkereci*: person issuing a *tezkere*.

*tilavet*: recitation of the Quran.

*timar*: the category of prebend yielding the lowest annual income (below 20,000 *akçes* per year); besides novice and low-paid *sipahis* these were also allocated to the privileged foremen of local Christian communities.

*topçu*, *topi*: gunner, artilleryman; besides their own gunners, some of the major castles were manned by *topçus* sent by the Porte.

*türbe*: mausoleum, tomb.

*türbedar*: caretaker of a *türbe*.

*ulufeci*: see *altı bölük halkı*

*ulufeciyan-i süvari*: see *faris*

*vaiz*: preacher, one who explains religion.

*vakıf*: pious foundation, religious endowment.

*vazifehoran*, *mürtezika*: daily wage-earners.

*veledan-i kul*: paid soldiers of the Porte, recruited among the sons of salaried court troops.

*vezzan*: weighmaster.

*vilayet*, *eyalet*: largest territorial unit of Ottoman civil and military administration, under the command of a *beylerbeyi*.

*vezir*: title held by the grand vizier and several other dignitaries. In 16th-century Ottoman Hungary the rank was rarely granted to the *beylerbeyis*; after 1621 it was given to all the *beylerbeyis* of Buda.

*Vlach* (*eflak* in Ottoman Turkish): 1. people of Romanian origin in the Balkan peninsula; 2. transhumant shepherd; 3. Balkan peasant military people with Vlach legal status, many of whom were settled in Ottoman Hungary.

*voynuk*: Ottoman adaptation of the Bulgarian *vojnîk*, meaning 'warrior' or 'soldier'. Most

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- voynuks were peasant soldiers living in Bulgaria who took care of the horses in the sultan's stables, and performed other auxiliary military duties as well.
- voyvoda*: 1. provincial official ranking immediately below the *sancakbeyi*, with wide authority; 2. one of the foremen of the Balkan peoples and military peasant organisations which settled in Ottoman Hungary.
- yaya*: infantryman in the 14th–15th-century Ottoman armies; later, soldier of auxiliary service.
- yeniçeri*: from the early 15th century onwards the main infantry force in the Ottoman army; *yeniçeris* were deployed in increasing numbers in major provincial centres and castles.
- yerli kul*: see *serhadd kulu*
- yoklama defteri*: roll-call register.
- yürük*: official name given to nomadic Turks who settled in the Balkan peninsula and sometimes served in military units; from the second half of the 15th century onwards they more often performed auxiliary duties.
- yüzbaşı*: see *sermiye*
- zakhir*: singer who works in dervish lodges and mosques, reciting the attributes of Allah and performing religious hymns.
- ziamet*: medium-sized prebend yielding in principle an annual income of between 20,000 and 100,000 *akçes*; the income of some high-ranking office holders' prebends could exceed this amount.

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## INDEX

Abbreviations: AL: Albania, BG: Bulgaria, BiH: Bosnia-Herzegovina, CG: Montenegro, GR: Greece, HR: Croatia, Hu: Hungarian, Ott: Ottoman, RO: Romania, SK: Slovakia, SRB: Serbia

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